A

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Academic freedom refers to the right of teachers to teach what they want in their classrooms. This concept originated in German universities during the nineteenth century for the purpose of allowing professors to teach subjects they considered educationally appropriate. In today's elementary and secondary schools, academic freedom is limited due to the recognition that children are impressionable and could be affected by certain subject matters, based upon the children's age, experience, and readiness to understand the subject. Thus, a teacher's First Amendment right to free speech is weighed against his or her professional obligation to provide appropriate, relevant subject content consistent with the teaching assignment and the students' maturity.

In general, academic freedom is more accepted on college and university campuses than in elementary and secondary public schools. State and local school boards, state legislatures, as well as school administrators, often develop and implement curriculum policies and guidelines to manage and control what is presented in elementary and secondary classrooms. Teachers are not permitted to ignore or omit prescribed course content by asserting academic freedom. Courts have found that teachers may not use their classrooms to promote personal or political agendas, teachers may not encourage students to accept beliefs, teachers may not encourage students to attend meetings, and teachers may not provide their own opinions about certain controversial issues or disregard parents' concerns about religious groups.

Reading assignments or a teacher's use of certain words that could be considered offensive have been questioned by parents, school administrators, and school boards. However, when teachers assign readings for educational purposes that the teacher believes are respectable and published in accepted books or journals, courts generally uphold the teacher's assignment, particularly if a student can choose an alternate one. In other cases, courts have determined that while teachers have some academic freedom in choosing and using words within their educational presentations to students, they do not have a license to say or to write whatever they choose in the classroom. Often, sanctioning a teacher for inappropriate language rests upon the existence of an appropriate school rule.

When teachers issue their own personal views of controversial subjects or allow what could be considered inappropriate activities, school boards have recommended their dismissal. While teachers claim such actions infringe on their academic freedom in their classrooms, school boards, parents, or school administrators may object. Teachers have been discharged for presenting what the school administration deems inappropriate information to their classes. Teachers have been terminated for insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher for showing "R-rated" movies to students and for distributing information related to their personal views on controversial issues. Teachers, for example, have been fired for choosing inappropriate plays, for allowing excessive profanity in students' creative projects, and for compelling students to attend a sexually explicit AIDS awareness assembly without following the school policy of notifying parents in advance. Courts have ruled that teachers do not have a First Amendment right of academic freedom to employ classroom techniques banned by their school boards.

The U.S. Supreme Court has addressed removal of books from a school library. It determined that there are constitutionally legitimate standards that could be applied in determining a book's removal, including its relevance to the curriculum and appropriateness for student age levels. A book can be legitimately excluded from a school library if it is deemed obscene for minors, pervasively vulgar, or offensive in its language. However, school authorities may not exercise their discretion in the removal of books for political purposes or to deny students access to ideas with which school authorities disagree.

Courts have often found that teachers' statements having sexual content are unprotected speech under the First Amendment. Courts often find that a teacher's statement regarding sexual behavior lacks any pedagogical justification and thus is considered unprotected speech. Courts have limited teachers' speech regarding abortion of Down syndrome fetuses, discussion of rumors about student sexual intercourse, and the posting of the American Library Association's pamphlet listing banned books.

Current academic freedom issues often revolve around the scope of employment issues. Legally, tenure does not bestow on the teacher a vested right to a specific school or to a specific class level of students within any school. Teachers must accept teaching assignments in their areas of competence, and declining to accept teaching assignments related to one's education or experience has been grounds for teacher dismissal. There is general judicial consensus that insubordination as a cause for discharge must be intentional.

Other academic freedom issues include freedom of association, right to hold office, participation in political campaigns, and dress and grooming matters. While teachers enjoy the First Amendment guarantee to peacefully assemble, they are advised to exercise this right in light of the nature and importance of their positions as public employees and role models to children. Mere membership in subversive organizations is not sufficient itself to justify dismissal, but to avoid punishment, teachers have to demonstrate that they have not participated in an unlawful activity or did not intend to achieve an unlawful objective. State laws vary regarding the extent to which school personnel may legally participate in political activities and hold public office. In general, public officials, including teachers, are prohibited from using their position for personal gain. Regarding dress and grooming issues, courts generally do not disagree with the authority of school officials to regulate a teacher's appearance that may disrupt the educational process.

Students do not lose their constitutional rights while at school, but these rights can be limited by schools through existing school rules and regulations. Students maintain their First Amendment right of free speech, including political symbolic speech such as the wearing of armbands, but if the speech causes a material or substantial disruption to the educational process, students may be disciplined. School boards may make rules prohibiting the use of lewd, obscene, profane language or gestures under its authority to teach students how to conduct civil and effective public discourse and to prevent disruption of school educational activities.

