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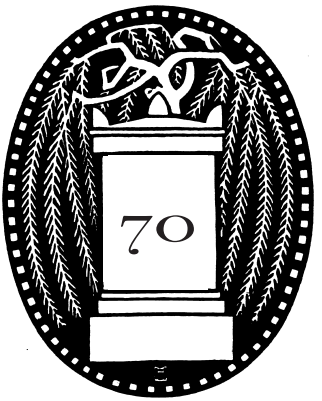

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From the Editors

Pandemic Renaissance: Life, Resistance, & Writing in Times of Plague

So, it turns out the now-blessedly-behind-us Trump presidency swiped the cotter pin that held the whole thing together. That the loss of one small, skillfully forged, metal pin effectively could epistemologically and ontologically destabilize an entire planet turns out to be compressed not-so-artfully within one racist, misogynist man's sociopathic reign. Admittedly, Trump did not invent the post-truth era any more than Gore invented the internet, but his perverse media mastery enabled the post-truth cult of the likes of Fox News and its league of fact-averse pundits to jump the firewall…and it enabled Trump-loyalist insurrectionists to breach the U.S. Capitol on November 6th in an attempted *coup d'état*.

The Enlightenment granted humans imagined objectivity, allowed some to claim epistemological supremacy by their disciplined use of classic scientific method and by their setting aside of the personal, emotional, magical subjective in favor of rational, systematic, objective truth. But the post-truth era shockingly strips Western culture of scientism, taking with it not only objectivity, but subjectivity as well. Post-truth "knowledge" paradoxically breaks with the empirical evidentiary: even when caught on video, the corrupt politician's outraged denial remakes undeniable empirical evidence into fallible knowledge.[1] Karl Popper no doubt spins in his grave at my nod to the sad demise of his falsification principle; one wonders what it even means to view the world and conduct research through a particular cosmology in a post-truth epistemological and ontological landscape.

Particularly for we academics, whose poor heads were already pounding with post-truth's disastrous effects on the power of the pen, our place in the world feels threatened utterly. Now no amount of scientifically gathered data, no number of carefully crafted words, sentences, or arguments seem to sway, persuade, cajole, or even give those outside the choir-box pause. Our stock in trade, words, seem to have lost their ability to incite change, even as anger and grief at George Floyd's callous killing by a white Minneapolis police officer caused Black Lives Matter protesters to boil into the streets worldwide, demanding racial justice and reform. And then came The Plague.

Well, when the post-truth era met the plague, it seems like the last scrap of humans' remaining good sense got blown apart—kablooie!—like the

massive shock wave of an exploding supernova. Our world morphed into theatre of the absurd[2]: chaotic, senseless, pointless, and isolating. Fantastical thinking and denialism stripped epistemological power from foundational scientific institutions like the U.S. Centers for Disease Control: maybe the virus would just suddenly go away? Not the first time cultural rupture has affected a people—nor, surely, will it be the last—the SARS-CoV-2 global pandemic follows mapped outcomes of previous periods of chaos and societal decline brought on by fascist rule, war, and other natural and human-made plagues. But like the early 20th century's Dadaists, an unruly band of anti-war expats who met in neutral Zurich to make art that would "laugh in the face of social collapse,"[3] quarantining from the plague during Trump's treasonous last stand has inspired an artistic cultural revolution. Much of this revolution's products find their way to marooned others via digital behemoth, the internet—former information superhighway and virtual landscape of human connection, in plague years remade into human lifeline, information doom-scroll, and artists' canvas.

We need not look only to the everything and nothingness of art and architecture's Dadaists, nor to the post-World War II absurdist playwrights, for precursors to today's pandemic renaissance, for we find closer to SoPHE membership's wheelhouse an educational philosopher's plagueborne intellectual transformation, during which time he "probed the limits of what he could do in the world and what he could know about himself."[4] According to a recent *New York Times* op-ed,[5] Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592)[6] "fled the plague, …found himself," and invented the *essais*, the now-classic literary form of "self-reflection and self-knowing."[7] We know Montaigne as an educational philosopher, but during the bubonic plague years and throughout much of his lifetime he was known as a diplomat. Montaigne and his family lived in the city of Bordeaux, which turned out to be something of a bacteriological hotbed—by the plague's end one third of the city's population had succumbed to the Black Death.[8] When the plague came Montaigne had already lived through multiple wars; "the cruelty and fury, ambition and avarice that consumed both sides taught him to 'rely [only] on [himself] in distress,'"[9] so he acted to preserve his and his family's lives. "When pestilence reached his estate," he fled Bordeaux with his family. "From the road, he recalled, he saw peasants digging their own graves."[10] One can imagine this sight as the literal source of this puzzling, absurdist idiom.

Have I mentioned Montaigne was Bordeaux's mayor? Yes, indeed. He fled, and he and his family lived safely through this "plague of the utmost severity."[11] Though mayor, historian Robert Zaretsky argues, Montaigne "never pretended or sought to be a hero. Instead, he [wisely] sought to do [only] what could be done—in this case, save his family—and sought to find what could be found in this experience."[12] In these years, which comprised the second wave of the bubonic plague,[13] Montaigne would find

the essay, a long-lived literary form joining mind with body, "aligning self with the world."[14] For,

> Part of the brilliance of the *Essays* lies in [Montaigne's] ability to elicit various forms of explanatory coherence whilst at the same time defying them. The work is so rich and flexible that it accommodates virtually any academic trend. Yet, it is also so resistant to interpretation that it reveals the limits of each interpretation.[15]

Earth-shaking stuff. But then, "given the huge breadth of his [own reading], Montaigne "could have been ranked among the most erudite humanists of the XVI[th] century."[16] Paradoxically, it was Montaigne who "thought that too much knowledge could prove a burden."[17] Whatever his intent, Montaigne "was not one to waste a plague," transforming social and political commentary thereafter and in so doing coming to the conclusion that "our great and glorious masterpiece is to live properly"[18] by coming to terms with who we are: a reckoning similar to those circumstances with which we today find ourselves faced.

The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic renders previous creative strongholds passé, but, even more surprisingly, challenges old-school creative powers-that-be, undermining the big networks' and studios' former death grips. *New York* magazine culture writer E. Alex Jones[19] argues that media culture (and culture more broadly) has been highjacked by a wide array of clever individuals using little more than content-creating apps. As a result "the old gatekeepers of entertainment culture are losing control of the culture,"[20] leading to the rise of what Jones calls "quarantine culture," a constantly changing pop culture created not only through viral spreading meme, but by turning old-school entertainment culture back on itself in ways that reveal the internet audience's power and the industry's embarrassingly tone-deaf, out-of-touch-ness. Big entertainment's missteps were confirmed as viewers soundly rejected present-day, pandemic-focused plots in favor of the new, bizarro, reality escape hatch of *Tiger King* and *The Undoing*, and the comfort of *The Great British Bake Off*.[21] Big entertainment "didn't want to seem out of touch with the world, but they inherently [were]"[22]—so the public zeitgeist shifted on its axis and lumbering big-media power structures proved not nearly nimble enough, for "nobody wanted to watch a show to process our daily horrors."[23] The only big-media "winners" seem to have been late-night talk shows produced from homes as audiences watched hosts' hair grow ever-longer.

Jones maintains the seeds of what would become the brilliant, self-deprecating, oftentimes nonsensical "quar culture" were planted before quarantine drastically changed our relationship to social media, and involves the ways we approach the internet and all kinds of collectivist artmaking the internet makes possible.[24] Although still controlled by algorithms, important creative aspects of internet culture broke out and bloomed, inspired by social deprivation's coping mechanisms. Jones argues the big

bang of quar culture happened because in lockdown "our brains were a little broken…and maybe a little grief-stricken, too."[25] The suspension of all the former social rules and the imposition of lockdown gave rise to a kind of creative two-dimensional netherworld wherein everything proves absurd: adults have left the room, everything is on fire, and we are just trying to process it all.[26] In quar culture, the way people cope is by creating and consuming the internet, by focusing on real-time catastrophe through the comic, surreal, and absurd,[27] all of which have amped up considerably during quarantine. When else could a post-Instagram Live video go viral of child star and musical artist Raven-Symoné laughing maniacally to herself for 32 seconds while eating a peanut butter and jelly sandwich? …or the same video clip subsequently scored to Mozart's unfinished Requiem in D minor?[28]: in plague days, and through pent-up humans' surplus creative energy "channeling the hive of the internet"[29] is how. For, in a post-truth plague era the absurd is recast as ordinary everyday simply because it reflects circumstance: plague-year reality provides the absurdist, creative turn of quar culture.

No doubt the internet-based comic, surreal, and absurd abound at present, but quar culture is just one small though influential slice of the larger culture, and distinct from what I see to be an ongoing pandemic renaissance, a surge of art inspired in part by the reevaluation of what it means to be alive in plague times and as a way to grapple with large-scale loss's profound effects[30]: in effect, Boccaccio's mid-14th century *Decameron*,[31] its myriad tales of The Black Death reimagined, and today reinterpreted into song, stanza, and short film.

> Shut up inside our homes, severed from our usual ways of living and interacting, we are each rethinking our foundational beliefs, values and aspirations. How much meaning do our jobs bring us? Are the relationships we have solid or fleeting? What are the things that we truly consider most important to our existence—in both the daily and metaphysical senses? This reconsideration of *everything* that we thought to be habitual, comfortable and essential, has brought us to an important cultural moment…. This moment in time will be a period that marks us and one that we will mark.[32]

My own profound loss of freedom (in the most highly privileged way possible, I realize) turned out to lead to a personal renaissance that not only took me back to music, but that would pull me back from the brink of absurdist, Trumpian post-truth toward the human, artistic emotional.

Maybe because I have been known to tilt toward conspiracy theory, or maybe because I geek out on being kind of a science-girl, I was one of those people who understood quite early where this virus thing was going: everywhere. My basic understanding of exponential growth led me to become what Chris Martenson, a pathologist and economic researcher who sounded the alarm in mid-January 2020, calls an "early adopter."[33] As I write this essay in late February 2021, I have been shut up alone in a

little house on the prairie, for one year and two weeks. Fear of diminishing mental health from runaway stress, depression, and loneliness along with screen-time eyestrain and zoom fatigue had me searching to fill hours of "don't know what to do with myself" and "can't concentrate on anything" with baguette baking, vegetable gardening, canning, and freezer stocking, most of which I didn't end up being too good at. In March one of my besties, Scott, got asked by our favorite little local Maine community radio station (WERU, 89.9 FM) to sub for a programmer (that's what radio DJs are called now) who was not interested in producing his show remotely once the station's studios closed during lockdown. What followed became my front-row seat to what Scott and I both recognize as a musical pandemic renaissance.

I could go through the whole litany of this story's iterations, twists, and turns, but let it suffice to say I started out helping Scott "curate" songs for his show and I ended up a permanent co-host and remote producer of our own 3-hour, weekly music show, *On the Wing Wednesday*, billed as "eclectic" in its scope. I got better speakers, an ungodly number of iTunes songs, ripped many dozen CDs, purchased a professional set of mixing headphones and a mic. I swallowed my terror of doing voice work and accidentally letting a fuck fly in an uncensored song (an FCC violation). I still think my radio voice sounds eerily like the voice of Charlie Brown's teacher[34] because I find it hard to turn off my teacher voice, but this little unpaid weekly gig brought me back to myself—it helped and still helps keep me sane.

I don't know if you've noticed, but musicians have bloomed during quarantine and the musical landscape transformed. There are multiple artists who have produced three full-length studio albums in 12 to 16 months—such a pace represents unprecedented, extraordinary creative output. So many EPs and singles have been released, so many YouTube and Insta and TikTok artists' videos[35] posted, it is positively dizzying.[36] I fall down an iTunes or Bandcamp rabbit-hole many days of the week; I read the trades; I listen to others' shows; and still I simply cannot keep up with the new releases. Music has always spoken in its unique language to listeners. In these times, though, music is reinvigorated, generously acting as a powerful balm to soothe and a means to inspire as we endure a plague without cure.

Not only has music persisted during these plague times, but it has been reinvented by artists and fans purposefully to challenge oppression and to prop up the whole great chain of musical being, keeping artists and studios fiscally afloat. This work has taken many forms: the Black Music Action Coalition and Megan Thee Stallion's Protect Black Women groups among those.[37] With artists' go-go, hectic, on-the-road tour culture cancelled by lockdown, home equipment has been fired up, and the ease of ubiquitous high-tech recording devices has resulted in a massive number of unlikely artistic collaborations. A flurry of quar cover songs became a genre in

itself[38]; a deluge of lockdown albums and EPs dropped. Many such artistic collaborations confront racism and #antiBlackness head-on, offering solidarity and calling for reparations as the secure among us shrink into our homes, reconnecting with our own everyday pre-post-truth cosmologies to draw from, as did Montaigne, "various forms of explanatory coherence."

In lockdown we remade our worlds; we continue to remake them. All around us the personal, emotional, magical subjective returns through music. As we navigate an uncertain plague-ridden future, the role of music is likely to become even more about humans reconnecting, and when we return to the post-plague pleasure of time in the physical presence of one another, the effects of this pandemic renaissance will no doubt provide the soundtrack for our resumption of public life. Like Montaigne, I am "not one to waste a plague." I remain firmly in possession of all the enthusiasm and youthful optimism of an undergraduate studio art major. I have always believed art can change the world, but it took a plague-year lockdown that inspired a musical renaissance to pull me back from our world's post-truth plunge, returning me to musical matters of great importance and happiness: snug as a pin in a hasp.

Stacy Otto
Illinois State University

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The 2019 SoPHE Presidential Address

A Brief History of the Internet

Ralph Olliges, Webster University

Introduction

Focusing on the story of how human cognition and culture began to merge with computers, in this concise history of the internet I recount how certain technologies and humans interact. I mean to provide a cursory background for how certain technologies are interwoven. As you navigate the timeline I lay out, I ask you reflect upon how many of history's players in this techno-cultural revolution we may have forgotten. Although perhaps forgotten, some of yesterday's players gave rise to a few of today's dominating mega-corporations. Throughout this address, I raise necessary issues of security and their threat to our personal privacy.

The Beginning of Computing and the Internet

At first, computers were expensive, complicated and difficult to use. They occupied very large rooms, sometimes even an entire floor of a building. In 1946, the ENIAC (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer) was the first electronic general purpose computer. It occupied about 1,800 square feet and weighed almost 50 tons (Weik, 1961). Remarkably, today we are able to hold in our hand a computer that is many times more powerful.

Let us jump from 1946 to the advent of the internet, in 1969, when computers first were hooked together in a meaningful way. This network configuration was called ARPANET. Funded by the U.S. military, four academic research centers were chosen to host the fledgling computer network: the University of California, Los Angeles, the Stanford Research Institute, the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the University of Utah.

ARPANET's technology implemented what was called the Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol suite (TCP/IP) (Schneider, Evans, & Pinard, 2009) consisting of large computers able to communicate with one another over physical distance. (Incidentally, security in this day meant an armed guard at the door restricting access only to authorized personnel.)

In the 1970s, Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, and Bill Gates set out to develop computers small enough to be used in homes. Their efforts resulted in the invention of the GUI, or Graphical User Interface (Graphical user

interface, 2009). Called microcomputers, they became available in the 1970s and more widespread for business use in the 1980s. However, by 1990 58% of U.S. adults reported they had never used a computer. At that time the number of U.S. households that owned a computer had yet to pass 20% (McCullough, 2018, p. 3).

In 1989, Tim Berners-Lee invented the World-Wide Web while employed at CERN, the great multinational Swiss scientific research institute (Dennis, 2019). Use of the World-Wide Web did not take off until around 1995, yet "the web" would succeed in bringing microcomputers into mainstream use; soon thereafter nearly every American would want to own a microcomputer.

By 2008, computing and internet technology had become vital, indispensable tools of the average person. Technology dramatically changed human lives personally and professionally. During this time the need for tech security and technology's threat to personal privacy became apparent.

The Big Bang: the First Web Browser

You may not realize it, but your cell phone is more powerful than the combined power of all the computing technology and hardware used to land a man on the moon in 1968. But I am getting ahead of the story. Let's go back and see how this happened.

Do you know how the internet got funded? Early on, in the 1980s and 1990s, Al Gore promoted legislation that funded an expansion of ARPANET. Signed into law in 1991, the High Performance Computing Act (HPCA) played a crucial role in early internet technology experiments. Thus, Gore did indeed play a crucial role in helping the internet to flourish. (Krugman, 2007).

Did you know that the first browser, Mosaic, was initially developed by four computer-science students at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign? As Mosaic took off, the four were joined by 35 others planning the next features, such as adding color and links. Mosaic designers succeeded at leaving computer scientists behind, instead appealing directly to mainstream consumers. That detour made Mosaic the most successful project in computer science history.

The Mosaic team was functioning like a software startup company in all but name. Nevertheless, the funder of this project, the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA), still considered the browser a glorified research project.

One of Mosaic's young developers was Marc Andreessen, who graduated with his bachelor's degree in 1993 from the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, then moving to California where he met Jim Clark, who had just sold his first billion-dollar company, Silicon Graphics (SGI).

When they met for coffee in Palo Alto, Clark said, "You come up with something to do and I'll invest in it." (McCullough, 2018, p. 20).

The Mosaic Communications Corporation (subsequently renamed Netscape) was incorporated on April 4, 1994. Clark offered the original four-person Mosaic team and two additional outside engineers each $65,000 a year in salary, one week's paid vacation in Tahiti on Clark's own yacht, and 100,000 shares of stock in the new company. The four had been making $6 per hour coding (p. 20). MacIntosh, Windows, and Unix versions of the new internet browser were developed simultaneously. The browser and server codes were re-written with a focus on greater speed, greater stability, and better features. Mosaic was no longer merely a research project, but an actual product.

So what was the big deal about the world-wide web, subsequently called "the internet?" Using the internet, users could download a product, provide a company with feedback, and the company could release an update, all on the same day. An example of this was Secure Sockets Layer (SSL) technology, which Netscape pioneered, an encrypting technology that made secure transactions on the internet possible.

Mosaic's new name was the brainchild of Jim Clark. In 1995, the company name changed from Mosaic Communications to Netscape Communications in response to copyright infringement allegations. Mosaic's change of name became necessary because the University of Illinois threatened to sue on behalf of the NCSA (Lashinsky, 2005). Remember, Mosaic started as a research project; it was never meant to be a commercial product.

A browser's speed was essential. Netscape could load a web page ten times faster than Mosaic.

Do you know how Netscape made money? Individual users were allowed to download Netscape for free, but companies were not. It is important to understand that Netscape was capturing data about its users, an issue and built-in feature of internet technology that continues to plague us in the form of "surveillance capitalism" (Zuboff, 2018). By analyzing user logs, Netscape could tell precisely who was using their software. Netscape's sales and marketing team would then contact any company using their software, such as Oracle, and say to the information technology team, "You have 20,000 unlicensed copies, you owe us X dollars" (McCullough, 2018, p. 32). Through tracking the software's unlicensed use, Netscape made millions of dollars off its browser.

Netscape Communications Corporation filed papers for an initial public offering (IPO) on June 23, 1995, launching on August 9, 1995. Netscape shares were originally priced at $14 per share; but at the last minute raised to $28. The first Netscape trade did not occur until around

11:00 AM, and early buyers paid $71 per share, almost triple the IPO price. The stock's price per share subsequently reached $75 before ending the day at $58.25. The stock market valued the company at $2.1 billion (p. 7)! Why was this startling IPO not more newsworthy? Well, August 9th also happened to be the day Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead died. His death overshadowed business and stock market news that day.

In December 1995, Marc Andreessen appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine. The way Andreesen developed and ran his company, Netscape Communications, became the template for web-based companies that would follow.

Bill Gates "Gets" the Internet

Microsoft would come to dominate the technology industry through sales of their software, in particular Microsoft Office. While Gates had not yet developed a browser, Microsoft's unofficial motto was, "A computer on every desk and in every home, running Microsoft software" (p. 38). Instead of the term, "internet," Bill Gates preferred IAYF (Information at Your Fingertips); he sometimes used the phrase "information superhighway." The information superhighway would quickly, enthusiastically infiltrate the telephone, cable, and personal computer industries—as well as Hollywood (McCullough, 2018).

Prior to this time, television sets were speculated to be the next technology that would become interactive. More than a decade before our phones got "smart," the tech gurus and the big-money corporate executives were convinced televisions would become "smart" and smart TVs would be the innovation that changed everything about commerce. Bill Gates wanted his software on every television set. As it turned out, our televisions did eventually become smart. However, our phones became "smart" first.

Once the internet and the world-wide web became the information superhighway, the technological revolution was on, yet this revolution was being delivered not via television, but by computers. What Gates missed most crucially was how the latest iteration of the internet, the world-wide web, was different. It was, in fact, more user-friendly, and more robust than anyone realized at the time, Gates himself included.

A side note: I was working at Parks College, in Cahokia, Illinois, in a computer lab during the summer of 1993. My boss left on vacation and I had five student workers to keep busy. I had seen a small news article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* about HTML at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, so I assigned one of the students to research HTML. A few hours later, he showed me a webpage created using HTML. You could click on a picture on this web page and be taken to another site. I was impressed. So I asked him to develop a small web site about our college.

When my boss returned from his vacation, I shared this site with him. He, too, was impressed; however, his own boss was not!

In Gates' mind, the biggest question of all was how Microsoft could commodify the internet, turning it into profit, since seemingly everything on the internet was free. Finally, Gates began to see how Microsoft could make money off the information superhighway: by serving as gatekeeper and toll collector (p. 46). The biggest barrier was that Gates had not yet developed a web browser. With the launch of Netscape came millions and millions of downloads and all the attendant media attention. Netscape was dominant with 70% usage share, allowing Netscape to determine which network extensions caught on with users.

So Gates gave his Internet Explorer team orders: quickly develop a browser. It could be a copycat product. And it did not have to be great; it just had to be good enough (McCullough, 2018). Internet Explorer (IE) was free. The first versions of IE were poorly reviewed. However, IE's software was ubiquitous since it came pre-loaded on every Windows machine. To get a copy of Netscape on your computer, you had to search for it, download it, and install it. This cumbersome procedure led to Netscape's downfall.

America Online (AOL)

By 1995, internet service provider (ISP) Prodigy could boast only about 1.35 million members; CompuServe had 1.6 million accounts. Those were impressive numbers for the time, yet within a short time, America Online (AOL) would become marketshare leader. Across America, the 1990s sounds of a phone number being dialed, the harsh crackle and hiss of a modem connecting to the network, and a friendly AOL voice saying "Welcome! You've Got Mail," became synonymous with "going on the internet" (McCullough, 2018). Indeed, these sounds were made beloved in the hit 1993 rom-com feature film, *Sleepless in Seattle*.

The Microsoft Network (MSN) was developed to compete with existing ISPs such as Prodigy, CompuServe, and AOL. Gates decided to focus on developing computers' software at the expense of developing internet technologies. Thus, MSN would become nothing more than an also-ran. AOL became the ISP service leader.

AOL uniquely allowed users to create screen names and build online personas. The house of AOL was built on chat! An October 1996 article in *Rolling Stone* estimated that half of all AOL's chat was sexually oriented. Given the hourly "chat" fees, adult chat netted the company $7 million a month (p. 69). So, AOL conveyed a wholesome, friendly, image on the outside with all sorts of prurient stuff going on behind closed doors.

Steve Case was CEO and Chairman of AOL. When Bill Gates and Steve Case eventually met, Gates opened their conversation by saying to

Case, "I can buy 20% of you or I can buy all of you. Or I can go into business myself and bury you" (p. 60).

Case decided not to sell his company, AOL, to Gates. It turned out well. AOL embarked on a period of growth that left the rest of the industry in the dust. AOL mailed a free, start-up CD-ROM to most U.S. households. Over the next decade, AOL spent billions of dollars on its infamous "carpet-bombing" marketing campaign (p. 62). By May 1996, AOL had surpassed 5 million subscribers. Even though AOL's users were paying by the hour to dial in, AOL subscribers grew to 6 million. One of every three in the U.S. surfing the internet did so via AOL's dial-up lines.

In order to stand out from their brethren, ISPs competed on price. At first all ISP users paid by the number of hours used. Subsequently, some ISPs started to charge monthly fees instead, after which time a low monthly fee of $19.95 gave a user unlimited usage hours.

Infamously, on August 7, 1996, starting at 4:00 AM, AOL's services went down for 19 hours. The outage made front-page news and became the butt of jokes on late-night television talk shows (CBS News, 2015). While the internet itself had not crashed, America's ability to access it had. Because many people received computers as gifts for Christmas that year, and given all the free disks AOL had mailed to postal customers, too many new users tried to login at once, causing a massive outage. Jokes made the rounds about "America On-Hold" (McCullough, 2015, p. 67). Over the first few months of 1997, once the busy signals slowly went away, AOL would ultimately survive on the strength of its branding as America's internet gateway because, "It's the brand stupid!" (p. 68). But these crashes would doom AOL. New ISPs, such as cable companies and telephone companies (AT&T), loomed on the horizon.

So how were companies making money off free internet browsers and ISP internet access? The web was designed to be navigated using hotlinks. A click navigated a user to another page. These corporations created a new framework for commerce based on the percentage of people who clicked on a web-based advertisement when presented with an option to do so (total number of impressions). Thus, the formula for click-through rate (CTR) was born:

Click-Through Rate (CTR) = Total Clicks on Ad/Total Impressions

In the modern internet era, a click-through rate of 0.35% to 1.91% is considered blockbuster (wordstream.com, 2019). Statistics are recorded and analyzed on how many times users click on a web page and, hence, on how many times a given advertisement is viewed. Later in this my brief history I address targeted ads.

Amazon.com and the Birth of Internet-Based Commerce

Jeff Bezos was the youngest-ever senior vice president at a Wall Street hedge fund company known as D. E. Shaw, where one of his chief duties was to help launch new business initiatives. But Bezos had a dream to develop an online commerce site (an "Everything Store") where a consumer could buy almost anything he needed. He needed to start small, so he focused on selling books. In an "everything store," books became "pure commodities," meaning a book in one store was identical to the same book carried in another store. Thus, buyers knew ahead of time exactly what they were getting.

In truth, Bezos was looking for any advantage he could leverage. At the time, a company was not required to charge state sales tax unless it had a physical presence in the product buyer's state. This technicality would become the advantage Bezos needed to triumph over brick-and-mortar bookstores.