—Vivian Hopp Gordon

See also accountability; conflict management; contracts, with teacher unions; discrimination; fundamentalism; gender studies, in educational leadership; governance; power; sexism (glass ceiling)

Further Readings and References

Cambron-McCabe, N. H., McCarthy, M. M., & Thomas, S. B. (2004). *Public school law: Teachers' and students' rights* (5th ed., pp. 318–334). Boston: Pearson Education.

Essex, N. L. (2002). *School law and the public schools* (2nd. ed., pp. 182–192). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

LaMorte, M. W. (2002). *School law: Cases and concepts* (7th ed., pp. 194–209). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Russo, C. J. (2004). Tenure, dismissal, and teacher retirement. In *Reutter's the law of public education* (5th ed., pp. 653–690). New York: Foundation Press.

Yudof, M. G., Kirp, D. L., & Levin, B. (1992). Socialization and student and teacher rights. In M. G. Yudof, D. L. Kirp, & B. Levin (Eds.), *Educational policy and the law* (3rd ed., pp. 246–271). St. Paul, MN: West Publishing.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability refers to official efforts to ensure that public schools are answerable to a variety of stakeholders. Unlike the principle of *responsibility,* which can be exercised and validated through informal norms and voluntary behavior by public officials, the principle of accountability requires external validation through formal policies, structures, processes, and outcomes. Accountability extends beyond the norms of professional self-regulation purportedly to ensure that schooling systems remain answerable to the

public. Given a breadth of approaches directed toward legitimating schools' public responsiveness, accountability can be manifested through a variety of mechanisms, including any of the following: electoral processes; laws and regulations; bureaucratic or judicial oversight; standards for students or programs; assessments of student learning; disclosure and reporting to the public of school district, school, teacher, or student performance; rewards and sanctions designed to improve performance of any of these entities; accreditation of programs; and licensure standards. Accountability processes may be initiated by government, specific interest groups, or nongovernmental associations.

DEVELOPMENT OF ACCOUNTABILITY CONCEPTS

Accountability is a basic feature of democratic theory and democratic institutions. Accordingly, it has a long, complex history. Aristotle argued for the advantages of democracy over oligarchy and autocracy by recommending that the elected face an accounting at the end of their terms. He further asserted that the governed should retain the right to call republicans to account as insurance for just rule. In England, parliamentary democracy evolved with the concept that the king is answerable for his actions. The subsequent emergence of the idea of popular sovereignty also established the idea that government officials should represent and be held to account for addressing the general will and welfare either through direct democracy or representative institutions.

In the political culture of the United States, public education is one of the political institutions most closely identified with direct democracy through the tradition (and to a degree, the myth) of local control. In most jurisdictions, locally elected school boards govern public schools, and school officials are required or expected to afford opportunities for citizens to participate directly in setting or implementing policies. This ideal of direct democracy holds a near-sacred status in our political culture. The opportunity to elect school board members and to participate in local school affairs is a powerful symbol of U.S. commitment to democratic values.

Many efforts to hold schools accountable can be understood as an enactment of democratic symbolism. Accountability efforts are institutional features intended to legitimate public school systems in the eyes of the public. Local school systems face a legion of ways to account to parents, students, employers, and taxpayers. Across the various U.S. individual states and a number of Westernized countries, accountability policy requirements differ according to local expectations for educational purposes and missions and identify no fewer than six kinds of accountability strategies in education: bureaucratic, legal, professional, political, moral, and market.

Despite its institutionalized character, public demands for accountability tend to ebb and flow. Accountability demands have increased in recent decades. These demands tend to reflect declining public trust in government and, for that matter, diminished public confidence in elites generally. The causes of such populist sentiment are many, stemming from U.S. political events such as the Watergate crisis, social cultural norms questioning forms and exercise of authority, the resurgence of politically conservative critiques of government, and many other factors. As an institution embedded in a political context, the public schooling enterprise mirrors these causal developments and has been an arena where accountability demands have climbed sharply.

As a feature of schooling's political culture, U.S. history has shaped many demands for school accountability. The American public school system emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as a professionally operated, bureaucratic institution seeking to emulate scientific management principles in business. School systems in large jurisdictions evolved hierarchical bureaucracies designed to provide oversight of local schools. At the state level, the same bureaucratic approach led to an extensive body of state laws and regulations affecting every aspect of schooling, thereby reinforcing bureaucratic regulation at the local level.

This system of bureaucratic accountability has encountered withering criticism as ineffectual, costly, and contributing to performance failures. Almost all reformers have demanded greater accountability from the educational system, but in different ways. Through multiple iterations, U.S. educational accountability policies have evolved over more than three decades as reflections of this criticism. Accountability policies cover an extremely wide range of concerns. Initially, some decades ago, they reflected state and national concerns over civil rights, desegregation, students' confidentiality rights, and public access to education for children with disabilities, as well as equal, efficient, and adequate funding. In addition, the accountability

movement has turned its attention to a variety of other concerns, such as student achievement, literacy, teacher qualifications, class sizes, and public disclosure of school performance. What most of these reform nostrums share is a conviction that the traditional bureaucratic model of schooling needs to be reformed and made more accountable, even if some of the solutions are themselves reinventions of bureaucratic control.