Amazon.com was founded in the summer of 1994 in Jeff and MacKenzie Scott Bezos' Bellevue, Washington garage. The Amazon domain name was registered on November 1, 1994, and the website launched on July 16, 1995. When Bezos began selling books, he had a problem. Distributors required retailers to order a minimum of 10 books. But, distributors' systems were designed so that a commercial retail buyer was not required to receive 10 books, the commercial retail buyer merely had to order ten books. Bezos' end-user customers generally wanted to order a single copy, so Amazon would order from the distributor the one book needed and then purposefully order nine more copies of a book that the publisher's inventory showed as out of stock. The Amazon team found an obscure book about lichen that was listed in the system, but usually out of stock. They implemented their newfound work-around system, ordering the one book their customer wanted and nine copies of the lichen book. The distributor would send Bezos the one book his customer wanted and then promise to locate and ship the nine lichen books. Amazon would subsequently cancel its order of nine lichen books. Thus, Bezos had found for Amazon a systemic work-around that became a retail advantage.

Amazon's software "remembered" what a customer had ordered previously—and those items almost-ordered before abandoning their cart. So Amazon's servers stored customers' abandoned order information and prompted the returning customer accordingly. This business model and practice represents an attack on consumer privacy in a predatory practice now known as "surveillance capitalism" (Zuboff, 2018).

The turning point for Amazon was when they were featured on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal* on May 16, 1996. Just as Andreessen on the front page of *Time* helped Netscape grow, this high-visibility publicity became a bonanza for Amazon. Amazon was able to fend off big-box retail

bookstore Barnes & Noble who launched their own e-commerce business on May 12, 1997. Significantly, Barnes & Noble locked up an agreement with AOL to become that ISP's exclusive bookseller. Amazon launched its IPO on May 15, 1997, which gained them further media attention. They went out at $14 to $16 per share, but closed the stock's first day of trading at $23.50 per share.

At the time of their IPO, Amazon was recording a 900% growth in revenue, and reported turning over their inventory 150 times a year. Big-box, brick-and-mortar bookstores such as Barnes & Noble turned over inventory only three to four times a year. Amazon banked on the hunch that a physical, retail presence (and its corresponding overhead) was not necessary to attract buyers (McCullough, 2018). Unable to compete against Amazon, some bookstores, such as Borders, filed for bankruptcy and closed all stores. Barnes & Noble, however, remained in business, attempting to compete with Amazon.

So how does an e-commerce retailer get a customer continuously to return—and to purchase again? The answer is by becoming a portal, which operates as an anchor site. Portals can function either as general portals or specialized, niche portals. Initially portals' designers claimed they were only interested in delivering personalized sports scores for favorite teams (McCullough, 2018). Amazon expanded on portals' reporting function, by using software to provide customers with information on books similar to those previously purchased at Amazon. Portal use represents yet another breach of customers' personal privacy, implementing surveillance capitalism to record what customers view or purchase—and remembering it.

Bezos was convinced that Amazon had a chance not only to establish e-commerce as a dominant retail force, but also that the site had the potential to disrupt the entire brick-and-mortar system of retail buying and selling. And Amazon would end up selling more than just books. In the end, Bezos made Amazon an "Everything Store."

Priceline and the Dot-Com Bubble

Priceline.com became a company that exemplified the dot-com era. This is how it worked. Every day, 500,000 airline seats were going unsold. Priceline listed online vacant seats to customers empowered to name the price they were willing to pay for a seat. Once offered, airlines could accept or reject bidders' offers. Consequently, customers bought cheaper seats; airlines sold excess inventory; Priceline got a cut. Everyone won (Nusca, 2017).

Priceline launched in April 1998. By the end of 1999, it was selling more than 1,000 airline seats per day to bidders. Emulating Amazon's "get big, fast" ambition, Priceline expanded into other markets with excess inventory, such as hotel rooms and car rentals. Their plan was to sell excess

inventory by allowing customers to obtain a low-ball price on the travel industry's excess inventory.

By the late 1990s, Amazon was selling books, toys, pet food, and furniture. What was left? Think big! The market for groceries, drugstore merchandise, and prepared meals remained open to e-commerce's expansion. E-tail without the overhead of a brick-and-mortar store was now a reality, and there was nothing but growth ahead. If companies could lock in consumers with low prices, they could raise prices later, once they had cornered and therefore dominated the market.

Consumer sentiment viewed dot-com companies as a fly-by-night, fleeting enterprise. Consumers were happy to take the deals, but did not become loyal customers in the process. Priceline hired actor William Shatner and Pets.com used a sock puppet as spokespeople. Dot coms competed to be first in their particular market in an effort to lock in customer loyalty, just as Amazon had done (McCullough, 2018).

At the end of 1999, *Time* magazine named Jeff Bezos its Person of the Year, an endorsement of Amazon's powerful marketshare and a move that seemed to make dot coms legitimate retail venues. By October 1999, the market cap of the year's traded internet stocks represented a whopping $450 billion: about the size of the Netherlands' gross domestic product. But, unlike brick-and-mortar retail, the total sales of dot-com companies came to only $21 billion. And their profits? Nothing! Instead, they reported collective losses of $6.2 billion.

Pop!: The Nuclear Winter

Around this time Netscape ceased to be an important ISP player since. rather than keeping up with innovation, it had become a lumbering, inefficient, old-style software and services firm. Each new version of Microsoft's Internet Explorer (IE) merely copied features Netscape had pioneered, but because IE was pre-loaded onto PCs with Microsoft-based operating systems, it easily usurped the browser market. Netscape released the source code to its browser, and their source code evolved into Firefox, which won a good share of the market back from IE (McCullough, 2018).

Netscape sued Microsoft for antitrust violation. Hearings were held in the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia. Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson found Microsoft guilty of violating U.S. antitrust laws, recommending Microsoft be broken into two companies: one that developed and sold operating systems and another that developed and sold applications like web browsers. Microsoft appealed the ruling. Eventually, Microsoft agreed to a U.S. Department of Justice settlement that required them to make available Microsoft's APIs code for other companies to use (McCullough, 2018).

AOL took advantage of the market-bubble madness by cannibalizing other dot coms. AOL descended upon the dot-coms and made them offers that they couldn't refuse. But the behemoth AOL had a problem. The days of dial-up modems were numbered. The long-promised dream of broadband (at 30 times 56,000 bits per second) was just around the corner. Cable companies, rather than AOL, were in a better position to deliver customers' desired connectivity speeds. However, AOL had an ace in the hole: its soaring stock. So AOL tried to buy eBay, AT&T, Disney, and Time-Warner. The first three turned Steve Case's AOL down, but a mammoth merger between AOL and Time-Warner was announced to the world on January 14, 2000. AOL purchased Time-Warner for $165 billion. The merger allowed both companies to address weaknesses and intensify strengths. In this moment the Dow Jones Industrial Average peaked at 11,722.98. It would not return to that level for six years.

Several problems loomed large on the horizon. First, the Federal Reserve Bank was about to raise interest rates. Second, dot coms were being created with no realistic chance of turning a profit. The U.S. government dates the start of the subsequent dot -com recession as beginning in March 2001. The deals AOL had with all dot-com companies unwound as the dot coms themselves went belly-up. By 2003, Time-Warner dropped AOL from its company name. Eventually, AOL would cease to exist. Despite the bursting of the dot-com bubble, the trend to conduct retail online rather than in brick-and-mortar stores nevertheless persisted.

"I'm Feeling Lucky": Google, Napster, and the Rebirth

Google is a search engine developed by Larry Page and Sergey Brin. The two met at Stanford University. They were both Montessori kids, so their educations ingrained in their personalities a love of asking questions and being creative. Bill Gates feared that, one day, someone would found a company that would challenge Microsoft's tech industry dominance (McCullough, 2018). With the advent of Google, Gates' fear became a reality.

In 1997, Google made their search engine available, first on Stanford University's internal network, and then to the general public. The word, Google, is a play on the word "googol," which is a 1 followed by 100 zeros (Koller, 2004). When the bubble burst for the dot coms, the only dot-com company still hiring was Google. The dream of the '90s was still alive.

The music-sharing platform Napster was conceived as a means to allow peer-to-peer file-sharing. Many users shared music, and that sharing was done 100% free of charge, because the electronic music tracks did not come from a record store, but from some unknown internet user. Thus, Napster was accused of music pirating. On December 6, 1999, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) filed a lawsuit against Napster. At the time, Napster was less than six months old (McCullough,

2018). Shawn Fanning, the creator of Napster, played up the publicity for all it was worth. He cast himself as:

1. The little guy getting beat up on by greedy corporations
2. The cutting-edge technology that the dinosaurs of old media were threatened by
3. The champion of everyday users who just wanted to consume their music the way they wanted (pp. 201–202)

Fanning was all of the above.

All of this activity brought innovation in file-sharing technology and file-sharing use increased dramatically. Destroying Napster did not make the intellectual-property threat posed by file sharing disappear.

iPods, iTunes, and Netflix

In 2002, Steve Jobs approached executives at five major record companies with a proposal to create an online iTunes store, where individual tracks could be sold for 99 cents per track, but record companies remained wedded to selling complete albums. Apple proposed keeping one-third, and giving record companies two-thirds of every sale. Jobs was well-known and his company was respected, therefore record companies were willing to experiment with Apple which, at the time, was a small company (McCullough, 2018). Ultimately Jobs was successful in getting record companies to sell individual songs rather than entire albums because record companies had become desperate for income.

Apple's iPod proved a technological innovation in music delivery, quickly becoming a smashing success story and radically changing the computing and music industries. The iPod is a portal device used to listen to recorded music. That iTunes crossed operating systems made iPods and iTunes available to Windows users, a development that set Apple on the path to becoming one of the biggest, most powerful, profitable companies in the world. Apple's iTunes Store and iPod hardware became so successful because consumers were delighted to purchase a single song for only 99 cents each, allowing users to create individualized music archives on their iPods.

I next turn your attention to the innovation posed by the advent of Netflix. Giving users precisely what they wanted to view when they wanted to view it was key to Netflix's success as well. Initially, subscribers paid $15.95 a month to rent four (later just three) DVD movies at a time (unlimited). delivered and returned by U.S.P.S. mail. Subscribers enjoyed an almost unlimited selection ordered via an online platform (and another company that stored customer information and preferences). Netflix flourished.

PayPal, AdWords, and Blogs

Until 1999, customers paid for online purchases either by sending a check to the company or providing credit card information via telephone. One of the first internet-based companies to go public after the dot-com bubble burst was PayPal, a company that turned a person's email address into a virtual bank-account-routing number (McCullough, 2018), revolutionizing e-tail.

Google had survived the dot-com crash and many more people were using Google to search for information. With 70 million daily launches, Google was still not turning much of a profit despite its very name transitioning from a company name to a common verb. Google's founders, Brin and Page, explained, "We want to develop services that improve the lives of as many people as possible—to things that matter." rather than bow to the quarterly whims of Wall Street's expectations (p. 234). Late in 2000, Google was in deep financial trouble.

In order to generate income, Google decided to allow product ads to appear on their website, a decision Google's founders set out to avoid. During the dot-com era, online advertisers had paid per viewer, but this shift at Google changed ad-revenue possibilities dramatically. Advertisers paid Google per consumer click; therefore advertisers "paid per performance." Instead of a company spending the most money to rank highly in ad placement, a company's ad now had to be clicked on the most in order to rise up the rankings. Successful advertisers paid for ads that had less clicks (per click), but ranked higher. Over time, Google came to see that more ad revenue came in from a 5-cent ad clicked on twenty-five times than from a dollar ad clicked on only once (McCullough, 2018).

Blogging represented the vanguard of the web as an interactive medium. A new world of content was being created on the web, and the creators were the web users themselves. And there was no editor! Matt Drudge became famous in January 1998 for spreading rumors about Bill Clinton's affair with a White House intern. In another technological revolution, one man's digital soapbox nearly brought down a sitting U.S. President (Shin, 2018).

Web 2.0: Wikipedia and YouTube

The era of Web 1.0 classified webpages as static, viewable only. The Web 2.0 era reclassified web pages as dynamic, meaning users could interact with webpages through such activities as buying merchandise or uploading content. The Web 2.0 era centered the sharing of information between users.

Two examples of Web 2.0-era content are weblogs, later called "blogs," and Flickr. Blogging represented the inevitable migration of publishing into the digital arena. Readers' posted comments received feedback from

other readers. Likewise, digital cameras were becoming popular in the early 2000s. Flickr allowed users to "tag" photos with keywords which enabled other users to search by keyword on this open-access platform.

Ward Cunningham installed a sub-page on the WikiWikiWeb site. "Cunningham's Law" asserted that "the best way to get the right answer on the Internet is not to ask a question, but to post the wrong answer" (McCullough, 2018, p. 246). Someone would most likely respond and correct the error. This was the premise that launched the open-sourced Wikipedia.

YouTube innovated by providing push-button video uploading. On YouTube, users could share a link to their uploaded video. On October 9, 2006, Google announced it would purchase YouTube, paying $1.65 billion in Google stock, and becoming the savior Napster never had. YouTube thrived because:

1. Google had the infrastructure to allow YouTube to scale up
2. Google had the technical sophistication to keep YouTube on the right side of the law
3. Google had the money to contest legal battles
4. Google provided YouTube with a business model that allowed it to thrive (p. 257)

Google was willing to share advertising revenue with the rights holders. Better to take what you could get and embrace new distribution models than fight them like the music industry did with Napster.

The Social Network: Facebook

In 2004, "TheFacebook" was an online directory that linked users into a social network, first at Harvard, and later at other Ivy-League institutions. When Marc Andreessen started Mosaic, he sought help from his fellow students; when Shawn Fanning started Napster, he sought help from his fellow hackers. Mark Zuckerberg turned to his fellow dormmates for help in developing TheFacebook. To them starting a website, or even a web company, was not a crazy notion, but an established industry (McCullough, 2018).

Zuckerberg managed the early growth of TheFacebook by cloning the site and spreading it to other college campuses beyond the Ivy League. TheFacebook constructed a digital social web that directly paralleled students' social reality (McCullough, 2018). One of TheFacebook's first advertisers was MasterCard, a company that was looking for a way to reach the coveted university-student demographic. Sean Parker, who had been involved with founding Napster, urged Zuckerberg to develop long-range goals. During the summer of 2004, the user base for TheFacebook doubled

to 200,000 users. By September 2004, that number doubled again. It turned out "People wanted to know stuff about other people" (p. 281).

TheFacebook dropped the "The," becoming Facebook on September 20, 2005. According to McCullough, "Zuckerberg's great insight was 'Humans are nothing more or less than highly social primates'" (p. 283). By 2006, Facebook had 8 million users; by 2007, Facebook had 50 million users; by 2009, 145 million users; by 2010, there were 350 million users in 180 countries (p. 293).

The Rise of Mobile Cellular Technology

In 1997, Palm created the Palm Pilot, which sold 1 million units in 18 months. It was a pen-based, touch-screen gadget; there was no physical keyboard. In 1999, the Blackberry device was unveiled. Blackberry was the first mobile device that synced reliably with email systems, sending and receiving emails from anywhere the user happened to be. Complete access to the internet instantly became available. Thus, a person would always be connected to information (and to work). Subsequently, electronics manufacturers developed "smart" phones.

The first cellular phone with an integrated GPS was released in 1999. By 2005, there were 3.5 million smartphone owners. As late as 2006, only around 6% of people had the 150 million "smart" phones shipped to North America (p. 302). Today, worldwide, there are 3.3 billion people (43% of the population) who own "smart" phones (Oberlo, 2020).

iPhone Takes on Android

Prior to July 2007, people walked around with a slew of mobile devices that each had a unique function. Among those functions were scheduling appointments, checking email, listening to music, and making and receiving phone calls. All that changed when Steve Jobs decided to design one electronic device that would conduct all these functions. Apple engineers subsequently designed one mobile device that allowed a user to listen to music, check e-mail, and keep a calendar. The drawback was connectivity: Apple was not a telecom carrier, so they had no way of providing phone service. In response, Apple signed a contract with Cingular/AT&T so their newly created device could be used as a telephone. This device would be called the iPhone. On New Year's Day 2007, Apple launched the iPhone with great fanfare at San Francisco's Moscone Center. The first iPhone went on sale June 29, 2007. In essence, it was a computer! With the introduction of the multi-function iPhone, smartphone ownership went from 3% worldwide in 2007 to more than 80% in 2017, a decade later (McCullough, 2018, p. 319). Today the iPhone can be used with various telecom carriers. As Steve Jobs predicted in 1998, reported in BusinessWeek, "A lot of times, people don't know what they want until you show it to them" (p. 303).

Conclusion

But are we better off?

Some people argue we *are* better off given the many conveniences the internet and the tools it uses offer. Humans can now accomplish many tasks and functions on a small, portable device stored in our pocket. We can check on the well-being of our kids or pets. Surveillance cameras capture deliveries being made to our doors. If someone tries to steal our delivery, the camera records the thief.

Others argue we are *not* better off, since humans are now connected 24/7. We are tied to our work! Some employers require employees to be on call around the clock. We no longer get a break from work when we're not physically at the office. And then there's our privacy: "Smile, you are on camera." As we move through the world carrying our small electronic devices, retailers capture, store, and monetize our every movement, from the parking lot into the store and back. Online purchase data are captured, even those items we viewed but did not purchase. Our data is used by those companies capturing it, and is oftentimes sold to other companies. Many of us feel this is a significant invasion of our privacy. After all, what right does a company that we may not have done business with have to our data? Is it not time we stand up for our privacy (Cook, 2019)?

This brief history of the internet would not be complete without a reference to the ethical concerns young people express nowadays about the surveillance practices and surveillance capitalism practices by most tech companies. College graduates who once embraced employment by Facebook or Google now look elsewhere because they disapprove of practices they believe undermine users' liberty and privacy (Goldberg, 2020).

Where will all of this lead us? Given the ways in which technology has changed our lives so rapidly, what will life look like for us in 10 years? … in 20 years? Will there still be brick-and-mortar stores? Will we spend time with friends and family in the flesh or mostly over broadband using our tech devices? Indeed, will people still sit down with one another to share a meal? How might our notions of civil behavior change? And what about ourselves will remain private? Will any entity have access and be able to capture—and monetize—anything they wish to know about us? Maybe we won't carry devices in our pockets anymore; perhaps they will be implanted in our bodies. Maybe we will talk to ourselves—that is, to our devices—much as Joaquin Phoenix did in the movie *Her* (Jonze, 2013). Do you worry about things like that?

I do.

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J. S. Mill's Satisfied Pig: Valuing and Education

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Would you like to swing on a star
Carry moonbeams home in a jar
And be better off than you are
Or would you rather be a pig

A pig is an animal with dirt on his face
His shoes are a terrible disgrace
He's got no manners when he eats his food
He's fat and lazy and extremely rude

But if you don't care a feather or a fig
You may grow up to be a pig,

—from the song "Swinging on a Star"

It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool or the pig think otherwise, that is because they know only their own side of the question. The other party to the comparison knows both sides.

—John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), *Utilitarianism*

Bing Crosby sang "Swinging on a Star" in the 1944 film *Going My Way*. Writer Jimmy Van Heusen conceived the idea for the song after fielding his son's complaints about having to go school the next day. Though my dad did not sing too often, I remember him singing "Swinging on a Star" to me as a pre-school child. To what degree I understood the clever wit or aspirational import is hard to say. I liked the song, the animal references (mules, pigs, and fish) were welcome, and it stuck with me. Years later, when reading the *satisfied pig* passage in Mill's *Utilitarianism*, I was vividly reminded of the song, and felt a bit of affirmation that my work as a philosopher of education, and professor in a university Teacher Education program, if not swinging on a star, is nonetheless a worthwhile pursuit.

Mill uses the passage as a colorful example to introduce, support, and illustrate his argument that some pleasures are of a higher quality than others and are therefore more worthy of our pursuit and enjoyment. This is a noteworthy contribution to utilitarian thought that expands the axiological

palate beyond the primarily quantitative measure of value proposed by Mill's philosophical predecessor and occasional mentor, Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). I will examine Mill's arguments for the higher pleasures, consider the experiment he recommends for testing competing values, and note some attractive elements that comprise his conception of the higher pleasures. I will then highlight Chris Higgins' *The Good Life of Teaching* and consider his case that the practice of teaching is a site for ethical self-development and a means to generate human flourishing.

The film *Educating Rita* raises the metaphoric question of whether education (particularly higher education) is a better song to sing. I will consider this question, and I will conclude with some examples from my own educational journey to propose that Mill's robust conception of the higher pleasures is a humane, realistic, and aspirational vision for life that can be meaningfully pursued through education and in teaching. To lay the groundwork I will provide a clarification of some foundational axiological terminology related to Mill's utilitarianism, and take a brief look at Mill's remarkable education and his transformative recovery from a mental crisis, with healing brought forth by his discovery of the art, poetry, and emotion that were lacking in the education scripted and executed by his father, James Mill.

Utilitarianism

Background and Utility

Mill claims to have been the first to apply the term *utilitarianism* to the ethical theory developed by Bentham, and Mill continued to adopt, apply, and defend Utility, as defined by Bentham's Greatest Happiness Principle, as the sole test of right and wrong, and as the foundation of morals. The Principle holds that "actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure." British philosopher John Gray notes, however, "For all his referenes to pleasure and the absence of pain, Mill never endorsed the primitive view that pleasure is a sort of sensation that accompanies our actions." Mill was, it appears, giving verbal fidelity to Bentham's Principle and, at the same time, broadening the concept of pleasure.

Consequentialist Ethics

Utilitarianism is a consequentialist ethical theory that bases its determination of good and bad, right and wrong, on the consequences and outcomes of our actions. Consequentalist theories are typically contrasted with non-consequentialist or deontological theories. Mill distinguishes these two theoretical perspectives by noting that for one (the exemplar being Kantian ethics) the "principles of morals are evident *a priori*," and for the

other, determinations of right and wrong involve "questions of observation and experience." American pragmatism, which draws considerably from utilitarianism, is also a consequentialist theory. William James, one of the founders of pragmatism, likened its consequentialist orientation to the biblical parable of the tree. A tree is evaluated by the fruit it bears.

Instrumental and Intrinsic Value

Another axiological distinction is between instrumental and intrinsic value. Something is instrumentally valuable because it serves as a means to an end. Consider, for example, tools. A screwdriver is valuable to the degree it helps us insert a screw, a hammer for pounding nails, and a saw for cutting boards. On the other hand, something is intrinsically valuable if it is valuable "in and of itself," regardless of instrumental considerations. Claims that something has intrinsic value have aroused the tongue-in-cheek philosophical question, "Oh yeah? …and what is it intrinsically valuable for?" While debate persists about intrinsic value, I tend to side with the utilitarian position that the best candidate for intrinsic value is happiness and pleasure. The question "what do you want happiness and pleasure for?" is a non-starter. One of Mill's important contributions to our understanding of happiness and pleasure is his argument, illustrated in the *satisfied pig* passage, that not all pleasures are equal. Some pleasures and the quest for them are of a higher quality.

Mill explains the epistemological dimensions of the means-to-ends axiology by clarifying the application of the word *proof*. For example, a "medical art is proved to be good, by its conducing to health," and music is proved to be good because it produces pleasure. Proving the value of pleasure (an end), is a diffent story though, and Mill acknowledges that we do not have the means to make this determination. At the same time, Mill claims that the adoption of the utilitarian formula is not an arbitrary, purely intuitive, or impulsive choice, but is a rationally defensible position when presented clearly and accurately. "Considerations may be presented capable of determining the intellect either to give or withhold its assent to the doctrine; and this is equivalent to proof." He goes on to refer to utilitarianism as a "theory of life" on which the "theory of morality is grounded," "and that all desirable things (which are as numerous in the utilitarian as in any other scheme) are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves, or as means to the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain."

Calculate Every Line of Conduct?

Mill clarifies several misunderstandings of the theory and refutes numerous criticisms; perhaps none more forcibly than the charge that there "is not time, previous to action, for calculating and weighing the effects of any line of conduct on the general happiness." Mill responds that "there has been ample time, namely, the whole past duration of the human

species. During all that time mankind have been learning by experience the tendencies of actions; on which experience all the prudence, as well as all the morality of life, is dependent." Our experience is collective and cumulative, providing a deep reservoir from which we draw secondary moral principles, figurative roadmaps, cautionary and laudatory examples, and prudential guidelines for our conduct. Moreover, Mill insists that the principle of utility has a progressive dimension and an ameliorative impulse. "The corollaries from the principle of utility, like the precepts of every practical art, admit of indefinite improvement, and, in a progressive state of the human mind, their improvement is perpetually going on."

Mill's Life, Education, and Mental Crisis

To aid our understanding of the *satisfied pig* passage, a little more background on the formative events of Mill's life is in order. In *Courting the Abyss*, his book on free speech, John Durham Peters introduces Mill by recognizing the historically receptive U.S. audience for his philosophical explanations of liberal democracy, and then by listing the remarkably varied and wide-ranging scope of his achievements:

> During his life he was a public intellectual, philosophical radical, utilitarian, member of Parliament, Romantic manqué, socialist, feminist, imperial administrator, comparative historian of Greece, Rome, and France, and codifier of research methods in social science; and his multifaceted influence still stamps Anglo-American political institutions and their many imitators.

Mill's Education

Mill was a precocious child who was the recipient of a rigorous and highly structured education designed and implemented by his father, James Mill. By the age of three, Mill was reading Greek, and Latin by age eight. His education included history, mathematics, physics, and astronomy, and at age twelve he began a serious study of logic and economics. In a spirit of humility, and with a generous acknowledgement of the power of his father's educational scheme, Mill maintains that he was "below rather than above par" in regard to natural intellectual gifts, and that any child would have reached these intellectual achievements under such pedagogical conditions.

His rigorous education was also marked by a cold efficiency and a neglect of the social, emotional, and nurturing dimensions that are crucial for children's development. The young Mill was restricted in his interactions with other children and, in the *Autobigraphy*, Mill describes his father's blunted affect: "For passionate emotions of all sorts, and for everything which has been said or written in exaltation of them, he professed the greatest contempt. He regarded them as a form of madness." As a young adult, due in no small part to the demanding strictures of his upbringing, Mill was stricken with a deep and lengthy bout of depression, which he recounts in a chapter entitled "A Crisis in my Mental History."

Mill credits reading the poems of Wordsworth with lifting him from his depression.

> What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind, was that they expressed, not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling, and of thought coloured by feeling, under the excitement of beauty. They seemed to be the very culture of the feelings, which I was in quest of. In them I seemed to draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared in by all human beings."

These were the seeds for Mill's expanded view of happiness (in quality) that took utilitarianism beyond the strictly quantitative conception of pleasure proposed by Jeremy Bentham, whose hedonistic calculus featured seven quantitative criteria including *intensity* and *duration*. This notion of a pleasure calculus led to Bentham's infamous statement: "The quantity of pleasure being equal, push-pin is as good as poetry," and incited critics to charge utilitarianism (as they had charged Epicureanism, before) with being a philosophy worthy of swine.