A variety of platforms structure educational accountability movements. At least nine alternatives have been offered in response to criticisms of the bureaucratic model of schooling. Given the many meanings that are imputed to the idea of accountability, we find it useful to distinguish between earlier accountability concepts and those that are in currency today. The first four approaches focus on the following: (a) efficiency, (b) expanding civil rights, (c) citizen participation, and (d) reducing costs. These earlier approaches all were oriented toward making the existing education system work more effectively. While they are still in use today, these are not the main ideas associated with accountability among current political discourses.

The five more recent approaches to accountability represent two significant shifts in discourse and thinking about accountability. First, they shift to an advocacy for more fundamental transformations of the current educational system, such as attempts to create a more coherent governance system to promote higher student achievement. In addition, these more recent approaches shift control of governance to new authorities, such as mayors or families in market arrangements, and provide heightened oversight of failing school districts and failing schools. Finally, the new approaches offer a variety of attempts to redefine professional preparation and licensure.

EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT MAKING K–12 EDUCATION MORE ACCOUNTABLE

Efficiency, effectiveness, and access dominated early attempts at establishing school system accountability. Among these early attempts, four efforts gained currency: (a) efficiency, (b) expanding civil rights, (c) citizen participation, and (d) reducing costs.

Improve Efficiency: Rationalize the System

Many educational accountability policies extend economically driven efficiency models that have bedeviled

schooling since before the turn of the twentieth century. While some educational policies define accountability as a reckoning of the efficiency of public schools' production of an educated citizenry, such a simplistic algorithm ignores the diversity of accountability initiatives that exceed mere cost-benefit analysis.

First, public education has been caught up in the broader societal discussion about how to make government more efficient. Often these rationalizing ideas were advocated based on their purported success in the private sector. In the 1960s and 1970s, a variety of experiments were undertaken at all levels of government, including school systems, to introduce new planning and budgeting techniques, such as Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System (PPBS), and to decentralize operations and services. By the 1990s, these rationalizers were advocating "reinventing government" with a variety of proposals to streamline and downsize government. In public education, "contracting out" for support services such as transportation and food service was broadened to core education functions such as instructional programs and even management. All this privatization has been defended in the name of introducing greater accountability for efficiency and effective performance.

Expand Civil Rights

The civil rights movement of the 1960s, building on the legacy of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education,* ushered in a series of federal, state, and local laws and legal decisions designed to prohibit racial discrimination. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, and national origin. Discrimination on the basis of disability is prohibited by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1975. Other key pieces of civil rights legislation include the Age Discrimination Act of 1975 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Also, Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender, subjecting schooling to further civil rights protections.

The Office of Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education at the federal level is responsible for enforcement of many of these civil rights protections, as well as by their counterpart agencies elsewhere at all levels of government. The mission of the Office of

Civil Rights (OCR), according to its Web site (www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/aboutocr.html), is ensuring equal access to education and promoting educational excellence through civil rights enforcement. In addition, OCR has the power to revoke federal education funds to recipients of those funds who violate these laws. This combination of legal protections and bureaucratic enforcement powers creates a potent set of accountability measures surrounding civil rights in education. However, it is important to point out that these laws and enforcement structures have not eliminated racial segregation in schooling or various kinds of prohibited discrimination against protected groups.

Why? The answer is complicated but can be explained by the limits of the antidiscrimination laws in regulating private conduct. For example, most middle-class Americans, African American and White, prefer to live in neighborhoods with individuals similar to themselves, with the de facto result that schools for their children are segregated by income and community levels of educational attainment. Also, in recent decades, federal courts have retrenched on an earlier generation of court decisions promoting desegregation or other protections, reflecting a new generation of more conservative judges appointed to the bench. While this form of accountability focused on guaranteeing equal treatment and equal access to public services for all citizens remains the law of the land, political leadership and political coalitions supporting civil rights are much weaker than several decades ago.

Expand Citizen Participation

When citizens are dissatisfied with the way government is operating, a populist response is to increase the representativeness of the system. Community control was one reform thrust of the civil rights movement, and it resulted in various efforts to decentralize and expand citizen influence in New York City and elsewhere in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1988, the Chicago school system was reformed to give authority to local school councils. Kentucky included school-based councils in the 1990 Kentucky Education Reform Act, sparking a number of similar reform requirements for parental and teacher participation in school governance in Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. While these councils are still intact, most other examples of participatory democracy have been eliminated. In 1997, New York City eliminated its 32 high school districts that had been created under a 1969 decentralization law after much criticism concerning their corruption. Today, the New York City schools are mayorally controlled. Chicago also moved to a mayoral model in 1995, although local school councils are still intact. Today, advocates of greater accountability rarely refer to these reforms.

Reduce Costs

Periodically, taxpayers demand accountability in the form of reducing costs. A number of things can trigger public dissatisfaction over perceived "high spending." Declining economic conditions in recessions can reduce tax revenues, creating pressure to lower spending. School enrollments can provide pressures on the spending side. Economic inflation can raise tax revenues, spending demands, or both. Declining enrollments can increase per pupil costs, while at the opposite extreme, enrollment growth can lead to increases in aggregate spending. Any enrollment fluctuation can trigger taxpayer criticism.

Traditionally, accountability policies required school officials to get voter approval for budget increases or capital expenditures. These were intended as a check on local school boards and the local school bureaucracy. However, when these electoral channels at the local level proved ineffective in controlling costs, critics mobilized at the state level to control state taxes and spending. In the 1970s, a taxpayer revolt in California led to the tax limitation known as Proposition 13 and began a wave of similar efforts across the country.

Early accountability efforts applied strategies that supposedly would increase educational system efficiency. Efficiency efforts combined with taxpayer concerns about spending to support accountability strategies aimed at streamlining the educational hierarchy. Other efforts aimed at taming the education system by increasing citizen participation. Today's accountability approaches delve more deeply into the work of schools.

CURRENT THEMES AND APPROACHES IN THE ACCOUNTABILITY REFORM MOVEMENT

At least five accountability strategies emerge among current policy approaches. One strategy focuses on

increased student achievement as a measure of system performance. Another strategy applies draconian tactics of reconstitution, or takeover, and other high-stakes consequences to stimulate system performance. A third strategy proposes system stimulation through the application of markets, choice, and deregulation. A fourth strategy shifts local control of urban schools to mayors. Another tactic purports to change the education profession by wresting self-regulation from its members. Each of these strategies may operate separately or in combination with the others.

Improve Student Achievement

Today's concern that American public schools should be more accountable for student achievement can be traced back for several decades and has continued to intensify. In the Sputnik scare in the 1950s, American schools were criticized for producing too few students skilled in mathematics and science. A variety of efforts were undertaken to strengthen the curriculum and the skills of teachers in these subjects. The passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 represented the federal response to this crisis, which was to provide grants-in-aid to school systems and higher education to build capacity. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, criticism had broadened to include the claim that students lacked basic skills in many subjects. This represented a new turn in accountability policy. Some states passed accountability laws with mandated testing of students for promotion or graduation. The assumption underlying these policies was that students should be held accountable for performance and that educators should be accountable for more efficient use of resources.

The 1980s represented a major escalation of the debate over student achievement. In style, the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 was much like the exposés of the 1950s following Sputnik; critics sought to rally public opinion on the perceived crisis in schooling quality. This call to action led, in turn, to state reform programs in virtually every state, along with expansion of state testing programs, often supplanting the earlier basic skills tests that came under criticism for lacking sufficient rigor and having the unintended consequence of reducing educational standards.

The education standards movement emerged in the 1990s as part of an effort to create a more coherent educational system through "systemic reform." The elements of a fragmented education policy system (curriculum, standards, testing, professional development, etc.) were to become more closely aligned and in this sense more accountable. Of course, the reliance on tests and their publication for accountability purposes can be traced back to the nineteenth century. But systemic reform represented a more sophisticated attempt to embed student assessment within a larger system of governance that had the potential to raise student achievement more effectively than a fragmented policy system.

Systemic reform was not framed as an accountability system, but accountability was grafted on to the idea. In the 1980s, a growing number of states and local school districts began to publish performance information, once called "wall charts" and later known as "report cards," intended to provide the public with information on district and school performance. However, other than a certain amount of media-spawned embarrassment, this performance information failed to lead to consequences for low-performing districts or schools, nor did it trigger an alignment of the education policy system to increase performance.

Take Over Districts and Reconstitute Schools

Accountability policy took another turn in the 1990s with the attachment of consequences for low-performing schools and rewards for improved student performance. Some states such as Kentucky and Maryland pioneered in this approach to "high-stakes" accountability. The federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act passed by the United States Congress in 2002, with broad bipartisan support, intensified the policy trend toward use of a "high-stakes" approach to mandating educational excellence.

Perhaps the most drastic example of this high-stakes accountability approach is for a state to take over a local school district or for the state or local school district to close a failing school and then reconstitute it. Here, the principle of accountability is invoked not to prevent abuses of power, but rather as a corrective device once those abuses occur. Presently, 24 states have educational bankruptcy laws. In many cases, these statutes have been on the books for years but were rarely exercised. However, 18 states and the District of Columbia exercised their authority to take over a school district, often for financial problems, including lack of adequate resources, mismanagement, and corruption. The pace of state takeovers may

be moderating. Sixteen takeovers occurred between 1995 and 1997, with somewhat fewer subsequently. School reconstitution, on the other hand, is a somewhat more recent policy development whose popularity appears to be growing. It is one of the levers in NCLB, which, in effect, "nationalizes" the concept of reconstitution.