Mill's Account of the Higher Pleasures

Against these criticisms, Mill offers an expanded version of happiness with an account of these higher pleasures that includes several attractive features that warrant a place in our pedagogical philosophy and practice.

Reason and Emotions, Mind and Body

Mill presents a broad array of intellectual pleasures that includes moral, affective, and aesthetic sensitivities, and he largely avoids pitting the intellect against the body. Poetry and art aroused the emotions that brought Mill out of his mental crisis, and the importance of nurturing the affective dimension of our lives is a thread that runs through *Utilitarianism* and much of Mill's work. He writes, "The cultivation of the feelings became one of the cardinal points in my ethical and philosophical creed." This is similar to what Israel Scheffler would later call "the cognitive emotions," integrating the cognitive and the affective. Mill was, among his many talents, a master synthesizer, most notably with his work at merging Enlightenment and Romantic perspectives. One commentator characterizes Mill's drive for integrating varying perspectives as the "pursuit of wholeness by means of practical eclecticism."

The axiological tension between pleasures of the body and pleasures of the intellect is not lost on Mill, and he acknowledges the somewhat-awkward perceptual effects created by whether the word happiness or pleasure is used in formulating and expressing the principles of utilitarianism. He favorably—and likely with some amusement—cites an "able writer's" quip that utilitarianism is "impracticably dry when the word utility precedes the word pleasure, and as too practicaly voluptuous when the word pleasure precedes the word utility."

In his historical survey of axiological theories, Mill contends that some theories which give precedence and privilege to intellectual pleasures grossly underestimate and fail to acknowledge the role that bodily pleasures actually play in their doctrines. Conversely, he chides the critics of hedonism for their failure to recognize that even the "worthy of swine" philosophy of the Epicureans gives place to the pleasures of the mind. Moreover, Mill envisions these higher pleasures of the mind as the means to improve health and to fight sickness and disease. I liken Mill's approach to what we call *holistic* education. In my Foundations of Education classes I use the youth organization 4H (head, heart, hands, and health) as an introductory illustration of an integrated, holistic approach to education and to life.

Autonomy, Liberty, and an Ameliorative Impulse

Happiness is not a state of mind, it is an active form of life. According to John Gray, Mill's account of happiness is hierarchial and the higher pleasures are pluralistic, that is, available to an indeterminate number of people in an inexaustable range of possible activities. Utilitarianism does not prescribe the particular activity, and while the forms of activity vary from person to person, the higher pleasures "have a common feature of being available for those who have developed the distinctive human capacity for autonomous thought and action." Gray recognizes that autonomy is not a concept used by Mill, and he acknowledges hesitance to make an impositional retrofit to Mill's theory. Though not derived from Mill's writing, there is a strong corresponce between the concept of autonomy and Mill's ideas. "What more is involved in autonomy, however, than choice-making and an imaginative awareness of alternative forms of life-activity?" Gray concludes that "we are on firm ground if we include an ideal of personal autonomy among Mill's most fundamental commitments."

The exercise of autonomy does not cause happiness, nor does it necessarily lead to happiness. It is, in Gray's view, a necessary condition for happiness. Autonomy requires social and political conditions of security and freedom from interference that would thwart or preclude us from exercising it. Mill's Principle of Liberty is intended to guide the establishment of these conditions. The principles of liberty do not cause the deliberative exercise of autonomy; they secure and protect the conditions that make autonomy possible. And those who engage fully in autonomous thought and action are those most likely to preserve and extend the conditions that secure liberty.

The Test of Pleasure

To test which is the "best worth having of two pleasures, or which of two modes of existence is most grateful to the feelings," Mill answers that pleasure or state of existence to which all—or almost all—who have experienced both give a decided preference: metaphorically, "the general suffarage of those who are qualified." Mill elaborates,

> …the way of life that employs the higher faculties is strongly preferred to the way of life that caters only to the lower ones by people who are equally acquainted with both and equally capable of appreciating and enjoying both. Few human creatures would agree to be changed into any of the lower animals in return for a promise of the fullest allowance of animal pleasures.

No intelligent human being would consent to be an ignoramous. No person of sensitivity and conscience would rather be a selfish brute. And no person who has experienced freedom would prefer slavery or forced servitude. These are stark and disparate options, and more subtle discriminations of competing values are not handled so easily.

John Gray presents a credible argument that Mill's test was not intended as a serious test to weigh the merits of differing preferences, (e.g., beer-drinking vs. wine-imbibing for those experienced at drinking both) but is instead used to make the larger point that he is "committed to the view that a preference for activities involving the exercise of autonomous thought and of capacities of imagination and discrimination will dominate the lives of experienced judges."

Chris Higgins' The Good Life of Teaching

The question "what good is teaching for the teacher?" is posed by Chris Higgins in "Teaching and the Good Life: A Critique of the Ascetic Ideal." He explores this question further in *The Good Life of Teaching*. This question, Higgins notes, is too-seldom asked. Rather, questions of educational policy and practice are typically framed in terms of "what good is this for the students?" What this prevalent framing misses, Higgins argues, is that students are served best by teachers who first take care of themselves and by doing so are then better able to educate and inspire. Making this point flies in the face of what Higgins calls "education's nagging asceticism," that is, the belief that teaching is a sacrificial endeavor and all is to be given *in the name of the students*. Higgins notes numerous examples of how this disposition is reinforced by advertising slogans, portrayals of teachers in popular films, and the sometimes-implicit cultural expectations and perceived demands that can, over time, take their toll and sap teachers of their vitality.

Non-stop giving and neglect of the self is not sustainable, and leads to exhaustion, burnout, or leaving teaching. In some cases, those embracing the ascetic ideal descend to a form of sadistic "burn-in." Fresh out of the university, new teachers are often infused with a noble altruism, accompanied by an unfounded and unrealistic (though understandable and, in some ways, admirable) zeal to change the world. They may perceive their initial fatigue from hard work, long hours, and lack of self-care as confirmation that they are doing their jobs, sacrificing their lives for the good of their students. These teachers (spent, but still employed) will, in some cases, *turn* on their ungrateful students for not recognizing and

appreciating the selfless sacrifice that was done *for them*. Interestingly, in discussing *instrumental value*, Mill makes the point that "the practice of sacrifice is not in itself good, but only good to the degree it promotes the happiness of others." The severe altruism of the ascetic ideal is not effective for promoting the happiness of others in the long run.

To this point, Higgins has taken on the project of developing a normative framework he calls *ethical professionalism*. Building on Bernard Williams' distinction between ethics and morality, Higgins distinguishes his framework from moral professionalism, a common approach to ethics in teacher education, which features codes of ethics, case studies, and moral dilemmas operating in a rather limited range of discrete contexts that have been identified as requiring ethical decisions. Following the aretaic orientation of virtue ethics, Higgins proposes that professional ethics expand the normative scope of teaching from the question "what should we do?" in select instances, to the broader question of "how can we live excellent lives?" Drawing from Dewey's insights on vocation and craft, and Alasdaire MacIntyre's work on those activities he calls "practices," Higgins argues that the practice of teaching is the generative site for self-development and for "integrating distinctive modes of perception and valuation into one perspective." "Practices do not sit at the endpoint of ethical reflection, passively awaiting ethical understanding to guide them, but are themselves formative of ethical understanding." Between the extremes of base self-interest and severe altruism lies fertile ground for flourishing—the practice of teaching.

Is Education a Better Song to Sing?

Mill's idea of "those who have experienced both," reminds me of the phrase I often heard from my doctoral advisor: *a consensus of the learned*. It is a great phrase, and it was typically coupled with my advisor's favorite axiological/epistemological dictum: *While equally reasonable and informed people may disagree on matters of judgment, that does not mean that all value judgments are equally reasonable*. The dictum is a hedge against relativism, a nudge toward epistemic humility, and a claim that some judgments can be reasonably demonstrated to be better than others. Might it be the case that some life pursuits, e.g. higher education, are better than others?

This question is raised in the 1983 film *Educating Rita*. Julie Walters plays Rita, a 27-year-old British working-class hairdresser. Her husband Denny is an electrician whose life is highlighted by habiting the local pub with family and friends. Rita is surreptitiously taking birth control pills and feigns wonderment at his incessant query "when are we having a baby?" Through an advertisement on the television, Rita decides to enroll in an Open University program, and convinces the alcoholic, burn-out, hasn't-written-in-a-long-time poet, Dr. Bryant (played by Michael Caine), to be her teacher. Rita falls under the spell of the study of literature, and is consumed by the desire to know all those things that "you educated people know" that are hidden from the working classes.

In a dramatic scene, Rita storms Dr. Bryant's home on a rainy night to declare her commitment to pursue an education was irrevocable, her resolve being stiffened by an experience at the pub, with Denny and their extended families. The group was singing along to some inane ditty on the juke box, "I'm so happy that you're so happy…" and Rita is struck with the realization that "there must be a better song to sing." Education she concludes, is a better song. She has tasted its fruits. She cannot go back, and she will not settle for anything less.

Claims of "better" beg the question, "compared to what?" While agreeing that a solid education makes our lives better, I will forgo further comparative evaluations. I prefer to think of teaching as a meaningful and worthwhile way of *life* that is guided by and engaged with those activities identified by Mill as *higher pleasures*.

Initiation to the Higher Pleasures and My Educational Journey

How do we introduce our students to the finer things in life, the higher pleasures, if you will, in a way that is attractive and evokes interest? How do we stoke and nurture the work and time that is necessary for students to refine their abilities and to deepen their understanding, to enjoy and to appreciate, and to make the most of the many beautiful things life has to offer? How do we foster the understanding that we are all struggling human beings who fall short at times and continue to do our best to live a life of progressive improvement; striving for excellence, not perfection? As we know, these questions and responsibilities are not solely reserved for professional educators. I have been blessed to have many such people in my life, and I find that reflecting about those who contributed to my initiation into the higher pleasures renews my understanding of what attracted me to the arts and humanities, and helps me to conjure ideas of how I might channel the spirit of valuing to my students.

Aunt Linda

My aunt Linda (actually a second cousin who was about ten years older than my brother and me) was our favorite babysitter. She was an artist and brought us sketchbooks and art supplies. We would work on all kinds of creative projects: making puppets and putting on shows, drawing sillouette busts, making stryrofoam snowpeople and Christmas figures, and collectively drawing a picture of something/anything from random squiggles. She played guitar and sang, turning us on to the songs of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and Peter, Paul, and Mary. It was an intoxicating introduction to art, music, and creating.

Mr. Rader

Mr. Rader was my fifth- and sixth-grade teacher. He taught our class for two years running. We had gym class every day: boys and girls basketball teams and coed volleyball. We got to make the bulletin boards, and he took

small groups—on a rotating basis—on weekend field trips to museums, the Columbus public library, skating, bowling, and to movies. He would play albums in class: The Beatles, Bread, Marvin Gaye, Junior Walker and the All Stars, Jesus Christ Superstar, and Issac Hayes' Shaft, which was the rage at the time—**right on!** He would let us borrow albums on weekends.

For a sixth-grade project, our class brainstormed and planned a schoolwide community carnival that we held in the Moler Elementary school gymnasium (in all its tile-floored glory). We did it all ourselves, with some good help from Mr. Rader, third-grade teacher Mrs. Haslip, and several room mothers. We made and sold popcorn, Kool-Aid, and arts and crafts (including mosaic ashtrays—it was a different time). We took turns operating games (ring toss, free-throw shooting, and behind-the-veil fishing). We made over $300! After deliberation, we voted unanimously to put the money toward a class camping trip. With a little investigation in the phone book and a couple calls, we arranged a weekend stay in two cabins at Y-Park on the southside of town. We learned by doing. As the magazine *Highlights for Children* slogan proclaims, it was "fun with a purpose."

Mr. Krider

Mr. Krider was my eighth-grade history teacher at Southmoor Jr. High. In a unit on the American labor movement he staged a mock exam accompanied by all the distractions and annoyances he could muster. In response, the students "unionized" and hammered out a contract that established fair conditions for the administration of tests. This was not some uninformed, spontaneous revolt. Rather, as was the custom with each new unit, we spent the prior week in the library researching, defining, and learning the foundational vocabulary of the labor movement: collective bargaining, unions, open shop and closed shop, strikes, scabs, Samuel Gompers, John L. Lewis, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In retrospect, I realize Mr. Krider understood that the exercise of creative, critical thinking depends on a rudimentary understanding of something to think about and to think with. To connect the dots (higher-order thinking) you first need some dots (concepts, facts, names, dates, places) to connect. That summer, prompted by our history lessons and assured by Mr. Krider's endorsement, I checked out Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* from the Columbus Public Library. The characters and stories continue to inform and animate my thoughts, feelings, and actions on social and economic justice.

Mr. Shalinske

My high school English teacher, Mr. Shalinske, was my favorite. Every grading period we would do individual writing projects and in-class

presentations on artists, poets, composers, writers, or books. We would each choose our topic and announce it in class. Mr. Shalinske would choose topics for those who did not have one. I always let him pick my topic, because I knew he would have something new and interesting that I was not familiar with: Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*, Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*, the poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the art of Salvador Dali.

For one unit, the class read and discussed B. F. Skinner's *Walden Two*. A few years later, taking Psychology 100 in my first year at The Ohio State University, I was clued in when our TA, David Goldstein, told us that B. F. Skinner would be coming to campus. This was big, seeing B. F. Skinner in person. I remember his topic: the lag time between scientific discoveries and their widespread adoption by society. Not content with the thorough permeation (some might say *rampant infestation*) of behaviorist practices in schooling, Skinner still had an axe to grind. I have a hunch that Mill would have delighted in skewering Skinner. He may have modified the *satisfied pig* passage to "I'd rather be Socrates dissatisfied than a pigeon satisfied." Before presenting this paper, I searched in vain for a picture of a smiling pigeon. Later, I asked a colleague (an ornithologist), if birds smile. "No," he answered with a smile. "Why do you ask?"

Aunt Betty and Uncle Jim

Aunt Betty and uncle Jim were my second mom and dad. James Joseph Rush married my mom's sister, Betty, in 1965, after a torrid two-week romance. It was the second marriage for both. My mom was shocked, and not without cause. Uncle Jim was quite a colorful character who was a bit rough around the edges. Mom predicted the marriage would last six months. In 2015, we celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. Jim had an extremely hard and tumultuous life growing up on the southside of Columbus, Ohio, and dropped out prior to high school. He did a ten-year stint in the navy and saw many parts of the world. While onboard ship, he found the Lord (or, as he would say, the Lord found him), and became a Christian. When he married Aunt Betty, Jim was in the process of solidifying his Christian walk, which he did in rather quick order. An image that stands out in my mind was all the tatoos on Uncle Jim's arms, which included several naked women. This made quite an impression. Uncle Jim eventually addressed the problem by having clothes tattooed on the women.

They both had an incredible passion for excellence, style, and grace in all they did. Their lives were infused with generosity and prudence, curiosity and interest, and helping others. Uncle Jim had a successful career as a heating-and-air-conditioning service man. Over the years, we had many conversations about theology, philosophy, and life. We did not always agree. A couple years back, to market our university's online graduate programs, faculty created profiles using questions such as "what is the best advice

you've been given?" I cited Uncle Jim, who often told me: "Bill, get what you can, and can what you get." To pair this with the higher pleasures, I will paraphrase one of Uncle Jim's favorite Bible verses: Knowledge, wisdom, and understanding are the rewarders of those who diligently seek them.

Satisfaction and The Rolling Stones

I had the pleasure of seeing The Rolling Stones in Jacksonville in July, 2019. It was my fifth time seeing the Stones, the first time being in Cleveland in 1978 on the *Some Girls* tour. I have been a big Stones fan for a long time. "It's only rock and roll, but I like it." And, for what it is worth, an appreciation and enjoyment of the Stones' work is, in my opinion, a higher pleasure. Given the topic, I must make mention of the Stones' classic record *(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction*. In the film *Gimme Shelter*, a documentary of the Stones' 1969 U.S. tour, Mick Jagger was asked if he was now satisfied. Jagger responded, "Economically satisfied. Sexually satisfied. Philosophically, trying." Mill would have loved that answer. Happiness, he wrote, is not a continuous state of highly pleasurable excitement, nor is it a life of rapture. Rather, happiness is a "life containing some moments of rapture, a few brief pains, and many and various pleasures, with a decided predominance of the active over the passive, and having as the foundation, not to expect more from life than it is capable of providing." Amen. Remember, "You can't always get what you want. But sometimes, you just might find, you get what you need."

Some Concluding Thoughts

Mill's thought experiment is a generative source to deepen our understanding of life and to heighten our understanding of teaching as part of the human experience. I would like to add one last item of clarification. Formal schooling and higher education are not the sole means to access and enjoy the higher pleasures. As the examples from my educational journey illustrate, some of my formative influences were individuals of sophistication and taste who lacked significant educational pedigree. At the same time, perhaps we know of those who have reached a high degree of formal educational attainment and still manifest the brutish and obtuse nature of Mill's metaphorical pig.

As Foundations of Education scholars and faculty, most of us work as teachers preparing teachers. Mill's lessons comport well with Higgins' reimagining of teaching as a site to develop our conceptions and realizations of the good life, to expand the realm of the ethical, and to refine our abilities to value wisely. Teaching is a line of work where we can bring to bear all our knowledge, skills, and experiences in creative and imaginative ways that enrich our lives and thereby contribute to the common good. I recently read a statement from Clemson University head football coach Dabo Swinney that captures a *practice of mind* I have been working on for

some time now: "How you do anything, is how you do everything." Indeed. In his axiological primer *The Theory of Valuation*, Dewey includes a relevant and surprisingly stirring passage about (oddly enough) *means and ends*:

> In empirical fact, the measure of the value a person attaches to a given end is not what he says about its preciousness but the care he devotes to obtaining and using the means without which it cannot be attained. No case of notable achievement can be cited in any field (save as a matter of sheer accident) in which the persons who brought about the end did not give loving care to the instruments and agencies of its production.

Let thoughtful care and attention to detail guide us as we work to improve our practice, as we hone our craft, and as we enjoy those gracious moments of pedagogical bliss when our art is perfected.

Endnotes

1 Jimmy Van Heusen and Johnny Burke, "Swinging on a Star," performed by Bing Crosby with Williams Brothers Quartet and John Scott Trotter and His Orchestra, from the Paramount Picture *Going My Way*, Decca Records, L 3309, 1944, LP.

2 John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism* (1836) ([place of publication not identified]: Compass Circle, 2019), 15.

3 "Swinging on a Star," *Wikipedia*, last modified 30 December 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swinging_on_a_Star

4 John Stuart Mill, "Bentham," in *Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. Jack Stillinger (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 213–256.

5 Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 103, note 1.

6 Ibid., 10–11.

7 John Gray, "Mill's Conception of Happiness and the Theory of Individuality," in *J. S. Mill on Liberty in Focus*, ed. John Gray and G. W. Smith (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), 191.

8 Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 4.

9 James claims that pragmatism involves an attitude or orientation: "The attitude of looking away from first things, principles,'categories,' supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts" (italics in original). William James, *Pragmatism* (1907) (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 27.

10 Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 6.

11 Ibid., 6–7.

[12] Ibid., 11.

[13] Ibid., 36.

[14] Ibid., 37.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Mill, *Autobiography*, 5–7. For frame of reference, *On Liberty* was published in 1859, and the *Autobiography* was published posthumously in 1873.

[17] Ibid., 20.

[18] Ibid., 31.

[19] Ibid., 80.

[20] Ibid., 89.

[21] James E. Crimmins, "Jeremy Bentham," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2019 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bentham/

[22] "Introduction" to Mill, *Autobiography*, xiv.

[23] Israel Scheffler, *In Praise of the Cognitive Emotions* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991).

[24] "Introduction" to Mill, *Autobiography*, xvi.

[25] Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 9.

[26] Ibid., 9–12.

[27] Gray, "Mill's Conception," 192.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 199.

[30] "The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection." Mill, *J. S. Mill On Liberty in Focus*, 30.

[31] Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 17.

[32] Ibid., 13–14.

[33] Gray, *On Liberty*, 216.

[34] Chris Higgins, "Teaching and the Good Life: A Critique of the Ascetic Ideal in Education," *Educational Theory* 53, no. 2 (2005): 131–154.

[35] Chris Higgins, *The Good Life of Teaching: An Ethics of Professional Practice*

(Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

[36] Higgins, "Teaching and the Good Life," 131.

[37] Ibid., 146–148.

[38] Ibid., 149–152.

[39] Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 26.

[40] Higgins, *The Good Life of Teaching*, 51.

[41] Ibid., 47.

[42] *Educating Rita*, directed by Lewis Gilbert (Acorn Pictures, 1983).

[43] Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, "It's Only Rock 'N' Roll (But I Like It)," performed by The Rolling Stones, *It's Only Rock 'N' Roll*, Rolling Stones Records, COC 59103, 1974, LP.

[44] *Gimme Shelter*, directed by Albert Maysles, David Maysles, and Charlotte Zwerin (Maysles Films, 1970).

[45] Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 20.

[46] Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, "You Can't Always Get What You Want," performed by The Rolling Stones, *Let It Bleed*, Decca Records, LK 5025, 1969, LP.

[47] Thank you to a reviewer of this manuscript for bringing this to my attention.

[48] Bruce Schoenfeld, "How Dabo Swinney Turned Clemson Into a Football Juggernaut," *The New York Times*, January 10, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/sports/dabo-swinney-clemson-cfp.html

[49] John Dewey, *Theory of Valuation* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), 27.

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"Shaking the Rattle": Alternative Certification, De-Professionalization of Teaching, and the Danger of Submitting to the Neo-Liberal Vision of Schooling

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A "Trigger Warning"

That title is a mouthful, right? Its origins were shorter, pithier, and thus a bit misleading for the reader. This essay started as a more subtle critique of U.S. capitalism and how it crushes teachers as part of the social reproduction machine, and became, well, a lot less subtle after revisions and feedback from engaged and thoughtful reviewers. "Shaking the rattle," as I will soon outline, is a great analogy from an important educator who was also a Socialist. This paper is ostensibly about the current trend of alternative certification and how it fits into the broader story of teaching's decline as a profession, but, moreover, it is about how teaching, and thus teachers, are in an extraordinarily difficult spot as they attempt to embody the ideals of education uplifting mind and soul. Paradoxically, schools largely divide the winners from the losers in the U.S., all for the good of "the economy." And so, I begin with something of a trigger warning: this article presents the plight of the teacher's position in terms of economic disparities and social structuralism, with a healthy dash of socialism and anti-capitalism. In other words, I am about to get political.

The U.S. is a nation in crisis, on several fronts, to the point that even stating it is becoming cliché in 2020…and that is to say nothing of 2021. But for the purpose of this essay it needs to be said: in the U.S. the inherent problem facing the teaching profession is intricately tied with a push for an economic and social status quo. This status quo is perhaps reaching a breaking point and, like many aspects of U.S. society, education is caught in the turmoil. Teaching in the recent past has become an embattled profession, as made apparent by large-scale teacher protests across the country in 2018 as well as in current debates over school operations in light of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. The U.S. public tends generally to give teachers and schools ample lip service, proclaiming the importance of educating the next generation and providing opportunity to vulnerable populations, all while typically underfunding schools and remaining apathetic toward

low teacher pay. However, teaching has always been a profession with a fraught status, one that began more as a temporary occupation instead of a profession. When teaching did become more professionalized by the end of the 19th century, large and small actions immediately went into effect to de-professionalize the field, culminating in present-day educational dilemmas. I argue here that alternative certification is the latest large-scale movement to deprofessionalize and delegitimize teachers as a highly skilled, specialized vocation. On the surface, alternative certification, or short-tracking the educational path a person must take to qualify for teaching licensure, exists because of teacher shortages across the U.S. In reality, alternative certification is another tool used for the neo-liberal restructuring of U.S. schooling, meant to provide a cheap, expendable, inexhaustible supply of labor to save educational costs so communities can comfortably continue to underfund public education.

George Counts' Socialist Educational Framework

In a series of three addresses given in 1932, later turned into the classic *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, beloved educator and open Socialist George Counts outlined his concerns over progressive education's flaws. Counts argues the progressive movement in school reform results from the U.S.' general faith in progress and public education, yet efforts in schools he characterizes as largely unfocused and lack what he calls a "theory of social welfare." For Counts, schools and teachers, even progressive ones, spend more time and energy on the methodology of instruction rather than its ends. Although the purpose of public education is to lift up the disenfranchised and provide opportunity for those not born into privileged circumstances, something vital in education has been lost. In perhaps the coldest observation ever made about U.S. education, Counts states:

> …like a baby shaking a rattle, we seem utterly content with action, provided it is sufficiently vigorous and noisy. In the last analysis a very large part of American educational thought, inquiry, and experimentation is much ado about nothing.

This is one of Counts' most well-known lines, popular for being pithy and bitingly funny. His analogy works so well because it damningly elucidates the often-empty and meaningless activities often associated with U.S. public schooling, for right or wrong. But, I argue, a mere sentence away is his more-important observation from almost one hundred years ago:

> …our consecration to motion is encouraged and supported in order to keep us out of mischief. At least we know that so long as we thus busy ourselves we shall not incur the serious displeasure of our social elders.

This sentence does not get quoted nearly as often, but herein is where the real issue with U.S. public education lies. The "us" in Counts' quotation

represents teachers, the "social elders" are the elites—the social managers, the "man," or whatever label tends to denote those in power who have a vested interest in the social status quo and economic well-being of those in power or those associated with power. For Counts, the danger of staying busy while lacking utterly a focus on the common good is that schools and teachers either actively or inadvertently maintain the status quo. Counts, brandishing the now-dreaded label of Socialism, was deeply concerned that education served, by design, as part of the social reproduction machine. Such a public education shifts markedly away from the goal of uplifting children, becoming instead a support for powerful business interests and the oppressive wealth of relatively few. Counts was right, as has been theorized and evidenced by myriad scholars.

While U.S. public schooling inarguably has made strides in improving educational opportunity for many children between 1932 and 2020, in a Countian sense progress based on the promise of public education remains far from complete. The U.S. public generally agrees that our current educational system faces multiple, severe challenges, including overcrowding, underfunding, and the starkly inequitable distribution of resources, hence unequal educational opportunity. Some of these issues are so large as to be out of immediate or individual control, requiring herculean effort and resources at state and national levels, and demanding a restructuring of school funding formulas and governance. For teachers, teacher educators, and administrators the scope of change required becomes all-too-easy to set aside: to throw up one's hands and declare that no individual can make a difference or possibly do enough. Many of us in education want radically to improve the system, often working at classroom, school, and even district levels. At the same time, in some ways, we as educators and as school advocates can either purposefully or inadvertently harm our own cherished system.