Previous to NCLB, most school reconstitutions were executed at the local level by school boards. Some states have reconstitution provisions that normally require several stages of intervention before the school actually is closed and reconstituted. When that occurs, each policy differs in its various options regarding how the new school will be managed and governed. In some cases, states retain authority, whereas in other cases, responsibility is delegated to the local school district. The school may be reopened with a special focus, as a neighborhood school and/or magnet school. It may be a charter school, or it may operate under contract with a private entity (see below). The specific accountability provisions concerning expected outcomes and reporting mechanisms also vary, not only among jurisdictions invoking reconstitution but also from school to school within a particular district or state.

Introduce Markets, Choice, and Deregulation

In 1955, economist Milton Friedman was the first to advocate that schools should operate not only more efficiently, but according to market principles, like businesses. He advocated a voucher system that gives parents the same choices to send their children to private schools that consumers have in the private marketplace in other spheres. Originally, Friedman's argument was grounded primarily in the logic of technical efficiency and consumer choice as a better organizational framework than government operated, bureaucratically run schools. By the 1980s, after publication of *A Nation at Risk,* the rationale shifted to the improved student achievement that would ostensibly occur under markets, choice, and deregulation.

The logic of deregulation, while not the same as choice, also rested on an antipathy for bureaucracy and its supposed obsession with procedural compliance as opposed to accountability for meeting goals and outcomes. This deregulatory logic influenced the emergence of the concept of charter schools in the 1980s as a less drastic alternative to run public schools bureaucratically. Charter schools typically are public schools that are subject to less bureaucratic regulation, in exchange for greater accountability for student performance.

In the 1990s, a variety of consumer choice and privatization schemes emerged, reflecting the idea that markets can provide the discipline to hold schools accountable in ways analogous to for-profit firms operating in the private market. For example, some school boards contract directly with private entities to operate a school or program within a school, but they do not necessarily confer charter status on the school.

From the perspective of teacher unions, however, this has been an unwelcome development posing a potential threat to teachers' working conditions, including salaries and benefits. Critics of choice and privatization also cite a variety of philosophical arguments, including the danger that privatization will destroy civic commitment to education as a public good and that it will increase inequality in schooling. They also fear that the market approach to education will shift accountability from the public, which both uses the schools and pays for them, to the families who use schools. The means by which accountability is maintained will also shift from political officials outside the schools who establish external methods to the use of internally derived standards and processes in the case of private schools. In practice, however, one could expect a voucher system, like charter schools, to be publicly regulated to some degree, in much the same way that market institutions in other sectors of the economy operate in the United States.

Give Mayors Control

Another response to the perception that powerful and autonomous school bureaucracies are to blame for school failure has been to restructure the governance system of urban schooling. Whereas a century ago, Progressive reformers viewed mayors as corrupt officials who politicized and degraded the quality of the public school enterprise, today a "mayor-centric" approach to governance is back in vogue. Mayors are among the first to recognize the political and economic advantages of mayoral control of school systems. Urban mayors must be vitally concerned about economic development of their cities, owing to changes in the structure of the economy and the mobility of capital. The greater salience of human capital development in a broader economic development strategy for a city causes mayors to view schools as a critical

resource. Many see the need to recapture control of these school systems, which also happen to be among the largest sources of jobs and public spending. As chief executives with a mandate from the voters, mayors have the potential to pull together stakeholders behind a coherent program of school reform and to leverage city resources more effectively than has been the case in the current fragmented system of urban school governance. Arguably, also, the potential for strong leadership by the current generation of mayors is greater than a century ago, when urban political machines were in their heyday. Today's mayors are better educated, as is the citizenry.

Clearly, however, shifting authority to the mayor represents a decline in the role of school boards. In most cities where mayors have expanded their authority, they control appointments to the board and limit the board's spheres of authority. This is no accident, because urban school boards are widely viewed by the critics of the current governance structure as impediments to reform who have been mired in "administrivia" and beholden to special interests. Similarly, professional control of the school system often is lessened under a mayor-centric approach to governance. Many mayors have recruited noneducators to lead their school systems, and they have pursued policies designed to reduce the professional autonomy of teachers and principals. All of this has been defended as a requirement for making the school system more accountable for improved student achievement as mayors have sought to reduce dropout rates, raise test scores, and align schools with the requirements of the workplace.

Restructure the Education Professions

Other interpretations of accountability policy entangle issues of teacher professionalism with public control over curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Indeed, concerns about the profession erupt in policies directed at improving teacher quality.

Critics of K–12 schooling in the United States argue that the profession of teaching and school administration needs to be restructured to make it more accountable. They claim that schools of education do not prepare professionals adequately to promote high student achievement and that the profession enjoys a monopolistic, cartel-like status through the current system of licensure/certification and accreditation. They

also argue that the single-salary schedule rewards teachers for mediocrity and tends to act as a disincentive for outstanding teachers to enter the profession. Pay schedules differentiated by market demand and supply, as well as pay for performance, are advanced as alternatives. Critics charge that licensure has not operated as intended to ensure teacher quality, as noted in 2004 by Frederick Hess, Andrew Rotherham, and Kate Walsh.

As one accountability device, Title II of the Higher Education Act requires institutions of higher education to submit an annual report on the test performance of teacher education candidates. The U.S. Department of Education under the second Bush administration also has financially supported efforts to bypass traditional routes to professional preparation and certification, including an option for college graduates to take a "passport to teaching" test developed by the American Board for Certification of Teacher Excellence (ABCTE) rather than successfully completing a teacher preparation program. In addition, the Bush administration approved a second accrediting body, the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) as an alternative to the dominant accrediting body, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE).

At the advanced level of the profession, critics of education leadership programs claim they are unselective, have low standards, and are too theoretical and impractical. These criticisms have led to various reform proposals, such as recruitment of nontraditional leaders from outside education, including business and the military; reform of curricula; and authorization of alternative, non-university-based preparation programs as a route to licensure. Some states have eliminated any educational requirements for administrative licensure.

While early efforts at accountability policy represented attempts to tighten the processes of school systems, more recent efforts aim at comprehensive changes. Though recent accountability strategies may appear unrelated, they often arrive in substantial combinations of changes, ranging from shifts in governance from school boards to mayors, drastic consequences such as school takeover, or market approaches to reforms aimed at the performance of both educators and students. The amalgamation of accountability efforts confounds most attempts to evaluate their effects.

EFFECTS OF ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES IN K–12 EDUCATION

Despite the attraction of state and national legislators to accountability policies, most current approaches to accountability are plagued by numerous challenges. The major ones are now addressed.

Sustainability Problems in a Politically Controlled Policy Environment

Given their roots in the will of the polity, accountability requirements constantly shift, making it difficult to assess the long-term impact of these accountability policies. Kentucky is one of the few states with a reform program that has survived over a decade, and even in that state, the student assessment program was changed drastically in 1998, making it difficult to trace systemic effects since the inception of the Kentucky Education Reform Act in 1991. The political reality is that many accountability reforms have proven controversial, causing opponents to mobilize to change or dismantle them. Also, as new state superintendents or commissioners, mayors, and governors assume power, they seek to put their own stamps on school reform.

The Potential of Educational Measurement and Its Limits

The policy environment from the 1990s and continuing today has focused on the need to improve student outcomes. Assessment is viewed by advocates as a tool with the potential to raise educational outcomes for all students and to help close the achievement gap between the economically poor and students of color, on the one hand, and other more advantaged groups, on the other. While the standards and assessment movement has arguably improved student achievement levels on standardized tests, there are important qualifications. First, United States students remain among the lowest-performing students in industrialized nations on international comparisons. Second, while achievement levels have risen in all groups, the so-called achievement gap persists and has even widened after narrowing for a period of time.

Moreover, measuring student outcomes is fraught with philosophical disagreements as well as technical difficulties. The psychometric problems associated with large-scale student assessments are legion, and many states are unwilling to spend the necessary resources or withstand the political pressures associated with building and sustaining a sophisticated, valid assessment system.

Part of this has to do with the complexity of the education production function. It is well-known that there is relatively little empirical support for a direct relationship between financial investment and student achievement. It is unlikely that the level of per-pupil expenditures is irrelevant to student outcomes, but establishing the linkages has proven difficult. Similarly, measuring whether observed student outcomes are attributable to educational reforms is a formidable task. The complexities and uncertainties lead to policy disputes that cannot be clearly resolved by referring to "scientifically based evidence," despite the enthusiasm of the supporters of this paradigm.

Intended and Unintended Consequences of a Testing Regime

The response to high-stakes testing environments seems to vary considerably. In some schools and districts, this has led to greater focus on helping all children learn, while in other places, it has reinforced or widened the achievement gap and encouraged teachers to ignore or push out students at risk. Despite administrative efforts to monitor fairness in administration of tests, examples abound of questionable exemption of some students from testing and of coaching students to get the right answers. Testing cannot be separated from issues of power and control.

Narrowing of the curriculum has another unintended consequence. Teachers are inclined to teach what they know will be covered on high-stakes tests, leaving out subjects or units that are not covered in the tests. Moreover, developing student skill in performing well on the test may take precedence over emphasizing a deep understanding of the material.