The Problem

A growing problem in U.S. education—on top of dramatic health, economic, racial, and class disparity—is arguably of our own making: likely created with good intentions, but which exacerbates the already-feeble rattle-shaking taking place. The problem is alternative certification: a program, approach, even mindset, that brings in more people to teach in classrooms, particularly in areas of high need, but which ultimately delegitimizes the teaching profession.

Dramatic proliferation of U.S. alternative certification programs means school districts, state boards, and even universities are moving away from the university-based, traditional model for preparing teachers, and widespreadly implementing programs with potentially disastrous consequences for teacher quality and professionalism. In such a model, interested adults with a bachelor's degree are encouraged to take part in

a short combination of online courses, on-site training, and test-taking to prepare to be licensed in a given state or district. Teacher preparation programs and educational researchers tend to oppose alternative certification, while school administrators and state legislators tend to favor it. At present, the fight over alternative certification is practically over, with the university-based teacher education programs occupying the losing side.

However, this concern over gatekeeping, protecting the profession, and providing quality teachers is as old as teaching and teacher training. In the U.S., there has been a tension between educating teachers and filling classrooms from the time of normal schools to today. In an effort to address teacher shortages and to prepare "highly qualified" teachers, at least in the post-NCLB sense of the term, legislators and schools alike vigorously embrace alternative teacher education programs and pathways that, I argue, undermine the profession itself. To push Counts' analogy further, not only are we are shaking the rattle, we are perhaps even hitting ourselves with it.

How Did We Get Here? The Early Days

In the U.S., teaching had a fraught occupational status before it was even truly a profession. Initially, teaching was a temporary position for young, educated men before attending a university for loftier occupational pursuits; eventually teaching became an occupation for young, educated women before leaving the profession to get married and start a family. Teacher pay was low, teachers boarded with families, sometimes at the school itself, and did not stay in the job for particularly long. This reasoning has long been taught as the beginnings of U.S. formal education, sometimes giving the impression that these were simpler times; they were not. Teaching became more professionalized as part of the Common School Movement and the work of reformers to standardize curricula and classroom practices. A large piece of this movement came from the need to train teachers for the work, and thus the rise of the normal schools and teaching colleges. This change meant teachers-to-be attended a regimented training program, gaining credentials and practical experience. The teaching profession, then, in the mid- to late-19th century, was born. But the growth of schools and introduction of formalized teacher preparation programs did not alone professionalize teaching. Teachers accomplished this for themselves by forming major associations—and those controversial, love-to-be-hated institutions, unions.

Both prominent U.S. teacher unions, the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), have roots in groups started in the mid- to late-1800s, and the story of their growth and evolution over time is fascinating and instructive. While the AFT traditionally fought and acted more like a union and the NEA focused primarily on education's administrative side, both institutions argued for

and evidenced teaching as a profession, on a par with other well-known, extensively trained professionals: doctors and lawyers. The unions' efforts increased the status of U.S. teachers but, as unions came under attack in the more recent past, so did teaching.

Likely no coincidence, the NEA's first president was a woman, Ella Flagg Young, who had been a student of John Dewey's, himself an advocate for teacher unions and teacher professionalism. In describing how teachers' work led to social good, John Dewey warns the failure of U.S. public education would come from "the excessive control of legislation and administration exercised by the small and powerful class that is economically privileged." For Dewey, teaching itself was in danger because "position, promotion, [and] security of the tenure of teachers has depended largely upon conformity with the desires and plans of this class." In the U.S. "this class" refers to the dominant social class tied to industry through wealth.

Dewey was right to be concerned, as industry wealth's influence in schools only increases and, as a result, administrators and teachers tended to part ways philosophically. Commencing largely in the early-20th century, school administrators began embracing so-called business models and efficiency reforms in order to move ever-larger numbers of students through school systems. This shift made debate on best teaching practice and the school's ability to provide quality educational experiences common parlance and frequent target of criticism. The tension between business models, embraced by many educational administrators, and pedagogical progressives, the focus of many teachers and their unions, served as accelerant to the deprofessionalization of teaching.

For pedagogical progressives, formal schooling was a place for future citizens to learn a variety of skills, mindsets, and values that would lead to a productive and healthy life. For example, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education's 1918 "Seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," situate "vocation" as an educational end, but only one of seven. At the same time and shortly thereafter, administrators and educators also turned to Frederick Winslow Taylor's factory-focused efficiency models for schools. Efficiency won out as Taylorism was particularly useful in the inequitable realm of tracking into and preparing students for future industrial labor roles, with districts employing race- and class-biased IQ tests as "scientific," objective sorting mechanism.

In explaining why administrative progressives beat their pedagogical counterparts, David Labaree argues business and political leaders found the idea of eliminating waste, efficient organization, and teaching for future labor incredibly appealing. These commerce-centric ideals became a whole new set of Seven Cardinal Principles, completely focused on the economic impact (and corresponding social status quo) of formal education. This mentality strongly persists today in biased college- and career-readiness

standards, and in too-focused concern over the cost of schools, teachers, materials, per-pupil spending, and the like. The U.S. has embraced a reproductive, capitalist, now neo-liberal, model for public education, focused upon getting the greatest economic outcome from the smallest cost outlay—or from the cheapest resources. Professionalized teachers are expensive, and the U.S. has always relied on cheap labor for any major infrastructural endeavor, particularly those perceived as "free" and public. Those on the bandwagon touting how alternative-certification brings teachers into the classroom quickly and efficiently undermine pedagogically innovative teaching because alternative certification disrupts the training, practice, and, honestly, time, it takes to become a good teacher: all for the sake of keeping the economic machine humming.

How Did We Get Here? The Latter Days

This section's subtitle could have read "the rise of neo-liberalism," as neo-liberalism is the focus of industry interests, its advocates call for a "hand's-off" approach to interaction between government and industry, and its very invocation sends many into near-religious awe of capitalism. Neo-liberalism, though, has driven U.S. society to its current state, as has it driven the state of U.S. schools. During and especially after World War II, the U.S. zeitgeist ran hostile to any idea or practice that smacked of communism; among the U.S.' white population the appetite for daring schools to build a new social order waned to no more than an occasional pang. Instead, particularly given the rise of neo-conservatism and its educational reforms beginning in the 1980s, the dominant social order dared far more openly to begin to dismantle public education. Charter schools, vouchers, and increased privatization were major elements of this campaign, but part of the movement's foundation was the purposeful deprofessionalization of teachers.

Then, in 1983, the National Commission of Excellent Education's infamous report, *A Nation at Risk*, added a metaphorical tanker of fuel to the then-relatively small fire of anti-teacher sentiment. Claiming teachers were ill-prepared, teacher preparation programs lacked quality, teaching was underpaid and understaffed, the report became foundational to the perception of the teaching profession. *A Nation at Risk* paved the way to neo-liberal, modern reform movements and the eventual passage of 2001's No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), a punitive, unfunded, federal mandate. Naturally, top-down educational reform gave neither schools nor states resources or funds to pay teachers more, yet its legislated high-stakes accountability measures broke the backs of state budgets nationwide and fattened corporate test-makers.

NCLB introduced requirements that schools hire "highly qualified" teachers, defining the term as a teacher with "a bachelor's degree, full state-certification or licensure, and proof they know each subject they teach."

While allegedly imagined as a mechanism to ensure teacher quality for students regardless of the school they attend, the term "highly qualified" was quickly watered down when small, particularly rural, districts began to balk. By 2004, in order to deal with an overwhelming number of U.S. school districts that were not going to meet NCLB's legislated 100% "highly qualified" teachers by 2005, the U.S. D.O.E. declared "new flexibility" in its standards. Among a host of changes, rural districts were given more time to get their teachers highly qualified in all subjects and states were allowed to re-define what constitutes a "highly qualified" science teacher. For many states, what constituted "highly qualified" was modified to enact critical change: the requirement shifted from a mandate for a teacher to be educated to a teacher needing merely to be licensed and to pass a content-area exam. This twist to the term broke the traditional teacher-education pipeline, ushering in a plethora of alternative-certification pathways that deprofessionalized teaching. Unsurprisingly, this qualification shift coincided with growing, fierce U.S. anti-labor union sentiment.

Teacher compensation was one of the major motivations for fighting teacher unions, as low labor costs are a maxim of a neo-liberal/pro-capitalist approach to public education. Low teacher pay exacerbates and exemplifies the problem of deprofessionalization. In a recent study conducted by the Economic Policy Institute, researchers analyzed data on the "wage penalty" public school teachers experienced between 1979 and 2018. When compared to workers with comparable college degrees, teachers collectively earned seven percent less than their counterparts in 1979. In 2018, teachers earned 20% less. Teachers in every state experience teacher-wage penalty, with Arizona, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Colorado demonstrating the widest gaps.

These data give ample reason to understand why so many teachers across the country, but particularly in Arizona, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Colorado, staged a famous walkout in 2018. With strikes in West Virginia (first to strike in 2018) and Kentucky, 2018 had the most work-stoppages since 1986. Pay decreases combined with larger class sizes and deteriorating work conditions were major factors in teachers' strikes. Conditions arose from either decades of decreasing education funding or not keeping up with inflation as states across the country lowered corporate and income taxes. Teachers, in the eyes of myriad legislators and governors, were semi-skilled labor, not professionals.

The New Teacher

De-professionalization of teaching results from economic and political pressures, as reflected in low teacher pay, neo-liberal school reform, and government funding inequities. Schools, particularly in urban and rural areas, and in certain disciplines like science, mathematics, and special education, have difficulty recruiting teachers. While recruitment is a serious issue in

U.S. public schools, so is retention. Teaching continues to be, for many, a temporary position, with almost half of new teachers leaving teaching within five years, an unsustainable formula. Richard Ingersoll clarifies the problem, particularly in the case of math and science teachers:

> Almost every president since Eisenhower has given a speech on the math/science teacher shortage…what we have…is a retention problem. We lose far too many math/science teachers.

The collective answer to the problem of losing teachers, who, in the U.S., are 80–85% white, middle-class females, and needing more people to fill vacancies has been to make it faster and simpler to become a teacher rather than address the underlying concerns that cause the teaching force to leave teaching. Alternative certification is the neo-liberal answer to this persistent retention problem, but it is a short-sighted and ultimately destructive one. Apart from philosophical concerns about fast-tracking would-be teachers, or the repeated studies that question whether alternative certification produces sub-par teachers, there is one very straightforward problem with alternative-certification programs. They are more likely to leave teaching than their traditionally trained counterparts—25% more likely, according to Desiree Carver and Linda Darling-Hammond. For decades educational researchers have warned states to tread very carefully with creating pathways to teaching that fall outside of university-based schools of education. These warnings are not considered by legislative or administrative advocates of alternative certification, though, since alternative certification satisfies the neo-liberal attitude toward free public education.

In 1984, 275 alternative teaching certificates were issued In the U.S., mostly for math and science teachers. By 2009 and 2010, there were 59,000 alternative certificates and 136 different paths to certification spread out over nearly 600 programs. Half a million teachers have been placed in classrooms through alternative routes since 1984. In some states, alternative certification programs produce between 30 and 50% of new teachers. What began as an emergency measure seen as a temporary fix to recruitment and retention issues in math and science classes, alternative certification has become common practice. Most recently, alternative certification programs seem most immune to low teacher-preparation enrollment; alt-cert programs increased enrollment by 40% between 2010 and 2018, while traditional teacher-ed programs have declined by 28%. What makes the changing numbers so alarming is that the most recent data hints alternative certification magnifies the problem of teacher retention rather than solves it. Schools struggle to retain teachers in the face of low professional status, high stress, and lower pay; fewer students want to become teachers, so schools turn to alternative certification, which produces teachers who teach for a similar or shorter time than their traditionally trained counterparts. As the vicious cycle continues, high turnover rates prove the neo-liberal point that teachers are not professionals.

Requirements are generally lower for those seeking license through alt-cert programs, with the assumption or requirement that interested persons have a degree in the subject area in which they will teach. Many programs last a year or two, often coordinated with teaching in a school, as it is common for students to take classes in the evenings or online while, simultaneously, they begin teaching during the day. Kansas has taken this step further by allowing a select number of school districts to enact their own certification programs independent of universities as an extension of "grow-your-own" programs and to deal with hard-to-staff school districts, many of which are rural. But some major metropolitan areas, for example the massive Charlotte–Mecklenburg North Carolina district, now take a similar tack.

Those of us in university-based teacher-education programs are made complicit in the alt-cert movement because we either ignore it, or we focus on effects upon future teachers without tackling the larger ramifications on teaching as a profession. My institution has two major alternative-certification pathways for would-be teachers, and so do plenty of other universities. I have worked with individuals in alternative-certification programs who have a real desire to be quality teachers; I know and work with excellent teachers who went through alternative certification. For these and other reasons, this issue is not simple, but even if I have some positive experiences with participants in alternative certification, on the whole the idea is problematic for the status of U.S. teaching.

SARS-CoV-2 and Teaching

As of this writing, a national debate over whether students should attend school in person or adjust schooling to smaller classes and more at-home activities in light of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic reveals how many see school as a child-care service so parents can work so they may contribute to the economy as workers and consumers. On July 21st, 2020 U.S. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell confirmed the neo-liberal view of schooling by arguing for why in-person schooling needed to resume during the pandemic:

This country wants its kids back in the classroom this fall learning, exploring, making friends. Their educations depend on it. In some cases, their safety depends on it, and so do the livelihoods of American parents.

For many in the U.S., particularly political conservatives, the resumption of school is not about children's education or their emotional and social well-being. It is about having a reliable supply of cheap and free childcare for workers so workers may continue to labor for the benefit of the chief concern of this country—corporations' and businesses' profits and the happiness of their shareholders.

As U.S. public schooling is state-based, the fights over when to start school, how long a school day should last, and even whether students should

be taught in person tends to occur locally. In summer 2020, Governor Laura Kelly of Kansas was engaged in fighting against opposing members in the state legislature over whether she had authority to close schools until after Labor Day. When I presented this paper she was losing her battle—the state board of education tied a vote to delay schools opening, which meant individual districts made their own decisions as to when and how to open schools despite district personnel having no training in public health and despite no federal public-health pandemic advice or policy. While schools in New York and California planned to start fall 2020 school years late with little pushback (except for in Orange County), states with Republican governors and/or legislatures kept pushing for completely open schools.

One of *Chalkbeat*'s editors, Sarah Darville, elucidated this point in an op-ed essay published in *The New York Times*:

> But teachers did not sign up to prop up the economy by providing child care while putting their health and the health of their families at risk. And romantic portrayals of teaching as a calling obscure the reality that, vocation or not, teachers are also workers who have received few assurances about job safety. School districts are still working out who will be able to work from home, what protective equipment they can provide, how students will be grouped and how infections will be handled.

Throughout fall 2020 and rolling into 2021, those in the U.S. vociferously debate, along party lines, the role of schooling. For neo-liberals, school is both daycare and feeding station, a repository for children and an opportunity for adults to work and thus contribute to the profits of corporations. For classical liberals, which in this case tends to include many teachers and school professionals, school is a place to learn and prepare for life and citizenry. As a nation, we continuously repeat that safety is the most important issue for children, but just look at how U.S. children have been endangered during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. Since robust business growth is actually most important, many schools have remained open as usual; teachers have been invited by districts and harassed on social media either to deal, die, or quit. To date, many already have died or quit. Few to none are "dealing" well.

The Point

Before I make my closing argument and plea to you, dear reader who stuck with me throughout this article, I offer two ways to think about our current predicament. The first, I borrow from Richard Ingersoll:

> …the way to upgrade the quality of teaching and teachers is to upgrade the quality of the teaching job. Well-paid, well-respected occupations that offer good working conditions rarely have difficulties with recruitment or retention. If they do, they do not resort to lowering standards as a coping mechanism.

The second, from the sage words of Nancy Flanigan:

> The policy goal here is de-professionalizing teaching, establishing it once and for all as a short-term, entry-level technical job designed to attract a revolving door of "community-minded" candidates, who will work diligently for cheap, then get out because they can't support a family or buy a home on a teacher's salary. **Emphasis on the word cheap. This is about profit and control, not improving education**.

Insofar as the status of teachers and what the profession will look like going forward, the U.S. risks coming full-circle. Teaching began in this country as temporary, low-wage and low-to-medium-skilled labor. As our school system evolved and technologies emerged, so did teaching as a profession; teaching gained some status through training, gatekeeping, and collective action/bargaining. But efforts to relegate teaching to low-to-medium-skilled labor continue, mostly due to an effort to keep educational costs down for states and communities, motivated by lower taxes. And now universities are feeling the pressure to adopt and expand alternative certification because it increases enrollment (which universities need) and makes state and district leaders happy to have hard-to-fill positions filled, at least temporarily. The U.S. is in an interesting but difficult place right now, which is an enormous understatement, but I mean this in the educational sense. The question I have been asking myself and, by extension now ask you, is the same one Counts posed in 1932. What do we do about this? Because alternative certification is a wildly popular, neo-liberal-supported program, yet alt-cert contributes to, if not cements, the deprofessionalization of teaching. Do we oppose and then risk upsetting our social elders of the white, dominant social class, or do we soldier on with what we have? Do we continue to shake the rattle, and simply hope vigorous and noisy action gets us somewhere?

When considering what can be done about a societal injustice, the unfortunate reality is that collective action is almost always people's go-to answer: unsatisfying since collective action is slow, incremental, and is not necessarily effective over the long term. However, if you, dear reader, demand that I as problem-presenter offer constructive solutions, then here is my meager answer. Vote. Get yourself registered to vote, vote in every election, and vote against neo-liberal politicians (they exist in both major political parties, by the way, even if they tend to dominate one over the other). Run for school board, run for a city or county council seat in your community. Encourage and financially support like-minded friends, colleagues, graduate students, and acquaintances to do the same. And when you and your friends/acquaintances have access to power, use that power to support a more communitarian and less capitalistic, individualistic view of society, particularly of the education and the teaching profession.

Perhaps mine is not a particularly novel answer, but the hard truth is this: if we want to improve education, in this case teaching as professionalized, that is done outside of education, falling squarely within the realm of politics. If this is an uncomfortable thought, then I redirect you to my trigger warning at the beginning of this article. At the very least, consider this: stop using the beginning of the excellent quotation from George Counts, and focus on the latter portion. Do not worry about the rattle, aim at disrupting our social elders—and I pledge to do the same.

An Acknowledgment

The editors of JoPHE made this paper much stronger than its original form. In particular, Stacy Otto made changes that drastically improved the focus and gave better direction to my anger in this essay. Paraphrasing Aaron Sorkin, I brought the blood, but she made it flow. Thank you, Stacy.

Endnotes

1 Of course, I am having a good amount of fun with the term "trigger warning," as I am warning people who are uncomfortable with critiques of U.S. capitalism, who tend also not to like the idea of the trigger warning. I do this gleefully and glibly, without intending to make light of the actual concept and valuable utility of a trigger warning.

2 For a much more thorough explanation of the professionalization and deprofessionalization of U.S. teachers, see Diana D'Amico Pawlewicz's book that just came out in August 2020. Diana D'Amico Pawlewicz, *Blaming Teachers: Professionalization Policies and the Failure of Reform in American History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2020).

3 Neo-liberalism exists in the U.S. as the economic and governmental philosophy of limited state and federal government, limited oversight of private business, and the emphasis of individual freedoms over communal actions. For an excellent and unconventional breakdown of neo-liberalism, particularly as applies to the SARS-CoV-2 U.S., see Carolos Maza, *Coronavirus and America's Death Cult*, April 5, 2020, https://youtu.be/vG37wwhbS88

4 George Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978).

[5] Ibid., 5.

[6] Ibid., 4.

[7] Popular culture has long tied teaching with being a low-status profession, often for "those who cannot do." For an excellent explanation of the belief that teaching, and, by extension, pedagogy itself is a waste of time, see David Labaree's *The Trouble with Ed Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

[8] Ibid.

[9] A reviewer of this manuscript brought up the fascinating connections between Counts' mischief and staying busy and the Christian popular notion of "idle hands" being the "devil's playground." Counts was most likely tapping into the idea of staying busy to save one's soul, but again, as a Socialist who was particularly concerned with the U.S.' growing addiction to Capitalism, the "staying busy" is more akin to Marx's argument that people are kept busy and distracted from social equality, often via religion. Hence the quotation about religion being the opiate of the people. For an excellent exploration of the idea of "opium of the people" in 1843 versus today, see Rosie Blau's "What Is the Opium of the People?," *The Economist*, January 5, 2015, https://www.economist.com/1843/2015/01/05/what-is-the-opium-of-the-people

[10] This, of course, was a concern of John Dewey's as well, as will be elaborated upon later in the article.

[11] For example, see Thurston Domina, Andrew Penner, and Emily Penner, "Categorical Inequality: Schools as Sorting Machines," *Annual Review of Sociology* 43, (2017): 311–330, doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053354

[12] See Karl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1983); John Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*, 6th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2020); Joel Spring, *American Education*, 18th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).

[13] Karen Leroux, "National Education Association," in *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History*, ed. Eric Arnesen (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 955. For example, Ella Flagg Young was the first president of the NEA, a woman. She was also a student of John Dewey's and applied Deweyan philosophy to her teaching and leadership.

[14] John Dewey, "The Teacher and the Public," speech given at Columbia University, January 16, 1935.

[15] Ibid.

[16] David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban*

Education (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge, 1986); Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1976); Rury, *Education and Social Change*.

17 Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report on the Reorganization of Secondary Education* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1918). Again, with unions, it is instructive that the NEA was the organization that commissioned this study and report.

18 David Labaree, "Progressivism, Schools and Schools of Education: An American Romance," *Pædogogica Historica* 41, nos. 1 & 2 (2005): 275–288, 284–285.

19 Another reference to our dear George Counts.

20 U.S. Department of Education, *A Nation at Risk: the Imperative for Educational Reform: A Report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education*, National Commission on Excellence in Education, Washington, DC: The Commission: [Supt. Of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. distributor], 1983.

21 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110, § 101, Stat. 1425 (2002).

22 Dear reader, you may argue that this point is a stretch, as *A Nation at Risk* and NCLB both call for increased funding in certain areas of education, with the former even calling for higher teacher pay. As the bulk of educational funding comes at the state level, these calls for additional monies for schools were largely decorative.

23 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001.

24 Women have it worse, earning 17.8% less in 1979, and 31.5% less in 2018. Sylvia Allegretto and Lawrence Mishel, *The Teacher Pay Penalty Has Hit a New High*, Economic Policy Institute, September 5, 2018, https://www.epi.org/publication/teacher-pay-gap-2018/#:~:text=The%20total%20teacher%20compensation%20penalty,points%20from%201994%20to%202017

25 Ibid.

26 Andrew Van Dam, "Teacher Strikes Made 2018 the Biggest Year for Worker Protest in a Generation," *The Washington Post*, February 14, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2019/02/14/with-teachers-lead-more-workers-went-strike-than-any-year-since/

27 Ibid.

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education-k-12/reports/2019/12/03/477311/make-declining-enrollment-teacher-preparation-programs/

[29] Richard M. Ingersoll, quoted in *Improving the Effectiveness of Beginning Teachers* [webinar], July 17, 2014, https://all4ed.org/webinar-event/jul-17-2014/

[30] Desiree Carver-Thomas and Linda Darling-Hammond, *Teacher Turnover: Why It Matters and What We Can Do About It*, Learning Policy Institute, August 2017, vi, https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/teacher-turnover-report

[31] Julian Vasquez Heilig , Heather A. Cole, and Marilyn A. Springel, "Alternative Certification and Teach for America: The Search for High Quality Teachers," *Kansas Journal of Law and Public Policy* 20, no. 3 (2011): 388–412, 389; H. Richard Milner, IV, *Policy Reforms and De-Professionalization of Teaching* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Boulder National Education Policy Center, February 2013).

[32] Richard M. Ingersoll, "The Problem of Underqualified Teachers in American Secondary Schools," *Educational Researcher* 28, no. 2 (1999): 26–37, 34.

[33] Partelow, "What to Make of Declining Enrollment," 4.

[34] This matches the neo-liberal attitude that pedagogy does not matter; knowing content is enough to be able to teach.

[35] Kansas Department of Education, Restricted Teaching License Alternative Pathway, see https://www.ksde.org/Agency/Division-of-Learning-Services/Teacher-Licensure-and-Accreditation/Postsecondary/Educator-Preparation/Restricted-Teaching-License-Alternative-Pathway

[36] North Carolina officials recently ended what they called a "lateral pathway" which supported people who were changing careers to become teachers. Why? Because the data showed that those teachers weren't staying in the profession. This older model required a would-be teacher to undergo a three-year plan before becoming a fully-licensed educator. The new program, called a "residency path" provides a limited license after taking courses for only a year. See Molly Osborne, "Developing a Teacher Pipeline: Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools' New Teacher Residency," *EdNC*, March 21, 2019, https://www.ednc.org/developing-a-teacher-pipeline-charlotte-mecklenburg-schools-new-teacher-residency/; Ann Doss Helms, "CMS Needs Nearly 500 Teachers. How a New Program Is Helping Find Some of Them," *The Charlotte Observer*, July 25, 2018, https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/local/education/article215287110.html; Liz Bell, "Lawmakers Seek More Options for Teacher Career Pathway," *WRAL Raleigh News*, May 24, 2017, https://www.wral.com/lawmakers-seek-more-options-for-teacher-career-pathway/16720825/

[37] U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell, quoted in Ramsey Touchberry, "GOP

Stimulus Plan Proposes $105 Billion for Reopening Schools Amid Pandemic," *Newsweek*, July 21, 2020, https://www.newsweek.com/gop-stimulus-plan-proposes-105-billion-reopening-schools-amid-pandemic-1519427

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38 Even wearing masks in schools has become a political hot-button issue in Kansas, let alone when to open schools. Nathan Shorman and Sarah Ritter, "Gov. Laura Kelly Orders Kansas K–12 Students to Wear a Mask When Schools Reopen," *The Kansas City Star*, July 20, 2020, https://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article244356992.html#:~:text=All%20Kansas%20K%2D12%20public,have%20to%20wear%20a%20mask.&text=Laura%20Kelly%20on%20Monday%20released,districts%20take%20certain%2-0safety%20precautions

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"Excellence Without Snobs and Equality Without Slobs": Harry S. Broudy's Theory of General Education

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Introduction

Harry S. Broudy established himself as a prominent thinker, speaker, and writer within U.S. education during the 1950s–1980s. He cemented a powerful legacy championing a pathway toward general education excellence and equality for all learners in the face of relentless vocational pressures on U.S. general education. Like classical realists Socrates and Aristotle as well as pragmatist John Dewey, Broudy endeavored to bring equality to U.S. society by way of its public education system.