Depending on whether students have an individual stake in doing well on a test, they may not take the test seriously. This raises the problem of whether accountability systems should focus only on school performance, individual student performance, or both, and whether teachers should be held individually accountable for the performance of their students. Many advocates of value-added approaches to measuring classroom performance believe teachers should be

rewarded financially according to the performance of their students—an experiment that is under way in Denver, Colorado—while others reject this philosophically, even if it proves technically possible to accomplish. Some teachers believe that performance pay will lead to unintended competition among teachers, while others argue that it creates incentives for them to work collaboratively to addressing student achievement performance gaps. There is little research on this aspect of accountability.

The Limits of External Intervention to Remediate Failure

Research demonstrates that external intervention creates variable effects in schools and school districts. Generally, state intervention to deal with financial problems of school districts has proven more effective than efforts to raise student achievements through such takeovers. However, the manner in which state intervention occurs is critical to whether there will be strong local resistance to the state. Generally, mayoral involvement involves less local resistance because the mayor is part of the local political system and not viewed as an interloper in the same way state officials are prone to be. However, the consequences of handing over authority to mayors have not proven to be predictable. The outcomes evidenced so far depend on local traditions and contexts; mayoral priorities and personalities; local coalitions supporting and opposing mayoral leadership, including racial interests; and other factors. This is one reform strategy among many. C. M. Stone argued in 2004 that it should be a branch in school reform, but not the base.

At the school level, reconstitution has created uneven effects. In some cases, it appears to have raised student achievement dramatically. However, principals in reconstitution-eligible schools in Baltimore tended to gain compliance from teachers rather to raise test scores, but the intervention led to little improvement in teaching. Such schools can be harmed because of the tendency for teachers to flee under the stigma associated with district intervention. Ironically, the effect is to deplete human capital in the school rather than enhance it.

Effects on Public Support for Schools

Critics of accountability argue that it denigrates public schools in the eyes of the public. Yet there has been little shift in the public's attitudes toward public schools in recent years. To the extent that public confidence has changed, there is a slight increase in positive public attitudes about school quality. By 2001, a majority of the respondents (51%) gave the public schools in their community an A or B grade, up from 46% in 1998. The percentage giving the nation's schools a high grade was lower; only 23% gave them an A or B, but this was nonetheless higher than in 1998 (18%). Of course, we cannot be sure what has caused confidence to rise, and in any event, accountability policies apparently have not had a major impact on these attitudes as such policies were implemented in the 1990s.

SUMMARY

Overall, then, despite the plethora of accountability policies, there is no hard evidence that they have transformed the performance of American public education. Despite some improvements in student performance and greater responsiveness where reformers have intervened, the picture is very mixed. More and better policy research may cause us to revise our estimation of this policy thrust. More likely, however, the positive impact of such policies will be felt only if they evolve in the next generation. Many of the policies emphasize greater answerability for outcomes but not improving the capacity of schools to respond to change. The limits of top-down approaches to reform in K–12 education have been apparent in other policy contexts, for example, court-ordered desegregation of schools and the basic-skills movement of the 1970s. This problem of externally imposed change is also apparent in the realm of accountability policies, which often have a strong punitive overtone and frequently make rather simplistic assumptions about what levers will create meaningful institutional change. As long as accountability is seen as a club by policymakers and by educators upon whom it is imposed, it will remain a blunt and rather ineffectual, although deeply institutionalized, policy instrument. If it matures in new directions, then its potential for positive change may be realized.

—Jane Clark Lindle and James G. Cibulka

See also alignment, of curriculum; at-risk students; Black education; boards of education; bureaucracy; Chicago school reform; choice, of schools; collective bargaining; conceptual systems theory and leadership; conflict management; contracts, with teacher unions; cultural capital; curriculum,

theories of; decentralization/centralization controversy; Department of Education; desegregation, of schools; dropouts; economics, theories of; Education Commission of the States; Educational Testing Service; elections, of school boards, bond issues; empowerment; evaluation; Gallup Polls, on public education; globalism; goals, goal setting; governance; innovation, in education; Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium; Kentucky Education Reform Act; knowledge base, of the field; Latinos; learning environments; management theories; market theory of schooling; measurement theories; minorities, in schools; multiculturalism; *A Nation at Risk;* No Child Left Behind; operational definitions; outputs, of systems; parental involvement; performance assessment; planning models; politics, of education; portfolios; principalship; productivity; restructuring, of schools; salary and salary models; schooling effects; site-based management; standard setting; standardized testing; state departments of education; superintendency; systemic reform; systems theory/thinking; total quality management; underachievers, in schools; value-added indicators; year-round education

Further Readings and References

Aristotle. (1946). *Politics* (E. Barker, Trans.). London: Oxford University Press.