Broudy's unique convergence of original philosophical thought and skilled oration resulted in high demand for his writing, presentation, and educational insight for over 30 years. Broudy was invited to deliver over 300 presentations, including the Annual John Dewey Society Lecture in 1977, which yielded his book *Truth and Credibility: The Citizen's Dilemma*. Today, as with the approach of Isocrates in the classical era, the skilled orator is not necessarily a philosopher but, moreover, is the interpreter and communicator par excellence of extensive theoretical work from among contemporaries.

Within Broudy's papers is an unsourced printout, "Reflections," wherein the quotable Broudy states, "This my colleagues—B. Othanel Smith and Joe R. Burnett—and I…constructed a curriculum designed to produce excellence without snobs and equality without slobs" (Broudy, n.d.a.). Twenty-three years after publishing *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education*, he emphasizes the phrase yet again in *The Role of Imagery in Learning*: "This country is caught between the ideals of excellence and equality. How to have excellence without snobs and equality without slobs is the perennial problem of an enlightened democracy" (1987, p. 48). If it is possible for a succinct quotation to capture an educational thinker's weight, then "excellence without snobs and equality without slobs" captures Broudy's tenor and commitment to general education within his philosophy of education.

Broudy's educational philosophy for a democratic society stands out amidst today's rampant college-and-career-readiness rhetoric. The idea of an excellent general education for all on the surface may lack unique appeal; however, the consistency and rigor of Broudy's articulations on the topic warrant further consideration. While Broudy's term "general education" may appear vague, I nevertheless use his term since it recurs throught his philosophy of general education. To properly contextualize Broudy's philosophy, I highlight his understanding of his *Humanitas* in informing a liberal-arts-focused system of general education. Then, within the theme of *Humanitas*, I explicitly connect his adage "excellence without snobs and equality without slobs" to his theory of democratic general education, emphasizing the social foundations of his philosophy. I then evidence connections between Broudy's four ways of learning, which he regarded as his most persuasive argument for his philosophy of general education with Michael Polyani's tacit knowing. Finally, I compare Broudy's philosophy with W.E.B. Dubois' argument for a liberal arts education in the face of vocational pressures in order to demonstrate its timeless and timely qualities.

Background

Educational philosopher Harry S. Broudy migrated to the U.S. from Poland at an early age. From a rabbinical family on his father's side, he attended a traditional Hebrew cheder school in Poland (Liora Bresler, personal communication, February 14, 2019). At the age of seven, Broudy, without knowledge of English, entered Massachusetts public schools. In his youth, after beginning studies in chemical engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he transferred to Boston University to study German literature and philosophy. Broudy's master's and Ph.D. were earned at Harvard; he studied philosophy under Ralph Barton Perry, William Hocking, John Wild, and Alfred North Whitehead (Broudy, 1974a). According to Broudy's close colleagues, it was Whitehead's influence which left the most substantive imprint on Broudy's work and thought (Bresler, 2001). Despite a prominent academic lineage in the field of philosophy, Broudy accepted a position at North Adams State Teachers College teaching psychology and philosophy of education. Years later, his widow, Dorothy Broudy, claims anti-semitism within ivy-league philosophy departments hindered Broudy's potential for tenure (Bresler, 2001; Liora Bresler, personal communication, February 14, 2019). Broudy lived his commitment to public education as a professor at North Adams Teachers College from 1937–1949, Framingham Teachers College from 1949–1957, and finally gaining notoriety at the University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign from 1957–1974. Broudy continued his productive career into the 1990s as professor emeritus.

An "Excellent" General Education

Humanitas

The egalitarian dimensions of Broudy's general education embodied in his phrase "excellence without snobs and equality without slobs" are situated within Broudy's *Humanitas* (1972; 1973): a treatise on human nature and the cultivation of the self and a thematic underpinning of the entirety of Broudy's educational philosophy rooted in the study of philosophy, history, literature, and the arts. Self-cultivation is advanced through education, since "all human beings have capacities for intellectual, moral, and aesthetic experience that will not be fully developed without education" (1958, p. 996). Self-cultivation,

> …through general education, or indeed by any other means, in our time is a moral enterprise, a test of moral strenuousness…. But it may well be that in the tightly organized, technologically interdependent web we live in this may be the last avenue of escape into individuality and freedom. (1974b, p. 50)

As a classical realist, Broudy connects freedom and fulfillment through learning to the Aristotelian conception of liberal education. Aristotle's model is often charged with founding educational elitism since, during Aristotle's time, only the wealthy had leisure time to pursue fulfillment through education. On the contrary, Broudy argues the U.S.' wealth and democracy mean the nation can and should facilitate an "elite" education for all (Broudy, Smith, & Burnett, 1964; Broudy, 1971), insisting the humanities offer a crucial window into democratic life. Like Aristotle, Broudy aligns self-cultivation through education with happiness, explaining:

> I can find only one argument that seems persuasive. It is that if general studies are neglected in early youth, the road to self-cultivation in later years may be closed, and if perchance the happiness of the self-cultivated man (not pleasure of the moment) is worth having, many will never get a chance to experience it. (1974b, p. 49)

Broudy's notion of happiness connects human flourishing through freedom of the mind juxtaposed with vocational foci. A close graduate student and later colleague, Donald Vandenberg (1992), posits Broudy's humanities focus may appear elitist on the surface; however, he surmises Broudy's commitment to equal opportunity through a single-ladder education system is instead rooted in the natural, right assumption of universal human nature and Kant's moral imperative of humans' intrinsic value regardless of race, religion, or social class.

Humanitas helps explain why Broudy lacked popularity among some contemporary educational theorists. In the late 1960s and 1970s multicultural

education, vocational education, and elective-focused schooling meant more individualized educational approaches. Broudy rejects this trend towards schooling as a personalized encounter, discarding the Western educational tradition. He critiques the underlying philosophy as existential humanism or new humanism (Broudy, 1972), opposing traditional *humanis* and thereby inducting the young into an intellectual, moral, and aesthetic heritage through self-disciplined study (Broudy, 1973). While aligned with some aspects, "the thrust of the new humanism in education is justified and, on the whole, a healthy reminder of who we are, what we are, and what might become of us all" (p. 73); as a result he cautions against those reproofs and reminders charting the future of U.S. schooling. Within Broudy's papers, an unpublished reflection paper provides perhaps the most erudite articulation of his theory on general education while hinting at such dissent among many in his profession:

> Most of my professional troubles have stemmed from venturing to assert that all children in a modern democratic society should have the kind of general education in the disciplines that has been reserved for one kind of elite or another. On one flank, the elitists themselves have argued that *humanitas* was not suitable for mass education; on another flank, I have had scornful reminders that this is an age of pluralism in which an infinity of individual interests and cultural variations have a claim on the schools, and that true democracy entails giving equal weight to each claim. (Broudy, n.d.b.)

How the arts and sciences inform society and strengthen democracy emerge as a consistent theme. Rather than focus individuals' education either in the arts or the sciences based on aptitude, he strenuously argues all public school students should pursue both the arts and the sciences (1977; 1979) so that knowledge informs an individual in three different capacities: the self, the social, and the material world (1953). Justice and natural rights inform the self and democratic society through arts and humanities as the sciences inform the material world, elevating science and technology, and revealing societal problems of our time (Broudy, 1966; Vandenberg, 1992), since general education should ultimately produce and inform a democratic society.

Democracy and General Education

What Broudy terms "interpretive molar problem-solving" and perceives as dangers of choice among school programs connect his writings' democratic themes. His arguments on general education and schooling advocate for the interpretive use of symbolic systems for the study of academic disciplines.

> Developing readiness and competence for sharing in the economic, political, and moral values of the modern society entails two

> important skills. One is the interpretive use of the basic academic disciplines for the understanding of societal problems…. The other skill entailed in developing competence for sharing in modern society, in addition to that of interdisciplinary thinking or the use of school learnings to interpret problems, is that of working with others in the act of collective problem-solving. (1971, pp. 148–149)

Here Broudy articulates his middle-ground position in the subject-centered versus problem-solving curricular debate which emerges from progressive era reforms. Broudy's interdisciplinary problem-solving resembles John Dewey's complete act of thought given Broudy's emphasis on collective action addressing societal problems; however, Broudy declares the problem-solving method limited since technical knowledge in many disciplines, as well as in a cultivated imagination, prove indispensable for effective group problem-solving. Interpretive, discipline-specific, general education functions as precursor to the problem-solving method. The "molar problem-solving" approach (Brody et al., 1964) he advances as a method suitable for high school students. A molar problem is a multidimensional societal problem where the use of a single discipline's knowledge provides insufficient content or "funded knowledge" to solve the problem; rather, approaching the problem using knowledge from numerous disciplines is necessary.

> The problems of the adult citizen that really matter are not solvable by the resources of common sense or common knowledge…. The generalizations or funded knowledge needed for serious problem-solving likewise are not available to solver without systematic study of the basic intellectual disciplines. (Broudy et al., 1964, p. 235)

Ultimately, studying societal problems democratically empowers students to work for the common good and moral imperative (Vandenberg, 1992).

Unlike Dewey's complete act of thought, in Broudy's philosophy students focus extensively on molar problem-solving in high school only. Broudy et al. (1964) advocate for a course devoted to molar problems during each of students' last two years of high school, designed to address only two to three multidimensional problems in each course, with examples including federal aid to schools and problems of urbanization. Responses to such societal problems are multidimensional, relying on numerous disciplines to interpret thoroughly. For example, studying urbanization draws from science, sociology, economics, and geography disciplines, at a minimum. Molar problems courses aim to provide high school students a glimpse of informed democratic citizenship in addressing societal issues, such as the impact of a pandemic when paired with systemic racial inequality.

Finally, in a diverse society, limiting choice might appear antidemocratic; however, in Broudy's philosophy of education he advocates for educational excellence and equality for all. He underscores how, most often, society's economically advantaged benefit while the powerless are given a substandard education. His apprehensions on educational choice boil down to recurring patterns he sees of the two-track system of schooling in its various forms within U.S. education. Broudy (1978) laments,

> As occupations diversify and to the degree that occupational success depends on specialized training, school programs split into general studies for the development of mind, character, and background, and specialized study for vocational success. In other words, the formula has been and still is literary, scientific, theoretical, professional education for the classes and manual training, apprenticeship, rote learning of the basics, and moral conditioning for the masses. (p. 25)

Broudy remained committed within his writing to general education aimed at strengthening and preparing students for democratic life through a single-ladder education in U.S. schools. With an authoritative resolve, Broudy et al. (1964) state, "Common education is education for all of [the U.S.'] normally educable youth in all of its great diversity. If this is a purely utopian ideal for a common education, then democracy in education is a farce" (p. 39). At a time when open enrollment, voucher initiatives, and charter schools are the subjects of vigorous choice-focused debate, a return to Broudy's philosophy offers perspective.

Polanyi, Broudy, and Interpretive Learning

Broudy's four ways of learning undergird a vital epistemological foundation to his notion of general education, critical to capturing his advocacy for educational excellence. He highlights replicative, applicative, associative, and interpretive learning, underscoring the necessity of all four within schooling, while emphasizing the interpretive and associative. Replicative learning mirrors only that content learned and therefore is closely aligned with assessment, while applicative learning applies disciplinary knowledge to practical problems (Broudy, 1974b). Associative learning draws upon images, ideas, and words within one's subconscious to heighten understanding, relying upon the aesthetic dimension within general education. Though associative and interpretive learning are hallmarks of excellence in Broudy's view, associative learning connects directly to arts education. When it comes to interpretive learning, Broudy surmises a student does not need to understand the disciplines as a specialist using "applicative" knowledge. To Broudy, replicative and applicative learning are inadequate for complete learning. Interpretive uses of learning in schools provide frames of explanation, cognitive maps, or stencils through which knowledge is received and processed (Broudy, 1988a). Highlighting interpretive learning in general education, Broudy argues,

> The educated mind orders experience with the resources of the arts and the sciences. While there are informed sources of interpretation—common sense, common knowledge, common images—that may be acquired without tuition, the interpretive use of schooling according to the concepts and judgement of the "learned," is its most distinctive contribution to the individual and society. (Broudy, 1988a, p. 20)

Broudy lauds prominent Hungarian chemist and philosopher Michael Polanyi's (1966) concept of tacit knowing. In short, tacit or subsidiary knowing is tied to the prominence of humans' contextual and peripheral knowledge. Broudy conceptualizes tacit knowing as an in-depth theoretical justification for the importance of interpretive and associative learning (1970). Letters exchanged between Polanyi and Broudy demonstrate the high regard these thinkers held for each other, as well as the novel philosophical insights of each. Polanyi wrote to Broudy after Polanyi read Broudy's work on aesthetic education. Given the date and the content of this exchange, it is likely Polanyi read Broudy's then-recently published book, *Enlightened Cherishing*, which connects Polanyi's tacit knowing to associative learning along aesthetic grounds (Broudy, 1972). Polanyi states,

> I need not explain to you my interest in the way you are penetrating essential fields of consciousness. You have made this brilliantly clear yourself. I am writing mainly in acknowledgment of these matters, but my sense lies beyond this in the whole area in which we seem to share fundamental grounds. With this in mind, may I ask you at what places you have published more work on the grounds of thought[?] I would like to pick them up and complete my knowledge of your outlook…. But I must not press you, and be grateful to have your company, hoping our mutual thoughts may go on further developing together. (August 24, 1972)

Broudy's response underscores how critical Polanyi's theory of tacit knowing is at connecting interpretive uses of knowledge towards defending his articulations of general education within society.

> As you may have already discerned, my use of your notion of "tacit knowing" is of broader scope than its application to aesthetic perception and aesthetic education. In short, I have argued that without the tacit knowing hypothesis it will be difficult, if not unlikely, that we can find a persuasive rationale for any sort of general education. In other words, if the criterion for learning X is the ability to replicate X on demand, then clearly much of what we urge as general education and indeed virtually all learning of theory is unsuccessful. For this reason I have proposed tacit knowing as the necessary and sufficient condition for the interpretive uses of knowledge and schooling. To do this, it has

> been necessary to differentiate interpretive uses from others: replicative, associative, and applicative. (September 1, 1972)

Addressing Polanyi's request for additional publications, Broudy provided two previously cited papers. Broudy writes, "The two papers I am including illustrate the contortions through which I have to go to get my colleagues—who, for the most part, are oriented towards behavioristic psychology and positivistic philosophy to listen to my argument." Five years later, a letter written to a publication editor with a manuscript review connected with Polanyi's work demonstrates the magnitude of the tacit knowing hypotheses within Broudy's theory of general education. Broudy offers, "Strategically the tacit knowing hypotheses has been my most reliable (I don't know how effective) weapon in defending general education" (July 15, 1977).

"Excellence Without Snobs"

With the *Humanitas* foundation, a commitment to democracy in general education, and the philosophical underpinning of interpretive learning, Broudy's recurring statement "excellence without snobs and equality without slobs" demonstrates his alarm at snobbish intrusions into general education, denoting a thematic concern seen throughout his career. In the 1940s and 1950s a resurgence among academic professionals in literature, history, philosophy, and education saw certain notable authors spearheading the renaissance of realism: Mortimer Adler, Mark Van Dorn, Robert Maynard Hutchins, and John Wild. Among those authors directly addressing education were Isaac Kandel, Jacques Maritain, Mortimer Smith, and Arthur Bestor. Broudy was known as a classical realist philosopher of education; however, during the postwar 1950s he lamented the elitism of educational realism. Caught up in the space race, suddenly education received generous funding and emphasis on its importance following the Soviet launch of Sputnik, particularly in mathematics and science. In "Realism in American Education," Broudy notes several concerning strains of Sputnik-influenced realism in U.S. education. Anti-educationists vehemently critiqued U.S. education during the era. Among such figures was the outspoken Admiral Hyman Rickover, whom Broudy (1959) references:

> Right now, of course, the influential laymen are notably vociferous in their realism. They want "hard" subjects like science, mathematics, and languages in a prescribed curriculum and no coddling of either high or low I.Q.s. They want an intellectual elite in order to maintain leadership in war and peace. They are Realists not simply because they face "unpleasant reality" but also because, if hard pressed to justify their proposals, they might admit that they believe people who can learn hard subjects are "better" than those who cannot and that a society is bound to go to pot if it is not led by "such" people. (p. 11)

Next, Broudy (1959) turns his attention to realist liberal arts professors who directly address the field of education, noting writers such as Arthur Bestor and Mortimer Smith within this group. While affirming their commitment to realism within the liberal-arts tradition, Broudy posits liberal arts professors are often "naïve" about education for the non-college-bound. Additionally, Broudy (1959) notes their constant critique of "educationists" or education professors, clouds realists' philosophical position.

> This preoccupation with the alleged foibles of the Educationists obscures the merits of their own position and blinds them and their followers to the real problem of our times, viz., how can the intellectual disciplines be transformed into a program of general education in a democratic society[?] (p. 12)

Broudy is often critical of those in higher education who provide solutions for schooling while remaining practically out of touch with schooling, systematically addressing such concerns in *The Real World of the Public Schools* (1972). As a Harvard-trained philosopher who wrote a dissertation on Søren Kierkegaard and graduate degrees in general philosophy, it may seem odd that Broudy demonstrates a practical affinity for public schooling. Perhaps this currency owes to Broudy's lengthy tenure at Massachusetts teacher's colleges from 1937–1957, which connect his thinking to schooling's practical challenges.

Too, Broudy argues against elitism within general art education. In the 1980s, while U.S. education was in the throes of a so-called "back-to-basics" movement, *A Nation at Risk* (1983) authors called for narrower curricular emphasis on mathematics, language arts, and science, with few or no electives. Humanities disciplines came under "practical" scrutiny and were eliminated, inspiring art educators to argue for their worth and very existence. By the 1980s Broudy was established as a thinker in aesthetics education and became known as a champion for arts education (Bresler, 2002; Greer, 1992); music educator Richard Colwell (1992) refers to Broudy as "our aristocrat" for music education (p. 37).

Broudy's chief concern with *A Nation at Risk* recommendations was that arts education would continue among the elite while the masses foundered without arts education. Broudy (1977) persistently argues for arts education to be seen as just as common and practical a curricular subject as math or science. The fine arts, often associated with well-heeled, "finer" things and thereby the purview of the elite, Broudy claims must be extended to all students as part of a democratic general education program since the arts are essential for conveying human meaning, emotion, and experience via associative learning (Broudy, 1979). The arts uniquely have the power to create subconscious image stores and mental frames which furnish meaning and enhance moral judgment through the power of aesthetic association.

Dwayne Greer (1992), a colleague of Broudy's and former director of The Getty Institutes for Educators on the Visual Arts, argues arts education is indispensable in language association and imagination. In one of his last publications on art education, Broudy (1988b) reiterates a common theme over his previous 30 years while articulating, yet again:

> Briefly, educated exposure to fine arts should (a) refine and (b) intensify emotional life. If we take the stand that all the children are entitled to an "educated mind," then "popular" art, like "popular" science is not enough. To put it inelegantly, the American public has to construe its mandate as quality without snobs and equality without slobs. (pp. 42–43)

Broudy generally expresses concern with any general education designed to provide an excellent education to one class or group of students while depriving another.

"Equality Without Slobs"

In his philosophy of education Broudy demonstrates a pre-Civil Rights-era awareness for engineered racial inequalities and oppressed students. His upbringing as a Jewish Polish immigrant in the early twentieth century likely affected his conception of societal inequality. Concern for inequality permeates his writing, particularly his deep appreciation for Gunnar Myradal's (1944) influential study, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*; Broudy regularly connects his ideas to Myrdal's concept of "American creed."

In the1960s, James Bryant Conant's (1961) Carnegie Foundation-funded study, *Slums and Suburbs*, brought attention to national-level U.S. racial inequality. Consequently, some schools took a more significant role in ensuring equality of educational opportunity for underserved students. One approach emerging during the 1960s was specialized curricula aligned with multicultural teaching strategies, vocational emphases within schooling, or both. While Broudy addresses both curricular approaches, vocational programs aimed at urban students and other underserved populations most warranted his advocacy for "equality without slobs." Broudy views vocational tracking as the path to a second-rate public education.

> I agree with those who hold that the most mortal insult one can proffer a human being is to demand less from him than from his fellows. The Negro and other victims of cultural deprivation should not be tempted to settle for a second-rate set of expectations from themselves. (Broudy, 1965, p. 17)

In *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education*, Broudy et al. (1964) present a threefold argument against the specialized and vocationally focused curriculum for underresourced, underserved children, pointing out the educational and economic shortcomings as well as equity deficiencies

in ideals. The authors argue vocational schooling for those underserved and at-risk represents a short-term "fix" with long-term, negative societal consequences.

> The dropout who gets a job immediately is going to be a social problem by the time he is in his late twenties or thirties, because he will not have the base in knowledge and skills needed for the job mobility and quick retraining in a labor market which is demanding greater and greater intellectual acuteness. (p. 12)

Broudy et al. (1964) argue that vocational schooling tracks focus on political, economic, and social expediency, but are out of touch with democratic ideals and decidedly *not* a path to the overall aims of schooling: a good life and human flourishing.

W.E.B. Dubois and Broudy Compared

Broudy's arguments for liberal arts-focused general education, as opposed to vocational schooling for underserved students, are strikingly similar to those posed by W.E.B. Dubois at the turn of the twentieth century in the infamous Washington–Dubois debate. In a 1930 Howard University commencement address, W.E.B. Dubois retrospectively addresses the early 1900s controversy with Booker T. Washington, emphatically characterizing the controversy between the two educational approaches as still not solved and still imperative (1932). Dubois states,

> Therefore, schoolwork for farming, carpentry, bricklaying, plastering and painting, metal work and blacksmithing, shoemaking, sewing and cooking was introduced and taught…. Machines and new industrial organizations have remade the economic world and ousted these trades either from their old technique or their economic significance. (p. 66)

Dubois' comments refer to U.S. industrialization during the late 1800s and early 1900s, calling for complete liberal arts educational curricula at all grade levels. In the 1960s when the U.S. began to witness post-industrialization and the corresponding growth of the service sector, Broudy (1965) communicates a similar concern with reliance on vocational education.

> At a time when even well-trained craftsmen are in danger of becoming displaced by automation or the obsolescence of their job skills, does it make sense to mount a massive educational effort that will place a whole generation of culturally deprived people into the lowest level of jobs? … Only if the children we rescue master a basic program of general education in the sciences and the humanities is there any hope of getting all segments of our society operating under their own power. (p. 17)

Broudy pens this statement amid considerable attention paid to U.S. urban schooling in light of the Civil Rights movement and preceding Great

Society legislation, at which time vocational schooling receives increased attention as a plan to bring about greater societal equality, in line with findings of the *Coleman Report* (1965). Broudy et al. (1964) argue that an emphasis on vocational preparation in current technology may set the stage for significant unemployment 10–15 years after graduation due to students' lack of preparation in scientific and technological change. Both thinkers provide stark warnings of the dangers of vocational education alone due to technological innovation and resulting replacement in the labor force.

Broudy and Dubois both articulate the purpose of education as preparing humans to thrive. In the education of African-American college students, DuBois does not call for the elimination of vocational schooling. Rather he argues education is essential to the formation of the person. Dubois (1932) states, "We need then, first, training as human beings in general knowledge and experience; then technical training to guide and do a specific part of the world's work" (p. 71). Provocatively, "the object of education [is] not to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men" (p. 61). To Dubois, education for vocation alone limits human capacity. His theory raises the value of educating to become fully human rather than education to create specialized workers. Broudy at al. (1964) state,

> As long as the ideals of citizenship and self-cultivation are valid for American public education, any curriculum which limits students' role conceptions merely to the character of job or educational openings at a given time is a fraud with respect to those ideals. (p. 18)

Conclusion

The term "general education" inspires many approaches and meanings depending on context. Foundational to Harry S. Broudy's theory of general education is *Humanitas* or cultivation of the self through the study of exemplars. At the forefront of Broudy's philosophy is the unbreakable relation between democracy and schooling, a symbiotic relationship evident in his persistent emphasis on quality education for all students regardless of race or socioeconomic status. Broudy challenges educational elitism and posits concern with movement toward Sputnik-inspired, traditional-discipline-centered curricula aimed at elevating science and mathematics to elite status in a time of manufactured crisis. He decries second-rate expectations for the underserved "masses" as snobbish intrusions into general education.

Broudy's concerns with replacing high-quality general education studies in secondary schools with vocational tracks for the social and economic underclass harken to arguments made over 60 years earlier by W.E.B. Dubois. Within a short Phi Delta Kappa booklet entitled *General Education: The Search for a Rationale*, Broudy (1974b) provides a concluding defense for his general education philosophy, stating,

> If, on the other hand, we make general education itself one of the alternatives which some parts of the community may reject for their children, then there is little doubt that the distinction between the classes and masses will be sharpened rather than softened. This will not only smooth the way for a managed elitist society, but will also make a shambles of our rhetoric about a free society and equal educational opportunity. (p. 50)

His statement demonstrates a recurring theme in his educational philosophy supporting a liberal, democratic general education, aspiring to "excellence without snobs and equality without slobs." Broudy's considerable body of work in philosophy of education demonstrates his lengthy legacy championing general education for all students.

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Power: Its Role in Society and Education

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Introduction

In any society power, social power, intellectual power, political power, economic power, and personal power differentiate the social strata. Social institutions and bureaucracies formalize uses of power in various manifestations. In any society, schools, the social institution responsible for public education, carry out as their primary task social reproduction. Changes to the societal structure put additional burdens on schools—institutions with less interest in developing citizens than in training subjects. The source of this disconnection between the goals of schools as a social institution and the social reality is that power is applied in such a way as to at least maintain, if not increase, social reproduction's dominance. This essay represents my investigation into the role of power in society, the consequences of its use and misuse, and responses of public education to power shifts. Using Bertrand Russell's (1872–1970) focus on power as the driving force in society and social science as a postulate, I follow the thinking of Eric Hoffer (1898–1983) and Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), piggyback on the theory of Paulo Freire (1921–1997) and Vaclav Havel (1936–2011), and stand on the shoulders of John Dewey (1859–1952) in order to argue that the contemporary use of power is leading toward an increasingly authoritarian, if not totalitarian, society and that government actions are becoming more limiting (the movement for marijuana legalization notwithstanding) and dehumanizing. I begin my argument by couching my argument in the thought of Marx and Weber, the influence of the Frankfurt School and the New School for Social Research on social critique and power relations, and the impact of progressivism and progressive education. Finally, I examine the disturbing trend toward an increasingly authoritarian and totalitarian society given virulent increases in racism, classism, white nationalism, ethnocentrism, and violence. While hope certainly exists among various equity-focused organizations whose members push toward tolerance, allyship, social justice, living in truth, and intelligent involvement, given the design of social institutions, I argue much is left to do to reclaim the values of a more perfect union.

Bertrand Russell notes that "of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory."[1] This rings true in our time, whether his words refer to a person running a nation or those using personal status,

wealth, and power to get their children into the "right" schools. Wealth can clearly result in power and glory. Those who have wealth can become powerful and those who have power can obtain glory—and much more. Russell believes power to be the fundamental concept in social science. He writes "that the love of power is the cause of the activities that are important in social affairs."[2] The analysis of power relationships defines Russell's work in sociology and history. He dissects power's psychological and social aspects. He examines the personal impulse to power as well as the varieties of leader-follower relationships: physical, coercive, and influential. He identifies different forms of power as priestly power, kingly power, naked power, revolutionary power, economic power, and power over opinion. Russell also outlines the source of power as creeds, organizations, governments, and competition. He analyzes power by investigating philosophies, moral codes, ethics, and the taming of power. In writing Power, he hoped to create a new social-science methodology, believing the love of power is not evenly distributed, but "limited by love of ease, love of pleasure, and…love of approval."[3] He recognizes the exercise of power requires submission of one's followers and fellow travelers. James Comey, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2013–2017), notes how this process works in the extreme case of a particular, former occupant of the White House: "accomplished people lacking inner strength can't resist the compromises necessary to survive…and that adds up to something they will never recover from."[4] If able, experienced individuals can be so compromised, what does that indicate about the mass of followers whose ease, pleasure, and approval are necessary for continued support? Policy differences reduce governmental individuals to squabbling adversaries and create the specter of constitutional crisis as the branches of government try to dominate or overrule each other. Lost is the concept of loyal opposition. Demands of loyalty, if ignored, result in at least marginalization, and often dismissal. On a recent *PBS News Hour*, *New York Times* op-ed columnist and *PBS News Hour* correspondent David Brooks offers the appraisal,

> The Democrats are having a debate: Is he a racist? Is he a white supremacist? And…I think, well, he's a sociopath. He's incapable of experiencing or showing empathy. And, politically, it's helpful for him to target that lack of empathy and fellow feeling toward people of color. But how much have we seen him show empathy for anybody?[5]

Power, however, means much more than empathic capacity or capability. Power bestows upon its holders the ability to command and coerce others, to control the social, political, or economic relationships of those close to and subordinate to its holders. In this context, domination is an integral aspect of power. Opposition to power, speaking truth to power, and the power of the powerless all are ways the powerless resist the powerful. It therefore becomes increasingly important to recognize the role of power

among society's powerful. We seem to be living in a time in which power is arbitrarily used to soothe the egos of the powerful and its use is primarily focused on maintaining their powerful positions. Government policies are not well-defined. Administrative decisions are confusing and contradictory. Rule is increasingly by executive order rather than political process. One political party has sold out and the other has become divided in its effort to conceive of an operational strategy. Meanwhile, international relations become random with annulled agreements, voided treaties, and minimized organizations; diplomacy is but a distant dream. Environmental protection crumbles, national parks are at risk of corporate grift, endangered species are on their own, and the economy is all over the place with threats of tariffs, boycotts, and the like.

Marx, Nietzsche, and Weber

Karl Marx's (1818–1883) theory focuses on dialectical materialism, the role of economic relations, the plight of the proletariat and the struggle between social and economic classes. For Marx, power is found squarely within control of the means of production. "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another."[6] Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) finds the "will to power" or "instinct for freedom"[7] to be a fundamental life force though which one's first use of this power is power over oneself, this power being closely akin to self-actualization. Max Weber (1864–1920) investigates power as it exists within bureaucracy and rationalization. Weber's most important work describes the rise of capitalism and the development of an economy based upon consumption.[8] In *The Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism*, Weber sees the end of bureaucratic organization as "the pursuit of wealth,… external goods…[being] an iron cage…stripped of meaning."[9] In such an environment, power becomes an end in itself, the goal of and the reward for success. Weber also contributes a sociology of power and authority in his study of human societies, identifying three types of power—traditional, rational, and charismatic—which give the powerful responsibility for motivating those whom they control.[10] Such motivation can take both positive and negative forms: economic or status rewards or demotion or dismissal based on the perceived legitimacy of an organization.[11] For Weber, power relations evolve from charismatic and traditional power to rational-legal bureaucracies through a process he calls "routinization," in which a bureaucracy becomes increasingly complex with well-established behavioral rules and norms.[12] His interest in the impact of power relations on a society's political, economic, and personal behavior would go on to influence subsequent generations of social theorists and social philosophers.

Power, Critical Theory, and Hegemony

Marx's body of thought, especially his behest to change the world, not just interpret it;[13] Weber's analysis of capitalism, bureaucracy,

and domination;[14] and the increasing importance of popular culture, consumerism, and mass communication laid the groundwork for the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory. First housed at the Institute for Social Research, and subsequently at the New School for Social Research established in New York City by Frankfurt School immigrants, Frankfurt School members critique philosophy and its role in modern societies. They produced what has become known as critical theory: social analysis focused on change. Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) writes in 1937, critical "theory never aims simply at an increase of knowledge as such. Its goal is man's emancipation from slavery."[15]

Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), also of the Frankfurt School and the New School for Social Research, expands the critique of power relations in society where "domination by the most powerful economic groups is effected [sic] by means of the delegation of power to prototypical leader personalities in which the interests of these groups are concealed."[16] Marcuse uses these words to describe the rise of National Socialism in Germany; they ring true even now. For, if we compare the Nazi agenda with the reactionary populism that dominates today's politics (reacting to political correctness, pluralism, multiculturalism, alternate lifestyles, etc.), we find striking similarities. First is the establishment of an unwelcome minority, a minority suddenly considered superfluous to the needs of a nation. During National Socialism this group was the Jews, and in Reactionary Populism it is Hispanic and Muslim peoples.[17] Next there comes repudiation of the idea of a "loyal opposition." Opponents are thereafter vilified, given pejorative nicknames, belittled, berated, and blamed for all problems or failures, while credit is taken by the would-be state for any successes or positive accomplishments. Josef Goebbels (1897–1945) developed and implemented this process, this management of information, for Germany's National Socialist regime. However, it has applications in the present.

By way of evidence I offer a select dozen tenets of state information control: 1. Controlling intelligence of official events and opinions (e.g., "it is no one's business what the president discusses with other officials"); 2. Control sources of information (dismiss opposing viewpoints); 3. Consider appearance consequences for each action; 4. Consider effect of actions on opponents; 5. Evoke interest of supporters; 6. Credibility alone determines the use of information, not truth or falsity; 7. Use opponents' own information against them; 8. Time information for maximum effectiveness and repeat as necessary; 9. Label events and people with distinctive phrases or slogans; 10. Create anxiety about opposition views and programs; 11. Specify targets for hatred; and 12. Offer action, diversion, or both.[18] So does our prototypical official orchestrate the ways in which the privileged social and economic groups exercise power or do we see the creation of a new political phenomenon?

Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) theorizes the concept "cultural hegemony" to describe the role of class-based power on society. He is interested in how hegemonic power and dominance function in society, thinking it necessary to combat the influences of the socioeconomic elite through counter-hegemonic activities.

> Cultural hegemony is most strongly manifested when those ruled by the dominant group come to believe that the economic and social conditions of their society are natural and inevitable, rather than created by people with a vested interest in particular social, economic, and political orders.[19]

Hegemony also depends upon the dominated group's agreement, at least to a significant extent, to their own domination. Gramsci writes, "Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship."[20] Critical pedagogy, derived from the tenets of critical theory, enlarges the role of class hegemony; its theorists call for transformative action in education toward liberation from oppressive social structures and the development of what Paulo Freire calls *conscientização*, or "critical consciousness."[21] Interaction between the dominator and dominated is complex. Often the goal of the dominated is to become the dominator. Reactionary populists are the exemplars, it seems, of what Freire calls "fanaticized consciousness":[22] the loyal, gullible subjects who believe the tweets, blaming, misrepresentations, name-calling, and lies. Can critical theory illuminate the issues and recommend action to relieve the hegemony of the privileged on the one hand and the reactionary populists on the other? The conflict continues.

Power, Progressivism, and Pluralism

As critical theory developed during the interwar period in Germany, progressive thought became increasingly important in the U.S. John Dewey, who opposed anything smacking of absolutism, idealism, or dogmatism, writes,

> Recourse to monistic, wholesale, absolutist procedures is a betrayal of human freedom no matter in what guise it presents itself. An American democracy can serve the world only as it demonstrates in the conduct of its own life the efficacy of plural, partial, and experimental methods in securing and maintaining an ever increasing release of the powers of human nature, in service of a freedom which is co-operative and a co-operation which is voluntary.[23]

As a response to the excesses of the Gilded Age, progressives sought to expand pluralist ideas of social justice, democracy, and egalitarian society through changes in the economy, government, and political power. Dewey's identity as a progressive in education is well known but his influence in

progressive politics is also notable. He writes that, "The essential problem of government…reduces itself to this: What arrangements will prevent rulers from advancing their own interests at the expense of the ruled? …by what political means shall the interests of the governors be identified with those of the governed?"[24] Dewey was not naïve about the complexity of the modern state nor the necessary need for people with expertise to make it work. Dewey sees the problem as the disconnect between competent specialists, on the one hand, with the politics and policies (when they exist) produced by those most interested in election or reelection.[25] The politically powerful depend on swaying the opinions of the public. Traditionally the means for communicating opinion had been newspapers. All that began to change in the '20s when radio use became more widespread. "The radio," writes Dewey, "is the most powerful instrument of social education the world has ever seen,"[26] lamenting that "the radio lends itself to propaganda in behalf of special interests…used to distort facts and mislead the public mind."[27] Today we grapple in much the same way with social media in all its forms, used to sway through sophisticated (and often not-so-sophisticated) misinformation, misdirection, and sensationalism. Dewey argues "a public…arrives at decisions only through the medium of individuals. They are officers; they represent a Public, but the Public acts only through them."[28] However, "The idea of democracy," writes Dewey, "is a wider and fuller idea than can be exemplified in the state even at its best. To be realized it must affect all modes of human association, the family, the school, industry, religion."[29]

Dewey did more than write about the misuses of power in society, though. In 1928 he and Benjamin Marsh established The People's Lobby with Dewey as President, a post he held until 1940. Later that year at a meeting to discuss the "unreality of the prosperity boom,"[30] and of the "sense of necessity; first of the necessity for economic change and then of the necessity of corresponding political change,"[31] delegates formed the League for Independent Political Action (LIPA, 1928–1936), naming Dewey to its Provisional Executive Committee.[32] LIPA supported the creation of a third party at first to engage the economic excesses of the 1920s, then to oppose President Hoover's pro-business policies. After Franklin Roosevelt was elected, LIPA members questioned New Deal programs, and attempted to bring to light the "dearth of ideas, the total unconsciousness of even the need for any ideas, and the deliberate dependence upon the silliest and most stereotyped emotional appeals."[33] Dewey contributed essays to LIPA's *News Bulletin* (1930–1933) and the *People's Lobby Bulletin* (1931–1950),[34] commenting extensively on government activities and policies from taxation, inflation, and banking to unemployment, debt relief, and birth control. In his 1939 book, *Freedom and Culture*, he observes that, "the democratic tradition, call it dream or call it penetrating vision, was so closely allied with beliefs about human nature and about the moral ends

which political institutions should serve, that a rude shock occurs when these affiliations break down."[35] Dewey argues psychological motivations change as a culture evolves and that, in the late 1930s, "the favorite ideological psychological candidate for control of human activity [was] love of power."[36] The tendency of any government is toward increased control. He therefore observes, "The serious threat to our democracy is not the existence of foreign totalitarian states. It is the existence within our own attitudes and within our own institutions of conditions similar to those that have given a victory to external authority, discipline, uniformity and dependence upon The Leader."[37] The central role of public education was obvious to Dewey. The ideological control of education and literacy, entertainment, the press, and publishing made Nazi propaganda even more efficient and effective. Even science and technology have ideological components. So, Dewey asks, "Can society, especially a democratic society, exist without a basic consensus and community of beliefs?" A relevant question since, it seems, reactionary populism represents a breakdown in the fundamental assumptions of integrity, loyalty, and what Dewey calls sociality.[38]

Progressive Education

Progressive education has a controversial past. Often loosely based on the educational philosophy of John Dewey, progressive education varies as much as those trying to implement their conceptions of it. Although they did not call themselves progressives, James McClellan argues members of other movements in education, like critical pedagogy, share progressive characteristics. He says,

> An educational program is to be rated Progressive in proportion to its satisfaction of three criteria: (i) it is directed toward the fullest self-development of each young person entrusted to its care, (ii) it is fully social—i.e., organized into activities that require and teach skills of cooperative effort and democratic decision-making, [and] (iii) it is permeated throughout with the faith and practice of scientific inquiry.[39]

Among progressive educators, Dewey notably is interested in the role of democracy in society. For Dewey everything originates in philosophy and philosophy originates in experience and its reconstruction. He writes "that, while I seem to have spread myself out over a number of fields—education, politics, social problems, even the fine arts and religion—my interest in these issues has been specifically an outgrowth and manifestation of my primary interest in philosophy."[40] In *Democracy and Education*, he develops the idea that schools could serve as the proving ground for democratic society, but not schools dominated by rote learning disconnected from students' day-to-day experiences. For Dewey, experience is the source of learning: social experience from the community and school experience structured by the

teacher in concert with broader society. He laments that, "Conformity, not transformation, is the essence of education."[41] This reduces education to training but, claims Dewey, if "a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can be created only by education."[42] He continues, saying "that the object and reward of learning is continued capacity for growth."[43] The two decades that separate "My Pedagogic Creed" and *Democracy and Education* did not change Dewey's views on the importance of democracy, community, experience, reconstruction, and the application of the scientific method in teaching and learning. Two decades after *Democracy and Education* he wrote Experience and Education, proposing development of a theory of experience, responding to criticisms and "conflicts and controversies."[44] These conflicts and controversies arose from the excesses of dogmatic progressivism whose members applied their own, rather lockstep, schema for schools. He foresaw a movement away from the psychological, sociological, and scientific nature of schooling. Equating education with democracy, Dewey writes,

> Democracy is an educative process; …the act of voting is in a democratic regime a culmination of a continued process of open and public communication in which prejudices have the opportunity to erase each other…. This educational process is based upon faith in human good sense and human good will as it manifests itself in the long run when communication is progressively liberated from bondage to prejudice and ignorance.[45]

Authoritarian and Totalitarian Tendencies

Hannah Arendt agrees with Dewey about the problem of "bondage to prejudice and ignorance," and the growing authoritarian and totalitarian tendencies in government and society. Dewey warns that members of any democratic society should "beware of supposing that totalitarian states are brought about by factors so foreign to us that 'It can't happen here';—to beware especially of the belief that these states rest only upon unmitigated coercion and intimidation."[46] Arendt especially notes the indifference of officials whose personal enrichment, agendas, perception, and longevity are based on the "gullibility and cynicism of the masses."[47] The first casualty is the truth. Arendt writes,

> The totalitarian mass leaders based their propaganda on the correct psychological assumption that, under such conditions, one could make people believe the most fantastic statements one day, and trust that if the next day they were given irrefutable proof of their falsehood, they would take refuge in cynicism; instead of deserting the leaders who had lied to them, they would protest that they had known all along that the statement was a lie and would admire the leaders for their superior tactical cleverness.[48]

Mass leaders persuade their followers that theirs is the correct path to take in defining and meeting a society's problems. Arendt realizes that manipulation of facts is problematic. She writes,

> The historian knows how vulnerable is the whole texture of facts in which we spend our daily lives; it is always in danger of being perforated by single lies or torn to shreds by the organized lying of groups, nations, or classes, or denied and distorted, often carefully covered up by reams of falsehoods or simply allowed to fall into oblivion.[49]

Propaganda, whether by means of controlled mass media or more informal social media, conveys the point of view of the mass' leader—true or not. That "propaganda and terror present two sides of the same coin," argues Arendt, "is only partly true."[50] She adds, "more specific…than direct threats and crimes against individuals is the use of indirect, veiled, and menacing hints against all who will not heed its teaching."[51] Sanctioned groups do not perpetrate such terror, but pass it off as "excesses of the lower ranks,"[52] often cast as unstable, maladjusted, or mentally ill, they are useful for deflecting attention away from official policy and blaming victims for violating the norm. As a regime gains power it replaces propaganda with indoctrination. A mass movement needs a target. Arendt focuses on National Socialism's victims, the Jews, who were named a superfluous minority, "having lost their power and influence, and were left with nothing but their wealth."[53] Anti-Semitic hatred served as the convenient, racist ruling device in the early days of the Nazi movement. Once it became state policy, hatred expanded into the Final Solution of the Holocaust. Supremacist and anti-emigrant policies held sway over the reactionary populism that formed the new base for national politics. Dewey describes such means as,

> …'idealistic' factors…contradicted by the cruel persecutions that have taken place, things indicative of a reign of sadism rather than of desire for union with others irrespective of birth and locale…. But history shows that more than once social unity has been promoted by the presence, real or alleged, of some hostile group [through] the effect of powerful and unremitting propaganda. For the intention has been to indicate some of the conditions whose interaction produces the social spectacle.[54]

Eric Hoffer observes that "there is no doubt that the leader cannot create the conditions that make the rise of a movement possible."[55] He argues that mass movements would be impossible without the presence of "an outstanding leader."[56] In discussing what attributes an "outstanding leader" should have, Hoffer lists,

> Exceptional intelligence, noble character and originality seem neither indispensable nor perhaps desirable. The main

> requirements seem to be: audacity and a joy in defiance; an iron will; a fanatical conviction that he is in possession of the one and only truth; faith in his destiny and luck; a capacity for passionate hatred; contempt for the present; a cunning estimate of human nature; a delight in symbols (spectacles and ceremonials); unbounded brazenness which finds expression in a disregard of consistency and fairness; a recognition that the innermost craving of a following is for communion and that there can never be too much of it; [and] a capacity for winning and holding the utmost loyalty of a group of able lieutenants.[57]

Mass movements appeal to certain disaffected groups. Hoffer names these as: "(a) the poor, (b) misfits, (c) outcasts, (d) minorities, (e) adolescent youth, (f) the ambitious, (g) those in the grip of vice or obsession, (h) the impotent, (i) the inordinately selfish, (j) the bored, [and] (k) the sinners."[58] Of these, he identifies the newly poor as most vulnerable. He says, "It is usually those whose poverty is relatively recent…who throb with the ferment of frustration. The memory of better things is as fire in their veins. They are the disinherited and dispossessed who respond to every rising mass movement."[59] Changes in the economy can create this new poor. The loss of manufacturing and industrial jobs, the increase of automation, and the rise of the casual-work/gig-economy model, part-time as opposed to full-time jobs with benefits, all add to this, the rise of passionate hatred. Hoffer argues, "Hatred is the most accessible and comprehensive of all unifying agents. It pulls and whirls the individual away from his own self, makes him oblivious of his weal and future, frees him of jealousies and self-seeking."[60] Hatred for immigrants of color, those of Islamic faith, and the poor have augmented anti-Semitism. This phenomenon is not just a U.S. phenomenon, but exists in Europe as well. Madeline Albright, in *Fascism*, describes the anti-immigrant regimes, political parties, and fascist tendencies of European Union governments: what she calls "an important test of where extreme nationalism will lead."[61]

While Dewey, Arendt, and Hoffer view movement toward authoritarian and totalitarian societies from afar, Vaclav Havel theorizes the evolution of totalitarianism from the inside. He describes the power relations of a society whose members must become political to the point of banality, "a post-totalitarian system…totalitarian in a way that is fundamentally different from classical dictatorships, different from totalitarianism as we usually understand it."[62] It was Havel's view that totalitarian dictatorship with what he called "revolutionary excitement, heroism, dedication and boisterous violence,"[63] had given way to bureaucracy and an "extremely flexible ideology."[64] "Ideology," he continues, "is always subordinated ultimately to the interests of the structure. Therefore, it has a natural tendency to discourage itself from reality, to create a world of appearances, to become ritual."[65] Havel uses the example of the ubiquitous slogans seen everywhere

in the Soviet bloc before 1989 and the requirement that signage's text, such as "Workers of the World Unite," be prominently displayed. These signs and slogans become part of the environment, much like "In God We Trust" being required in many U.S. schools. The Czechs have always been masters of the art of minimal capitulation, doing what is necessary to survive. For Havel what is important is our response to the "dictatorship of the ritual."[66] We choose either to live a lie, going along with the ritual, or living "within the truth, … any means by which a person or a group revolts against manipulation."[67] He explains,

> Between the aims of the post-totalitarian system and the aims of life there is a yawning abyss: while life, in its essence moves toward plurality, diversity, independent self-constitution, and self organization, is short toward the fulfillment of its own freedom, the post-totalitarian system demands conformity, uniformity, and discipline.[68]

Pre-totalitarian political change like that described by Dewey, Arendt, and Hoffer resembles the post-totalitarian environment described by Havel. The focus is on conformity, uniformity, and discipline. To this we should add loyalty, for nothing less is acceptable.

Conclusion

So, we can look at some sources mentioned herein, consider their take on the state's response to power in society and in schools. Paulo Freire describes three options: naïve, critical, or fanatical consciousness.[69] Hannah Arendt suggests that a state of detached awareness would allow one to analyze adequately life's events with a view to personal action resisting external control.[70] John Dewey refers to the application of intelligence as opposed to living out of habit.[71] Eric Hoffer's goal appears to be the creation of independent, skeptical, lifelong learners able to detect manipulation and fanaticism. To quote Hoffer,

> The central task of education is to implant a will and facility for learning; it should produce not learned but learning people. The truly human society is a learning society, where grandparents, parents, and children are students together. In a time of drastic change it is the learners who inherit the future. The learned usually find themselves equipped to live in a world that no longer exists.[72]

Finally, Vaclav Havel suggests that living in the truth, resisting alienation, and regaining personal responsibility allows one to resist the state's dogmatic ideology.[73]

Power relations are of great importance and educating young people to understand the workings of power relationships is an important aspect of schooling. The historical and sociological developments of thinking on power, the development of critical theory, the concept of class-based

hegemony, and the role of progressivism all contribute to this education. Students need clearer understandings of international relations, economic interdependence, environmental issues, and animal rights. The confluence of progressivism, critical pedagogy, and hegemonic studies and their application have resulted in the development of social justice education and the Ally movement. While social justice is a broad concept, the National Council of Teachers of English version of social justice education seeks to establish equity as "a fundamental tenet of professional practice… [through] systematic and intentional attention to 'fairness, opportunity, and social good.'"[74] Development of a social justice-focused curriculum is challenging. NCTE Standard 6[75] and the National Council for Social Studies Standard 5[76] both address teacher education. The Southern Poverty Law Center's *Teaching Tolerance* curriculum provides cross-curricular standards for implementing the socially just domains of "identity, diversity, justice and action."[77] Allyship can be just as important, by teaching students to be more aware of social issues and empathetic to those who experience intolerance, oppression, or inequity.

Tamara Winfrey Harris writes that, "Conspiring with marginalized people to beat back bigotry requires five things of would-be allies[:] learning, listening, speaking up, taking action, and being brave."[78] Curricula produced by ally.org notes that "members of targeted groups should be able to expect certain things from allies: respect, support, recognition; that they use their power to promote social justice; [and] that they will 'do their own work […and learn more about issues].'"[79] There is no reason that allyship, like social justice, cannot be part of school curricula. Students need a clearer understanding of international relations, economic interdependence, environmental issues, and animal rights. Educational programs that investigate the impact of human activities on the social, political, and physical environment might provide such understanding.[80]

In this essay I began with Bertrand Russell's take on power, so I would like to end with his concluding remarks on the importance of the task of education, which is,

> To give a sense of the value of things other than domination, to help to create wise citizens of a free community, and through the combination of citizenship with liberty in individual creativeness to enable men to give to human life that splendour which some few have shown that it can achieve.[81]

Better than that, we cannot do.

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Personal Generosity or Corporate Imperialism? Lessons in Educational Philanthropy from the General Education Board

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A person of fantastic wealth and privilege moves into a position of enormous impact on the nation's schools in spite of the fact that person has neither worked in education, nor have any of that person's children attended public schools. Quickly the critics emerge: is not this person only looking out for self and making decisions that will benefit this person's own bottom line? Who is this person to tell teachers what to do? Of course, this constellation describes [former] U.S. Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, cabinet member to [former] President Donald Trump; however, it also perfectly describes John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

While DeVos chose to influence schools via the power of political cronyism, Rockefeller chose to influence schools via the power of his own wallet. Founded in 1902 with a personal gift, by 1930 John D. Rockefeller, Sr. had endowed the General Education Board (GEB) with $129,209,167 in private funds[1] (the equivalent of $1.98 billion in 2020 dollars[2]). Throughout its existence and influence, the GEB was managed by a Board of Trustees comprised of a mix of interested businessmen and educators, as well as the John D. Rockefellers Sr, Jr, and, eventually, the III. Throughout its tenure, the Rockefeller family insisted the personal philosophy of John, Sr.—that all people must help themselves—guided its appropriations.[3] Then, as now, U.S. citizens raised significant concerns about the purpose and effectiveness of public schooling. Then, as now, those who appeared with apparently generous financial offers to help U.S. public schools were welcomed with open arms. While, in hindsight, scholars have taken a more critical view of 20th-century philanthropists, similar criticism seems to me rather in short supply during the 21st.

Examination of GEB funding, particularly in the U.S. West, can inform contemporary discourse regarding philanthropy and public education. In this article I draw evidence and lessons from the GEB in order to present a critique of what I perceived to be the unexamined acceptance of current

philanthropic efforts affecting U.S. schools. I begin with a brief overview of the GEB and summary of the historical scholarship around its work. I then examine its work historically before using that context critically to examine the present. Ultimately, I set out to remind my readers that, while it is understandable to view philanthropic gifts to U.S. public schools in a positive light, the question "What is in it for the donor?" must always be foregrounded in considering the sociopolitical limits and potential inequities of philanthropy in public education.

"Unwanted Agents": A Brief History of the GEB

Initially, GEB funds were dedicated to two areas: U.S. Southern education and U.S. general education.[4] The GEB was intended to serve as clearinghouse both for research and funding "by other interested parties as well,"[5] thus it was christened the General Education Board rather than the Rockefeller Education Board. The GEB served multiple functions targeted to improve U.S. education: funding positions in state departments of education, providing funds for faculty positions in universities, overhauling medical school education, funding schools serving marginalized populations, providing scholarships for graduate students to study in established universities, providing scholarships for teachers to attend summer institutes, using public schools to spread agrarianism, and conducting and publishing research on contemporary educational trends.[6]

When determining which educational organizations would be awarded funding, early GEB members set straightforward criteria. The GEB developed "quite elaborate forms of financial and statistical tables to be filled out by the institutions"[7] requesting assistance. Just as significant as what was funded was what the GEB chose not to fund; indeed, taking a "null history" approach reveals much.[8] Early on, the GEB was closely linked euphemistically to a "Southern mentality"; the Board would do nothing that might offend Southern whites' racist sensibilities. Unsurprisingly, this deference to "Southern sensibilities" meant that "in the GEB's first decade of operation, very little money"[9] was allocated to Southern Black communities. When scant monies were endowed to Black institutions, their use was mandated to follow Hampton-Tuskegee's educational model: vocational education was funded, liberal arts studies were not. Black-community-serving schools that failed to comply with the GEB's mandates were required to adapt or were thereafter denied funding.

Schools were required to evidence community support and prove long-term viability, a policy which precluded many state-supported universities from obtaining GEB funds. In the opinion of GEB members, if a school was eligible for state subsidy, that school must not need the GEB's help.[10] As a result, states with very small populations—and limited numbers of schools—often never received GEB support. The GEB would only fund schools in geographic areas where the Board foresaw future

growth; however, members of the Board were not always accurate in their predictions, and often drew upon moralistic reasoning which clouded economic appraisals.

The mission of the GEB becomes clearer by examining its work in the Southeastern U.S., (increasing the region's tax base via rural school improvement and funding some African-American education); however, when shifting one's gaze westward, the GEB's professed mission and its enactment become even more convoluted. White U.S. Easterners seem confused about the nature of the U.S. West: if a state could be agricultural, as were parts of Texas and Oklahoma, these states' requests were treated following the GEB's Southeastern model. But New Mexico and other parts of Oklahoma appear to have confounded the Board about what industrial education in marginalized populations should be.

GEB Criticism

Even before the GEB formed, critics were taking aim at the Rockefellers' brand of philanthropy. Muckraking journalist and political activist Henry D. Lloyd, in his 1898 scathing critique of Rockefeller and his ilk, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, argues that charity earned via unscrupulous or immoral means was "nothing less than a return to chattel slavery."[11] He further opined that, with the rise of large philanthropies,

> Everything withers—even charity. Aristocratic benevolence spends a shrunken stream in comparison with democratic benevolence. …through the obliteration of old methods of individual competition by the establishment of large corporations and trusts in modern times, the income of such charitable institutions as are supported by the individual gifts of the benevolent has been seriously affected.[12]

Reaction against philanthropic boards was swift. U.S. historian and professor, Judith Sealander, documents a variety of self-serving motives ascribed to men like Rockefeller:

> Supposed foundation benevolence, they argued, masked the fright of rich men, determined to maintain an economic and social structure weighted in their favor. Had they been constrained by laws that required fair wages and working conditions and imposed tighter government regulation on business, the men who endowed foundations would never have amassed their immense fortunes in the first place. Foundation programs were crumbs, thrown to distract recipients from necessary social reform. They existed as "premium for insurance against social interference."[13]

Noted historian of education James D. Anderson describes the vocational-only model of funding favored by the GEB as "the ideological antithesis of the educational and social movement begun by ex-slaves."[14] While the GEB

model initially claimed a focus on the training of teachers, it "employed a unique manual labor routine and an ideology of 'self help' as the practical and moral foundation of their teacher training process."[15] The point of the GEB's ethic was not to impart skill in industry, but rather "to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil or the 'dignity of labor'" that would allow graduates to "teach the children of the South's distinctive [B]lack laboring class."[16]

Anderson describes GEB funding patterns in the Southeast as: "Any [B]lack institution emphasizing classical liberal education was regarded…as impractical and not geared to prepare [B]lack youth for useful citizenship and productive efficiency."[17] Anderson characterizes the GEB's vocational-only approach toward Black communities as a populist stance; white Southerners' resistance to the GEB's efforts was a "series of isolated incidents" in which GEB-funded positions were seen as "unwanted agents of Northern philanthropy."[18] Anderson describes the GEB's Southern program as spending "most of their time systematizing industrial education where it was practiced; and advocating systematizing industrial education where it was not [yet] installed."[19]

Professors of history Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss deepen historical critique of the GEB in Dangerous Donations, evidencing how, because the GEB "acquired immense prestige,"[20] its racist agenda for Black Southern education was unquestioningly adopted by many other philanthropic organizations. Widespread adoption of race-based inequities upheld racist ideologies and practices since the GEB heavily favored the vocational-only model for Black communities as opposed to a more classical, liberal-arts-based curriculum, and favored white governance of Black schools: this in spite of the fact the Hampton-Tuskegee educational model was losing favor among educators and philanthropists by the 1930s. Anderson and Moss criticize the GEB for its pattern of funding existing, deficient public schools serving Southern Black students rather than devoting funding towards developing a more effective, independent public school system that challenged white supremacy in the region or funding already-established private schools.[21]

The GEB in the U.S. West

While much ink has been spilled documenting and critiquing the work of the GEB throughout the U.S. Southeast, not nearly as much scholarship considers the U.S. West. Most often when referencing the U.S. West, the GEB is mentioned as an aside or occupies a single line. For example in Victoria-María MacDonald's historiographical essay she states simply, "Private foundations such as Rockefeller's General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which had traditionally focused their resources

on the condition of education in the South for Blacks, began to see the needs of Mexican Americans as equally urgent."[22]

One of the few articles that focuses extensively on the U.S. West is historian Lynne Getz's examination of the GEB in New Mexico. In 1930, two of the GEB's Southern field agents visited New Mexico and reported on the parallels between Latino communities in the U.S. West and Black communities in the U.S. South. As a result of these field visits, the GEB founded the San José Training School, designed as a statewide demonstration school built on the model of those in the U.S. South, yet this model primarily focused on vocational education. Its founder, University of New Mexico faculty member Lloyd Tierman, was somewhat ahead of his time, implementing literacy-intensive curricula, strong support to teach English, and (in what is now considered best practice) academic instruction in Spanish for all children during grades 1–5. More interestingly, Tierman and his teachers argued that bilingualism should not be seen as students' educational deficit, but as educational asset. Tierman worked to ensure communities' cultural traditions were reflected in curricula.

Tierman also followed the GEB's Southern model by establishing training for teachers in rural areas by bringing them in as "cadets" to the San José Training School. Once schools were established in rural areas, no matter how much Tierman developed academics at San José, ultimately what happened in those schools all came back to the GEB's vocational core: schools in the program fostered instruction in arts and crafts to both children and adults in tin-work, woodwork, leather-work, spinning, weaving, embroidery, and the preparation of traditional vegetable dyes. Arguably, the GEB was imposing a vocational education model on Latino students in New Mexico. The one acknowledged difference was the lack of focus on developing an industrial model in New Mexico schools as popularized in Southern schools.[23]

History in 3-D: Lessons from the GEB

The social reconstructionist educator Theodore Brameld argues for expanded temporal consciousness in educators because he believes "the schools by and large have forgotten that time consists of three dimensions rather than merely two."[24] Brameld discusses how, at the time, schools focused on the past and present but were not concerned for the future; today, scholars in education seem instead to have lost sight of the past. I consequently present here an analysis of the GEB in 3-D: lessons from the past, of the present, and for the future.

What Happened? Lessons from the Past

As argued by historian and intersectional scholar Clif Stratton, "rather than treat colonialism as a process tangential to or apart from public

schooling in the United States, it needs to be understood as a central ideological, narrative, and organizational force in schools at home as well as abroad."[25] Stratton documents a racist temporal dichotomy; while in the past public schools were increasingly teaching for "good citizenship," many educators "preferred that many [people of color] and immigrants not embrace the full meaning of citizenship."[26] Indeed, "authors and school administrators in charge of vetting and adopting textbooks crafted and selected narratives of [racial] hierarchy, empire as national destiny, and patriotism that often masked and almost always reinforced…deep [racial] inequalities and exclusionary school policies."[27]

Rockefeller and his sort claimed one of their goals in funding the GEB was to produce "good U.S. citizens"; however, their rhetoric requires problematizing. Stratton argues Rockefellers' brand of "making 'good' citizens was as much about excluding or subordinating certain kinds of people as it was about including, regenerating, and reshaping others."[28] These systematic exclusionary practices become even more onerous when framed by race and colonialism:

> Schools within the bounded national space often served as domestic colonial institutions, espoused narratives that projected American power onto both foreign and domestic geographies and populations, and created distinctive paths to citizenship that many native-born and indeed many naturalized whites hoped would strengthen the boundaries of race and nation.[29]

What Is Happening? Lessons of the Present

How might study of the GEB's work in the U.S. West inform current discourse regarding contemporary philanthropy? Today both PK–12 and higher education becomes an increasingly corporate endeavor due both to enterprise and philanthropic efforts. The success of U.S. corporations' infiltration and sway in education only mounts, beginning first with the progressive era of education, and the dawn of neoliberalism's influence on education influences more still. While some historians identify philanthropy's influence on public education in the early 20th century as tainted money used for nefarious purposes, fewer historians turn as critical an eye on philanthropy's current role in U.S. education, unfortunately. American-Canadian filmmaker and legal scholar Joel Bakan[30] describes corporations as institutions with a unique structure and set of imperatives that direct the actions of people within them. Corporations exist and are obligated to fulfill their legal mandate to pursue, relentlessly and without exception, profit in the interest of its shareholders, regardless of the inequitable effects on and consequences to humanity and the natural world.

Paradoxically, in the U.S. corporations are legally recognized as persons, most recently upheld and interpreted via the 2010 *Citizens United*

v. Federal Election Commission decision.[31] Bakan characterizes corporations as sociopaths since persons who pursue their own interests above all others are, by definition, considered sociopathic. Corporations relentlessly serve only their own interests and put material gain (profit) as their only priority. Even public good works (i.e., environmental awareness, school support) are designed to increase the corporate bottom line (i.e., better public relations, increased sales). Bakan writes, "Most people would find [the corporation's] 'personality' abhorrent, even psychopathic, in a human being, yet curiously we accept it in society's most powerful institution."[32]

Corporate monopolists and industrial robber barons still exist and still practice "philanthropy," while their influence wends its way into every person's everyday while typing Windows software, shopping on amazon, and checking Facebook from iPhones. This fact gives rise to the question of why so many U.S. citizens entrust contemporary educational philanthropy to the likes of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, of the Microsoft empire, a monopolistic corporation in the vein of the Rockefeller empire? More specifically, why do so many in the U.S. entrust classrooms to Google Classroom, in spite of numerous consumer privacy issues in their history?

Worse, educational philanthropy funds models it likes, affording places to keep like-minded people together. In her book *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*, scholar of government and politics Liliana Mason argues that part of why citizens in the contemporary U.S. have become so divided is they have formed mega-identities. In short, the past's citizens treated their various social-identity categories (race, political ideology, religion) as separate entities. Because many people were members of multiple social organizations (e.g., fraternal clubs or recreational sports leagues), they were frequently exposed to people with different ideologies and characteristics; thus people developed cross-cutting social cleavages.[33] As community-based social gathering spots decline and opportunities to surround oneself exclusively with those of identical ideologies abound, individuals begin to lose their ability to identify with, humanize, and empathize with those of different ilk. Mason argues when groups "grow more socially homogenous, their members are quicker to anger and tend toward intolerance."[34]

What Should Happen? Looking to the Future

The third dimension of course is the future; what does an examination of the GEB in the U.S. West advise about what should happen in education's future? Past president of WICHE, David A. Longanecker, explains the 21st century brought several significant challenges to higher education in the U.S. West. He notes that while U.S. Westerners can "look back with pride" on what has been accomplished,

> …the great challenge for the states and institutions at the beginning of the twenty-first century is to meet the needs of a changing population of students—to provide them with the ever-evolving career and life skills necessary to participate effectively in the global community with its insatiable demand for intellectual resources of higher-order skills.[35]

His explanation does not apply just to higher education, but education writ large, PK–16; it does not simply apply to schools of the U.S. West, but nationwide.

So, imagining a new model and ethics of educational philanthropy, how could educational philanthropy take up principles that demonstrate a learning from the past and a desire to prove itself to be humane and healthy rather than, in Bakan's phrase, sociopathic? Philanthropies could be held to standards that avoid the mistakes of the past: first, there cannot be "one best system"—philanthropic organizations will be called upon to provide some mechanism for local control. Second, while centralized decision making in a philanthropic organization may be necessary in some sense, that organization should rely on the work of experts and consult research from variety of voices, particularly those deeply connected to the needs of marginalized students and communities.

Contemporary philanthropies could look at some of the best elements of what the GEB did in funding higher education and update/modify to fit the current century by avoiding replication of funding. As in the past in Rockefeller funded schools, Carnegie libraries, Rosenwald buildings and Jeanes teachers, monies should be spread across the full curriculum. Such philanthropies should endow open-access scholarship, since, if education is truly a right, scholarship should be available to every teacher, administrator, school board member, and parent so all stakeholders know what is best practice.

Philanthropic organizations could endow positions in colleges of education, programs that promote strong intercultural education, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges, and Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), and allow those institutions to determine what areas are most in need of funding. Scholarships can fund post-baccalaureate paths to teaching, studying the best programs long-term (not just those which have the best corporate friends) and replicate where applicable; and, finally, fund study abroad and international study opportunities.

The recent shutdown of the nation's public schools to reduce the spread of SARS-CoV-2 starkly reveals funding gaps and logistical challenges, so philanthropic organizations are confronted with fertile ground for their giving. Philanthropies could provide greater funding for vocational education as well as provide updated/relevant curricular materials to schools/districts

most in need, allowing those sites to determine for themselves what is of most use. Foundations could focus funding on healthy meal programs, particularly package meals/open meal centers in "off times" for students in poverty who live in food deserts as well as provide infrastructure to those with "digital divide" issues. Finally, perhaps educational foundations could explore development of an equitable, inclusive national system of standards of entry to professions.

Of course, this work should not be limited to philanthropic foundations; indeed, all agencies and organizations involved in U.S. education would benefit from consideration of equitable, inclusive educational foci. However, if philanthropies seek to transcend their corporate-based, imperialistic pasts and sociopathic presents, they would be well-advised to lead with their humanity.

Endnotes

1 *General Education Board Review and Final Report 1902–1964* (New York, NY: General Education Board, 1964), 81.

2 Currency conversion calculated July, 2020, https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/

3 Raymond Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1962), 22.

4 General Education Board: Purpose and Program (n.d.), (Box 15, Folder 145, FA324, Series O), Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY.

5 Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*, 9.

6 For a full list of appropriations of the GEB, see *General Education Board Review and Final Report*, "Appendix II: Summary of Appropriations From Date of the Board's Founding in 1902 to December 31, 1964," 82–83.

7 Starr Murphy and Wallace Buttrick Memorandum, (October 10, 1905), (Box 15, Folder 149: General Education Board Memoranda 1905, FA324, Series O), Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY.

8 For more on a null history approach see Edward Janak, "What Do You Mean It's Not There? Doing Null History", *The American Archivist* 83, no. 1 (2020): 57–76.

9 Peter M. Ascoli, *Julius Rosenwald: The Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and Advanced the Cause of Black Education in the American South* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 136.

[10] The specific language in the organization's bylaws states that the GEB "does not entertain requests…to contribute to local or official educational institutions in any manner which would replace, obviate, or render unnecessary support received through normal channels." General Education Board: Purpose and Program (n.d.), (Box 15, Folder 145, FA324, Series O), Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, .

[11] Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1898), 502.

[12] Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 502–503.

[13] Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 4.

[14] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 34.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 133.

[18] Ibid.

[19] James D. Anderson, "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education 1902–1935," *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1978): 383. This point is also made by Edward Berman who writes the GEB "provides another illustration of the manner in which those who controlled the early foundations attempted to utilize them to impose upon society a particular construct." Edward Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1984), 20–22.

[20] James D. Anderson and Alfred Moss, *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education 1902–1930* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 5.

[21] This criticism of the GEB's long-term strategy is detailed in Chapter 4, "The General Education Board's Choices", Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 85–107.

[22] Victoria-María MacDonald, "Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, or 'Other'?: Deconstructing the Relationship between Historians and Hispanic-American Educational History," *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2001), 374.

[23] Lynne M. Getz, "Extending the Helping Hand to Hispanics: The Role of the General Education Board in New Mexico in the 1930s." *Teacher's College Record* 93, no. 3 (1992): 500–516. The shift in approach

from the Southeast to New Mexico is largely due to the GEB's support of the work of Dr. George I. Sánchez and his pioneering efforts in education. Educators in the U.S. West such as Sánchez convinced the GEB that arts and crafts were a legitimate vocation for children in the region. A full description of how educators such as Sánchez and others like him were able to disrupt and subvert the GEB model in the U.S. West, see Edward Janak, "Bridgers and Brokers: Collective Biography in the Study of the General Education Board in the U.S. West," *Vitæ Scholasticæ: The Journal of Educational Biography* 35, no. 1 (2018), 5–24.

24 Theodore Brameld, *Design for America: An Educational Exploration of the Future of Democracy* (New York, NY: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge Inc., 1945), 1–2.

25 Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 7.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., 9.

28 Ibid., 3.

29 Ibid. The notion of Rockefeller Boards (including the GEB) using "children as a means to reshape and reform the social fabric" is fully explored in Theresa Richardson, "Refiguring Schools as Child Welfare Agencies: Rockefeller Boards and the New Program in General Education at the Secondary Level," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no. 2 (2005): 122–130. See also Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 89–90.

30 Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2005), 1–2.

31 *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 558 U.S. 310 (2010).

32 Ibid., 28.

33 Liliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 7.

34 Ibid., 6–7.

35 David A. Longanecker, "Where Do We Go from Here: The Policy Nexus Between the West and the Federal Government," [Afterward] in *Public Policy Challenges Facing Higher Education in the American West*, eds. Lester F. Goodchild, Richard W. Jonsen, Patty Limerick, and David A. Longanecker (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 188.

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Duck and Cover: Civil Defense Education as Emotional Management

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Introduction

On August 29, 1949 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) successfully tested its own atomic bomb. The U.S.S.R., still under Stalin, made no public announcement of the test, but within a few days, due to airborne testing by the Air Force, the United States became aware Soviets had detonated a nuclear bomb. President Harry S. Truman revealed the test to the public on September 23, 1949.[1] In response to the successful Soviet explosion and the growing tensions of the Cold War, Congress passed The Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950.[2] Under this Act, the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) was charged with promoting the dissemination of civil defense information and training. The Act did not allocate federal resources for civil defense projects, yet the FCDA nevertheless was charged with producing educational materials "intended to mobilize state and local agencies as well as private individuals to spend their own funds to implement programs."[3]

Excepting Japan, given the WWII bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, no country's people had a better understanding of the impact of a nuclear explosion than the U.S., where press coverage on the effect of these bombs "left no doubt that an atomic attack on American cities would be a catastrophe too horrible to contemplate."[4] Civil defense authorities sought to challenge and alter that narrative in an attempt to "check American anxiety about the bomb."[5] Historian Guy Oakes explains civil defense authorities' rationale: "If the American people, motivated by a rational fear of nuclear attack were convinced they could survive by reason of careful planning, sound training, and firm moral discipline, then the problem of national will would be solved."[6] The fear of a Soviet attack was a rational one, but U.S. civil defense authorities believed that fear could be managed; in essence a form of emotional management, fear could be used as a motivating factor, not a paralyzing one. For civil defense authorities, civil defense became absolutely necessary for national security; citizens could be "trained in the procedures required to protect them in an unreflective, swift, and automatic execution of recommended civil defense techniques."[7] Americans would need to learn techniques of survival, and one of the best places for those techniques to be taught was schools. One

technique came to be known as "duck and cover," the actual term most likely originating from Helen Seth-Smith, assistant headmistress of the Potomac School, an all-girls private school in McLean, Virginia.[8] In fact, many schools were already using a form of duck and cover before the U.S. released the short film *Duck and Cover* in 1952.

Using cultural history's analytic methods and using the film as my primary data source, in this paper I explore the effects of the Cold War-era film *Duck and Cover*, used in the U.S. to enact a form of emotional management. Much like intellectual history, cultural history's methods allow us to study people's values and beliefs of a particular time and place. Through the lens of cultural history, we can look at attitudes, assumptions, values, and rituals which take place within a historical and cultural context. Cultural historians seek entrée into the minds of those who lived in the past, but without forgetting how those processes inform the present. Such methods offer insight into how the present is but a transition from the past, a view that hopefully gives a clearer perspective of the present world and how it evolved, helping us better to understand the present and guide us into the future. "The effects of a particular ideological work or aspect of hegemony can only be understood in relation to attitudes and beliefs that are already lived…. Ideologies always work upon a ground, that ground is culture. To insist on this is also to insist on history…."[9]

In this paper, I analyze the film *Duck and Cover* as a cultural artifact that reflects the ideology of the Cold War era. While we often think of film as entertainment, it also represents an important cultural product. Film contains "invaluable records of events, customs, gestures, and ways of life."[10] It can also provide us with a means to examine national identity and how cultural traits have been asserted, often by building upon assumed cultural beliefs and values, seeking to strengthen them. On December 28, 2004, the Library of Congress announced its annual list of 25 motion pictures to be added to the National Film Registry, chosen for their significance "culturally, historically, and aesthetically." The roughly 10-minute film *Duck and Cover* was selected for that year's inclusion. The short film was seen by millions of schoolchildren, among others, during the 1950s and today remains available for viewing on the internet.[11] In examining the film *Duck and Cover*, I make use of the tools of film analysis to address the following questions: What influenced the production of the film and what was its intent and meaning? How are images used in the film and why were they chosen? What does the film tell us about attitudes during the Cold War, how was the film received at the time and how does it serve its intended purpose of emotional management?

Duck and Cover: What Children Saw

The film begins with Bert the Turtle calmly strolling along a path surrounded by trees to a deedle-dum-dum jingle called *Bert the Turtle (Duck*

and Cover), written by Leon Carr, Leo Corday, and Leo Langlois.[12] Bert is dressed in tie and pith helmet, similar to those worn by civil defense workers. The turtle walks in peaceful solitude, brandishing a smile, sniffing a flower as he strolls. The narrator tells us Bert is always cognizant of the potential for danger and, as he walks under a tree, a monkey hanging from a limb dangles a lit stick of dynamite that subsequently explodes. As this incident unfolds, the narrator assures us that Bert did not get hurt during the explosion because he knew just what to do. Being a turtle, Bert has ducked and covered within his shell to protect himself from the blast. When invited by the narrator to come out of his shell "to meet all these nice people," Bert is hesitant, eyes moving from side to side, "because he is a very careful fellow," only slowly reaching for the abandoned pith helmet dropped when he ducked inside his shell. Then film then cuts to a classroom of schoolchildren practicing the duck-and-cover technique, directed by a male authority figure who does not appear to be a teacher. The class is racially mixed, and includes one African-American boy and one girl. The male authority figure mimics the words of the narrator and children duck under their desks with hands clasped behind their necks.

In an attempt to calm children viewing the film, the narrator reminds them of the familiar fire drill and the use of traffic lights as means that keep them safe from danger. "Now we must be ready for a new danger: the atomic bomb," warns the narrator. "There is a bright flash, brighter than the sun, brighter than anything you have ever seen. If you are not ready and do not know what to do it could hurt you in different ways." The narrator continues by explaining an atomic bomb could knock someone down or throw them against a tree, this said as the film shows a tree and house being demolished by the blast. "The atomic blast could burn you worse than a terrible sunburn, especially when you are not covered," cautions the narrator. The next scene shows a female teacher in front of her class with a drawing of a turtle on the blackboard. She instructs the students how to duck and cover under a table or desk. Subsequently, in a different classroom, an older student named Betty asks her teacher how she will know when an atomic bomb explodes. Through the voice of the narrator, the teacher explains that there may not be a warning or signal but civil defense workers will do their best to sound an alarm so we can find shelter. She warns, if you do not get a warning but see a flash you must "do like Bert; duck and cover and do it fast."

The scene then shifts to a group of high school students, both boys and girls, where one boy shows the audience how to duck and cover in a hallway. The message "being ready means we must be ready to take care of ourselves when adults might not be present to help," is constantly emphasized throughout the film. Next, after getting ready for school and following a kiss from their mother, Paul and Patty are walking to school when they see a flash; they immediately duck and cover. Tony is on his way

to a cub scout meeting on his bike when he sees the flash and immediately ducks and covers. "Atta boy!" exclaims the narrator, "he knows that the flash means to act fast. He stays down until he knows the danger is over." Tony is helped to his feet by a civil defense worker. "We must obey the civil defense worker," advises the narrator. The film then shows students how to duck and cover on a bus, and later shows a family on a picnic when they see the flash. "This family knows what to do," explains the narrator, "They know that even a thin cloth helps protect them; even a newspaper can save you from a bad burn. … No matter where we live in the city or the country," the narrator warns, "we must be ready all the time for the atomic bomb. Duck and cover! That's the first thing to do." As the film closes, the scene moves to another classroom when the narrator suggests, "If you don't know what to do, ask your teacher when the film is over. Discuss what to do in different places if a bomb explodes." Bert the Turtle closes the film with his only dialogue in the film: "Remember what to do friends. Now tell me right out loud—what are you supposed to do when you see the flash?" Bert then ducks and covers in his shell and the film ends on the U.S.' civil defense logo, a symbol also used clearly to mark public fallout shelters.

The Making of Duck and Cover

It is clear the FCDA envisioned schools as the primary disseminator of civil defense education. Some school personnel were concerned about the identification of children post-blast, so San Francisco, Detroit, Denver, and Seattle followed Los Angeles in issuing a form of "dog tag" called identification necklaces As one ad stated, the necklace is "so flexible it cannot kink, economical, comfortable and very strong."[13] In extreme cases, some educators, without the guidance of the FCDA, recommended the "tattooing of schoolchildren under their left arm with the blood type," assuming, "this would help in the treatment of the victims of an atomic attack."[14]

The National Securities Research Board (NSRB), eventually consolidated into the FCDA, understood the power of cinema at the time and believed film the best means to impress upon the population the need to embrace civil defense education. By the 1950s Americans were familiar with the cartoon images of Walt Disney, and Disney's widespread appeal was not lost on the producers of *Duck and Cover*; just consider their character Bert the Turtle.[15] One NSRB report explained to potential civil defense film producers:

> We are convinced that you can impress any group of people most deeply by presenting a series of pictures about persons with whom they will identify themselves. The audience will learn the bomb's true danger and the steps to be taken to escape from it by watching these characters.[16]

The NSRB contracted with Castle Films, a major distributor of films produced for civil defense. The majority of profits from the production of the films went to distributors; the studio producing the film received royalties for each print sold. Castle Films' James Franey contacted Leo Langlois of Archer Film Productions in New York City. At the time Archer, the best in their field, was a production house that held commercial television accounts with such mega-corporations as Chevrolet, Proctor & Gamble, and the American Tobacco Company. After meeting with Franey, Langlois reported to Archer that "the concept was just merely civil defense for the schools and how the kids could protect themselves and things like that…what do you do when you see the big flash…[and to] eliminate any panic possibilities."[17] Ray Mauer, a script writer at Archer conceptualized Bert the Turtle by creating a character that appealed both to kids and adults. Although the character Bert the Turtle was designed to appeal to all age groups, especially kids, "he is drawn almost as an old man with a box tie, a wrinkled neck, and a civil defense style helmet, while the monkey is drawn as a classically mischievous kid."[18] Bert exemplifies calmness under fire—and even optimism.

Bert the Turtle being menaced by a mischievous monkey, the image used to show children in schools the necessity of preparing for a nuclear explosion. United States Office of Civil Defense and Archer Film Productions, 1951. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

The FCDA was pleased with the script, so Archer contracted with animator Leo Calonius, who had worked for Disney, to create the animated version. Bert's original tormentor was a skunk, but writers felt a monkey might be more appealing to girls and women. Anthony Rizzo, an Italian immigrant who arrived with his family at Ellis Island, directed *Duck and Cover*. Schoolchildren in New York City and Astoria, Queens participated in the film as actors due to budget constraints.[19] The FCDA wanted to get

the film out as quickly as possible, believing Bert the Turtle might become as popular as Disney's Donald Duck or Pluto.20

The Role of the Media and Dissemination

During the post-war years and into the 1950s, television in the lives of Americans grew considerably; the FCDA understood television's power. By 1951, 12 million Americans had televisions in their homes and by 1955 half the population had them. In 1951, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) produced a seven-part series called *Survival* with the message, "If you think a falling A-bomb means the end of everything, this remarkable report will change your mind." An article in the national weekly *Collier's* magazine lauded the approach of civil defense, stating the "lethal power" of the atomic bomb was exaggerated; as long as you found an air-raid shelter you could survive as close as "three hundred feet to ground zero…."[21] So experts from all over the country—including psychologists, psychiatrists, and physicians—now applied themselves to convincing the American public the atomic threat was not as bad as had been painted and their work "contributed powerfully to the emergence of a decisive and unsettling new state in American cultural and political engagement with atomic weapons."[22]

The first public showing of *Duck and Cover* took place on January 9, 1952 at the launching of the Alert America convoy in Washington D.C.[23] The Alert American convoy was designed as three convoys with ten large trailers that toured the country for nine months in 1952. Approximately 1 million people ultimately viewed the exhibits which consisted of dioramas, posters, 3-D models, and a small theater showing *Duck and Cover*. The convoy also showed the more adult-oriented civil defense film *Our Cities Must Fight*,[24] the plot of which is built around two adult males in an office setting having a conversation about the atomic bomb. *Our Cities Must Fight* emphasizes the theme of American courage, characterized by this example of the characters' dialogue:

> Everything we hope for, everything we believe in, everything America has fought for will depend on us and what we do. You know a lot of people behind the Iron Curtain are watching whether we can take it if we're attacked. They're carefully measuring our courage, our capacity to fight, our capacity for sacrifice…. The question is do Americans have the guts?"[25]

The Role of Schools

In essence, public schools became the first line of defense used to protect Americans from the atomic bomb, remaking schooling into a form of emotional management.[26] The country's hope and future then came to depend upon how the U.S. approached the atomic threat, as the popular magazine *Ladies Home Journal* urged in August 1951: "The inner citadel of

our safety lies in the hearts and minds of our people."[27] However, serious concern emerged among civil defense administrators about how educators might respond to the inclusion of civil defense materials, including films, into the curriculum, so civil defense administrators sought and received the blessing of the National Education Association. To paraphrase Leo Langlois, who attended the attended an NEA meeting in its Washington, D.C. office: the NEA meeting was merely civil defense administrators protecting their rear ends and making sure they had endorsement from the schools.[28]

Educators most likely first saw *Duck and Cover* on January 24, 1952 in Manhattan; the film was noted for its "mental hygiene approach" and its "cheerfulness and optimism." Students described the film as "interesting," and as not too "babyish" or too "grown-up."[29] By the end of 1952, 88% of U.S. schools, primary and secondary, had some form of civil defense preparation education in their curricula. In fact, in many ways other educational attempts with survival skills and proper training "fortified the institutional links between the schools and the national security state."[30] Public school civil defense education, "when combined with organized community activities, "gave federal, state, and local government extra access" across the nation.[31] Post-WWII, no institution was better suited than schools to build upon the patriotic fervor following the successful Soviet atomic bomb test in 1949.[32]

The Schools and Civil Defense Policy

What was the official civil defense policy for U.S. schools during the 1950s? The Civil Defense Education Project, in charge of public-school programs and under the FCDA, picked the slogan "education for national survival."[33] Of course this implied that if one was properly prepared one could survive an atomic attack. It is important to keep in mind that this generation still recalled the "surprise" December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, and how the U.S. was caught off guard and not fully prepared. Additionally, the Civil Defense Education Project had a close relationship with the Boy Scouts of America, which makes sense based upon those patriotic values and survival skills taught informally to scouts, in contrast to the teachings of public schools. The National Parent Teachers Association, better known as the PTA, urged its members to "develop mental health programs in response to atomic anxiety. …[and warning] the future mental health of an entire generation depended upon parents and teachers' abilities to maintain calmness and transmit a feeling of assuredness."[34]

The Civil Defense Education Project created curricular materials for use in the home, such as skits parents could use to teach their children about civil defense. Some of the curriculum's titles include: *Let's Plan What to Do Now, Operation Home Shelter*, and *Until the Doctor Comes*—and these materials always promoted, by design, the "qualities of cheerfulness and

optimism."[35] So, through the Civil Defense Education Project, schools became a primary disseminator of civil defense training and materials. The "central message, fundamental to all government civil defense materials, was that you could survive an atomic attack if you learned the preparatory steps and took the correct actions. Survival, therefore, was a choice."[36] Also implied is assurance that governmental and community leaders, including teachers, are in control of the situation, so, by following a leader's lead, not only will you will be safe, but social order and stability will be maintained. The Atomic Energy Commission actually recommends, "If all the school children in the nation could witness an A-Bomb test (as school children had in Indian Springs, Nevada) it would do much to destroy the fear and uncertainty which now exists."[37]

This knowledge raises a critical question: why were U.S. educators who participated in civil defense training so compliant, and why did they accept this governmental form of emotional management? From our 21st-century perspective these activities and recommendations seem beyond bizarre and totally irrational. But, as many educational historians point out, the U.S. educational establishment was under attack even before the beginning of the Cold War-era. As Herbert Kliebard argues in *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, "Almost without warning, the decade of the 1950s became a period of criticism of American education unequalled in modern times."[38] Yes, this was the McCarthy era, but in his argument Kliebard highlights critique by Arthur Bestor, Hyman Rickover, Robert Hutchins, and James Conant. Diane Ravitch surmises, "The theme that American education was being subverted by Communists and Socialists was publicized through the activities of such groups as Milo McDonald's American Education Association, Lucille Crain's *Educational Review*, and Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education."[39] In December 1949, *The American Legion Magazine* published the article, "The Commies Go After the Kids: How the Reds Inject Their Poison into Children,"[40] that attacks music, theater, after-school programs, comic books, and summer camps; it was reprinted by the right-wing National Council for American Education for "mass distribution."[41] The American Legion continued its focus, publishing the article, "Why You Buy Books that Sell Communism," reprinted in *Catholic Digest*.[42]

So education became the U.S.' "first line of civil defense," and our only hope for survival was the well-prepared citizen acting calmly and rationally, showing no sign of panic or fear. *The* key player in this first-line national defense was the classroom teacher. The teacher, a prominent figure in *Duck and Cover*, came to exemplify the well-prepared citizen by exhibiting a calm, in-control demeanor, just like Bert the Turtle.[43] At the time, the teacher, already generally perceived as a moral authority, represented a form of authority to be respected and listened to. The teacher became the model

to imitate: courageous, calm, and one to follow without reflection. Andrew Grossman, in *Neither Dead Nor Red*, describes the teacher's dutiful action as one form of the "militarization of civilian life. Educators [became] draftees in a civilian strategy preparing for the next war."[44]

When it came to civil defense preparation, civil defense authorities found educators to be in an "extremely cooperative mood, eager to show their loyalty and worth by contributing to national defense. In fact, educators sometimes seemed more anxious to help the FCDA promote civil defense than the FCDA was to use their help."[45] By jumping on the civil defense bandwagon, schools may have been able to deflect public education's criticism of the time and to present teachers as patriotic citizens, not people who put the "nation at risk," so to speak. So "public school officials recognized in the new civil defense [program] an opportunity to serve their country while fortifying their profession," and, in so doing, demonstrate "the importance of the nation's schools to national security, thereby justifying federal aid to education."[46]

One notable example of civil defense education for schools took place in upstate New York in 1951. Edwin van Kleeck, assistant New York state commissioner for education who coordinated civil defense for schools and colleges in New York, seemed concerned civil defense activities might affect the "emotional health" of students, yet appeared pleased when students took to their "drills calmly."[47] Van Kleeck emphasized, "With civil defense in the schools, the key success is the teacher," and NYC teachers—all 37,000 of them—were required to complete Red Cross training.[48] Van Kleeck's concern brings up an important question: Were there psychological effects on students in the early 1950s due to drilling and participating in civil defense educational techniques such as duck and cover? Writing in 1951, a New Jersey assistant commissioner of education stated, "Our experience in the public school has shown that many children in the kindergarten and the primary grades have been upset by mismanaged air drills, some of them to such an extent that they were afraid to go to school."[49] A Michigan educator in 1952 noted a decline in the number of civil defense drills because of the anxiety exhibited in some students. One teacher used duck-and-cover drills to punish misbehaving students. Harold Lane, in the article "What Are We Doing to Our Children?" published in *The National Elementary Principal*, calls showing *Duck and Cover* "undesirable" as "it can only create fear in children with which their resources are inadequate to deal."[50]

A student during the early 1950s, sociologist Todd Gitlin recalls, "Every so often, out of the blue a teacher would pause in the middle of class and call out, 'Take cover!'" Another child of the Cold War era, Robert Musil, writes about his experience growing up in the early 1950s. He recalls, "it was with that awful knowledge—we were not safe at all—that I experienced duck and cover drills and developed an early disillusionment with, even disdain for, authority."[51]

Civil Defense Education's Critics

Historian Guy Oakes writes,

> …one of the most fascinating aspects of the civil defense program was the tension between the official conception, promoted to the public as self-protection for survival, and the unofficial conception, which held that self-protection was a vain but not utterly feasible illusion, useful and even necessary to produce the public resolve necessary to prosecute the Cold War.[52]

Oakes alludes to connections between public policy, propaganda, marketing, and ethics. Civil defense planning education in schools became the primary means to convince the public that they might survive an atomic attack, creating a form of political legitimacy through consensus to protect "freedom and democracy."[53] Yet a problem arises when the attempt to protect actually results in the undermining of freedom and democracy. Children and adults were taught that fear threatens national security, that Americans must not panic and must stand steadfast against a common enemy, in this case the Soviet bloc and its attempt at expansion. So, "civil defense became a way of life in American schools, not by the concerted efforts of federal agents, but in preconceived fashion, as each group incorporated the new demands of the atomic age into its traditional preoccupations."[54]

Civil defense education, exemplified by films like *Duck and Cover*, was not universally adored. The Levittown, New York Educational Association and the national Members of the Committee for the Study of War Tensions in Children saw *Duck and Cover* as a "terrifying concept" and as doing an actual disservice to children. But supporters of *Duck and Cover*, such as one civil defense official from New York, challenged the critics, claiming critics were following the Communist party line in attacking civil defense policy and associated activities.

Conclusion

Grossman concludes that the FCDA and its civil defense education programs, exemplified by *Duck and Cover*, operated as a "quasi-militarization" of civilian life used as the best way to manage and shape how the polity viewed nuclear war. "The Cold War was serious business," he argues, and "the institutions for shaping public opinion and public culture were tied directly to the wartime state between 1939 and 1945. They are still with us today."[55] Grossman expresses concern that films easily accessed on YouTube, like *Atomic Café* (1982), that mock the era and educational programs like *Duck and Cover* "miss the point of why such a program was launched, how it functioned, and what consequences it produced."[56] Teachers played a central role in the dissemination of civil defense materials and coordinating bomb drills such as duck-and-cover.

The goal of the FCDA was emotional management of the populace: keeping citizens calm, ideally avoiding panic in the event of an atomic explosion. To understand teacher complicity at this time it is necessary to understand their world post-WWII. The Cold War era fostered a conservative political climate which affected schools. At the time, public schools were under attack and participation in civil defense provided a sort of defensive message: that teachers were an instrumental force in fostering American patriotism through civil defense activities. Furthermore, teacher participation suggested to the American public that schools would protect their children while they were under the schools' care.[57] By the mid-1950s, authorities began to phase out use of films like *Duck and Cover* and *Our Cities Must Fight*, and the FCDA actually recommended that early civil defense "films be returned to the FCDA's Motion Picture Board, presumably so that they could be destroyed," since these films were made obsolete due to new weapons technology.[58] But if we think the concept of civil defense education through public schooling is merely historical, that would be a mistake. In the early years of the Reagan administration, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) created guidelines to teach U.S. children that nuclear war was survivable. On May 25, 1983 the San Francisco board of education voted against use of this program, insisting it would give "false hope" to children. One page in the federal guide "suggested that children plan a dinner menu for a bomb shelter."[59]

In 2003, federal agencies, including the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), Homeland Security, the CIA, the Department of Labor, FEMA, the CDC, etc., created a guide specifically for federal employees, largely directed to Washington, D.C.-area employees. "While radioactive, biological, and chemical weapons do pose a threat," states the guide, "they are attacks that you and your family as federal employees can survive if you keep a cool head and follow the instructions given by your local responders."[60] So the purpose and message of *Duck and Cover* is alive and well! Some observers argue U.S. schools' recent institution of lockdown procedures, active-shooter drills, and the notion of shelter-in-place may have the same psychological impact on children that civil defense drills had in the 1950s. Indeed, there is evidence schoolchildren have begun to have nightmares after being told to hide themselves in their cubbies while the police and school staff conduct active-shooter drills.[61]

The civil defense education programs of the 1950s were a form of emotional management wherein public schooling was effectively remade into the means of that management. A concept that mimics modern participation in activities like 1950s' civil defense education drills is "theater of reassurance." Coined in the aftermath of 9/11, it is defined as a performance that helps people get through their daily lives without being paralyzed by traumatic memories of past events.[62]

In his 1949 Nobel Prize in Literature banquet speech William Faulkner opines, "Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up?"[63] One year after atomic bombs were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Lewis Mumford writes,

> Life is now reduced to purely existential terms: existence toward death…the young who grow up in this world are completely demoralized…the belief in continuity, the sense of future that holds promises disappears: the certainly of sudden obliteration cuts across every long term plan, and every activity is more or less reduced to the time-span of a single day, on the assumption that it may be the last day.[64]

As we read Mumford's Cold War-era words in 2020, his words have a prophetic ring. While the world struggles to cope with a global pandemic and systemic racism's effects, Americans are once again experiencing a dramatic, traumatic fear of the unknown. While seeking physical safety from those who "might" have the virus, we struggle to balance our own emotional stability with the human need for social interaction. Today we are being told by the authorities we must protect ourselves, we must remain vigilant, self-reliant, steadfast, and shelter in place, directions eerily reminiscent of Cold War-era fallout shelter precautions. We are told we must obey and listen to the authorities, for they are knowledgeable and have our best interest in mind—although they send mixed and confused messages. As African Americans are particularly susceptible to the SARS-CoV-2 virus due largely to systemic poverty arising from racism, the inequitable outcomes of the virus paired with police brutality have left people of color demoralized, with no trust in authority, seeing no future under the present system, and never knowing when it might be the last day. In fact, it seems to me the Cold War-era title of Mumford's article comes across as more-than-relevant to today's dilemma: "Gentlemen, Are You Mad?"[65]

Endnotes

1 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2005), 35. Also see Ross Gregory, *Cold War in America, 1946–1990* (New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc., 2003).

2 The Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, P. L. 920, 81st Congress (64 Stat. 1245).

3 JoAnne Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb: Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948–1963," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 70. Also see Andrew Grossman, *Neither*

Dead Nor Red: Civilian Defense and American Political Development During the Early Cold War (New York, NY: Routledge, 2001), 39. The FCDA consolidated the Office of Civil Defense and the National Securities Research Board.

4 Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 52; Mary McCarthy, "America the Beautiful: Humanist in the Bathtub," *Commentary* 4 (December 1947): 205.

5 Oakes, *The Imaginary War*, 52.

6 Ibid., 63.

7 Ibid., 80.

8 Helen Seth-Smith was a native of the United Kingdom and taught at the Potomac School from 1938–1961. She also held an interest in introducing her girls to principles and activities similar to those of the Boy Scouts of America.

9 Richard Johnson, "Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working-Class Culture," *Working-Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory,* eds. John Clarke, Chas Critcher, and Richard Johnson (London, UK: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 234. See also Geoffrey Ely, "What Is Cultural History?," *New German Critique* 65 (Spring–Summer, 1995): 19–36.

10 Tom Gunning, "Film Studies," *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London, UK: SAGE, 2008): 194.

11 *Duck and Cover*, directed by Anthony Rizzo (United States Office of Civil Defense and Archer Film Productions, 1951), short film, https://www.loc.gov/item/mbrs01836081/

12 Dick Baker, vocalist, *Bert the Turtle (Duck and Cover)*, by Leon Carr, Leo Corday, and Leo Langlois, recorded 1951, Coral Records/Decca, vinyl single. Not only did this tune serve as the theme for *Duck and Cover*, it was released as a single by Two Ton Baker in 1953, selling three million copies. See Daniel Eagan, *America's Film Legacy: The Authoritative Guide to the Landmark Movies in the National Film Registry* (London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 452, https://archive.org/details/americasfilmlega0000eaga/page/452/mode/2up

13 Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," 82. Brown notes that due to the post-WWII baby boom public school enrollments "jumped from 25 million in 1950, to 30 million in 1955, to 40 million in 1965," 87. Ads for children's identification necklaces appear in the April 1951 issue of the periodical *The School Executive*.

14 Edward Geist, *Armageddon Insurance: Civil Defense in the United States and Soviet Union, 1945–1991* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 70–71.

15 At the time of *Duck and Cover*, Disney was working on multiple, feature-length, animated films such as *Cinderella* (1950), *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), and *Peter Pan* (1953).

16 Arnold Ringstad, "The Evolution of American Civil Defense Film Rhetoric," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 14, no. 4 (2012), 100. See also John Hart to John DeChant, NSRB, 18 October 1950, Box 13, Folder E4-31, National Archives Record Group 304, The National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; and John Bradley to Leslie Kullenberg, 18 October 1950, Box 13, Folder E4-31, National Archives Record Group 304, The National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

17 conelrad.com, *All Things Atomic: The Golden Age of Homeland Security*, n.d., 4, http://www.conelrad.com/index.php. "Conelrad" is an abbreviation for Control of Electronic Radiation. See also Geist, *Armageddon Insurance*, 70.

18 Robert A. Jacobs, "Atomic Kids: Duck and Cover and Atomic Alert Teach American Children How to Survive Atomic Attack," *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 40, no. 1 (2010): 28.

19 conelrad.com, *All Things Atomic,* Part 2, 2. Robert Middleton, a character actor and frequent hire of Archer narrates the film. Another character actor, Carl Richey, speaks Bert's only line in the film: "Remember what to do friends. Now tell me right out loud. What are you supposed to do when you see a flash? Duck and Cover!"; Ibid., Part 3, 1.

20 Ringstad, "The Evolution of American Civil Defense Film Rhetoric," 100.

21 Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, NY, 1985), 325. The *Collier's* article was based on a publication by Richard Gerstell, *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1950). Gerstell was a radiologist and consultant to the Pentagon's Office of Civil Defense. Of course, one had to be alerted to go to a civil defense shelter, usually by an air-raid siren. Public shelters were identified by a black and yellow civil defense triangle symbol, the air-raid shelter being the safest choice for protection from an atomic bomb. Duck and cover was the procedure if one did not have immediate access to an air-raid shelter. See John M. Lawlor, Jr., *Photographs and Pamphlet about Nuclear Fallout: The Constitution Community: Postwar United States (1945–1970)* (College Park, MD: The National Archives and Records Administration, 2000), 3.

22 Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*, 333.

23 Photos can be viewed at https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/alert-america-u-s-national-archives/cwJCMrc3sxGJLg?hl=en

[24] *Our Cities Must Fight*, directed by Anthony Rizzo (New York, NY: Archer Film Productions, 1951), short film.

[25] Ringstad, "The Evolution of American Civil Defense Film Rhetoric," 103. This quotation is from the 1951 short film *Our Cities Must Fight*.

[26] Charles A. Quattlebaum, "Federal Activities in Education for the Defense of the United States," *Education* 72 (June 1952): 693. Quattlebaum argues that the Morrill Act, ROTC, military colleges, WWII training, and the army and naval war colleges are examples of the U.S. using education as a line of defense. One could contend that the National Defense Education Act and most educational reform reports since the 1980s, beginning with *A Nation at Risk* and continuing through *America 2000*, *Goals 2000*, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, *Race to the Top*, and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2015, are also forms of defense.

[27] Michael J. Carey, "The Schools and Self-Defense: The Fifties Revisited," *Teachers College Record* 84, no. 1 (1982): 119. The original *Ladies Home Journal* article appears in the August 1951 issue, 4.

[28] conelrad.com, *All Things Atomic*, Part 2.

[29] Ibid., Part 3, 3. There were approximately 20 teachers at the NEA meeting in Washington, including Helen Seth-Smith from the Potomac School mentioned previously. Geist (2019), in *Armageddon Insurance*, points out that the first use of the duck-and-cover maneuver may have been in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, since survivors reported that when they saw the bomb's flash they immediately went into a form of the duck-and-cover position for protection, 71.

[30] Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 72. See also Robert Luke, "The Educational Requirements of Civil Defense," *Adult Education* 1 (February 1951): 83–90.

[31] Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, 83.

[32] Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, 71. Hartman places a great deal of emphasis on how the life adjustment movement in education set the stage for the Cold War-era critique of education. He argues one reason educators responded so positively to civil defense education was to show their own patriotism. I am not convinced that the life adjustment movement had much impact on public schools, but it did serve as a lightning rod for critique by Arthur Bestor and others. See Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1953); and Arthur Bestor, "Life Adjustment: A Critique," *American Association of University Professors Bulletin* 38 (1952): 413–414. For a discussion of the critics see Mary Anne Raywid, T*he Ax-Grinders: Critics of Our Public Schools* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1962).

[33] Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, 81; Carey, "The Schools and Self-Defense," 118. Harry L. Walen, "A School Program in Civil Defense," *Educational Leadership* (November 1951): 90–93, 93.

[34] Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," 76. See also "A Civil Defense Program for Parent–Teacher Associations," *National Parent Teacher* 45 (June 1951): 34–35.

[35] Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, 84. Grossman notes that civil defense literature tended to focus more on suburban rather than urban settings, although the film *Duck and Cover* seems to depict both.

[36] Jacobs, "Atomic Kids," 26.

[37] Ibid., 25, emphasis added.

[38] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893–1958*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 222.

[39] Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945–1980* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983). Ravitch also lists the Sons and Daughters of the American revolution and the Minute Women as critics.

[40] J. B. Matthews, "The Commies Go After the Kids: How the Reds Inject Their Poison into Children," *The American Legion Magazine* 47, no. 6 (December 1949): 14–15, https://archive.legion.org/handle/20.500.12203/3964

[41] Julia L. Mickenberg, *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[42] Ibid., 126. "Why You Buy Books that Sell Communism," was written by Irene Kuhn.

[43] Carey, "The Schools and Self-Defense," 119.

[44] Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, 83.

[45] Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," 74.

[46] Ibid., 70.

[47] Edwin R. Van Kleeck, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," *National Elementary Principal* 30 (June 1951): 24.

[48] Ibid., 27.

[49] Carey, "The Schools and Self-Defense," 121.

[50] Ibid., 7.

[51] Jacobs, "Atomic Kids," 38. See also Robert K. Musil, "Growing Up Nuclear," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist* 38, no. 1 (1998): 19; Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, NY: Bantam,

1981); and Michael Carey, "Psychological Fallout," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist* 38, no. 1 (1982): 20. For a more recent discussion see Robert Wuthnow, *Be Very Afraid: The Cultural Response to Terror, Pandemics, Environmental Devastation, Nuclear Annihilation and Other Threats* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010).

52 Oakes, *The Imaginary War*, 8.

53 Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, 129.

54 Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," 90.

55 Grossman, *Neither Red Nor Dead*, xiii.

56 Ibid.

57 Brown, "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb," 89–90.

58 Geist, *Armageddon Insurance*, 78.

59 Johnny Miller, "End of the Duck and Cover Era," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 2008, 54; via *NewsBank: America's News*, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.wvu.idm.oclc.org /apps/news/document-view? p=NewsBank&docref=news/120DB7ECE0F4CC50

60 United States Office of Personnel Management, *A Federal Employee's Family Preparedness Guide* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 2003), 9. See also Jack Healy, "In the Age of School Shootings, Lockdown Drills Are the New Duck and Cover," *The New York Times*, January 17, 2014, 2, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/17/us/in-age-of-school-shootings-lockdown-drills-are-the-new-duck-and-cover.html

61 Healy, "In the Age of School Shootings," 2.

62 Donald Luzatto, "Opinion: Duck and Cover and Hope," *The Virginian-Pilot*, December 3, 2019, 2; Trent Davis, "For Credibility's Sake Let's Start with the Bad News: A Pessimistic Pedagogy in the Age of Spectacle," *Philosophy of Education Yearbook* (2011): 260–267.

63 Faulkner quoted in Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*, 251. Faulkner won the 1949 Nobel Prize in Literature and delivered his banquet speech on December 10, 1950. The full text can be accessed at https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1949/faulkner/speech/

64 Ibid., 287. Original source is Lewis Mumford, "Gentlemen: You Are Mad!," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, March 2, 1946, 5.

65 Ibid.