Armstrong, J. (2002, May). "Next-generation" accountability models: Principles from interviews. *Education Commission of the States Briefing Paper.* Retrieved July 15, 2003, from http:// www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/40/29/4029.htm

Armstrong, J. (2002, July). What is an accountability model? *Education Commission of the States Issue Paper.* Retrieved July 15, 2003, from http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/39/95/3995.doc

Cibulka, J. G. (2003). Educational bankruptcy, takeovers, and reconstitution. In W. L. Boyd & D. Miretsky (Eds.), *American educational governance on trial: Change and challenges* (pp. 249–270). 102nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education: Part 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cibulka, J. G., & Boyd, W. L. (2003). Urban education-reform strategies: Comparative analysis and conclusions. In J. G. Cibulka & W. L. Boyd (Eds.), *A race against time: The crisis in urban schooling* (pp. 205–224). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Cibulka, J. G., & Lindle, J. C. (2001). Part IX: The politics of accountability for school improvement in Kentucky and Maryland. In *Schools on probation in the states of Maryland and Kentucky* (Vol. IV). Unpublished report to the U.S. Department of Education, Field Initiated Study: *The effect of reconstitution on school improvement.* College Park, MD: University of Maryland. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 468 185)

Cohen, M. (2002, May). Emerging issues in the design of next generation accountability models. *Education Commission of the States Briefing Paper.* Retrieved July 15, 2003, from http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/39/96/3996.html

Cuban, L. (2004). Looking through the rearview mirror at school accountability. In K. A. Sirotnik (Ed.), *Holding accountability accountable: What ought to matter in public education* (pp. 18–34). New York: Teachers College Press.

Cuban, L., & Usdan, M. (2003). *Deep reforms with shallow roots: Improving America's urban schools.* New York: Teachers College Press

David, J. L. (2000). Educators and parents as partners in school governance. In R. S. Pankratz & J. M. Petrosko (Eds.), A*ll children can learn: Lessons from the Kentucky reform experience* (pp. 207–224). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Education Commission of the States. (1997). *Educational accountability in 50 states.* Denver, CO: Author.

Education Commission of the States. (1998). *Accountability: State and community responsibility.* Denver, CO: Author.

Fowler, F. (2000). *Policy studies for educational leaders.* Columbus, OH: Merrill.

Friedman, M. (1955). The role of government in education. In R. A. Solow (Ed.), *Economics and the public interest* (pp. 123–144). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Press.

Henig, J. R., & Rich, W.C. (2004). Concluding observations: Governance structures as a tool, not a solution. In J. R. Henig & W. L. Rich (Eds.), *Mayors in the middle: Politics, race, and mayoral control of urban schools* (pp. 249–266). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hess, F. M., Rotherham, A. J., & Walsh, K. (2004). *A qualified teacher in every classroom? Appraising old answers and new ideas.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kelley, C., & Finnegan, K. (2003). The effects of organizational context on teacher expectancy. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 23,* 603–634.

Kirst, M. W. (2003) Mayoral influence, new regimes, and public school governance. In W. L. Boyd & D. Miretsky (Eds.), *American educational governance on trial: Change and challenges* (pp. 196–218). 102nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Mintrop, H. (2004). *Schools on probation: How accountability works (and doesn't work).* New York: Teachers College Press.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Ready, T., Edley, C. Jr., & Snow, C. E. (2002). (Eds.). *Achieving high educational standards for all: Conference summary.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press (National Research Council).

Rice, J. K., & Malen, B. (2003). The human costs of education reform: The case of school reconstitution. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 39,* 635–666.

Rose, L. C., & Gallup, A. M. (2001, September). The 33rd annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup poll of the public's attitudes toward the public schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 83,* 41–58.

Stone, C. N. (2004). Mayors and the challenge of modernization. In J. R. Henig & W. L. Rich (Eds.), *Mayors in the*

middle: Politics, race, and mayoral control of urban schools (pp. 232–248). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wong, K. K., & Shen, F. X. (2001). *Does school district takeover work? Assessing the effectiveness of city and state takeover as a school reform strategy.* Paper presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

Ziebarth, T. (2002). State takeovers and reconstitutions. *Policy brief: Accountability: Rewards and sanctions.* Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States.

ACCREDITATION

The accreditation of colleges of education is a relatively new process. The National Council of Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) has been in existence only since 1954. As of 2004, approximately one half of the colleges of education in the United States (575 of the approximately 1,200) were NCATE accredited. However, the number of colleges of education seeking NCATE accreditation has tripled in the past 5 years.

The accreditation of departments of educational leadership is even more recent and sporadic. NCATE's accreditation applies to colleges of education as an entire unit, not to individual programs within those units. As recently as the 1990s, the national Policy Board of Educational Administration (NPBEA) approved a specialty professional association (SPA) to conduct accreditation of departments of educational administration in colleges of education, but only as part of the NCATE review. The SPA continues as the Educational Leadership Constituent Council (ELCC) and to date has approved approximately 178 programs.

PROS

The public has a crucial stake in the quality and caliber of educational administration program accreditation: The organization, management, and evaluation of preparation programs are the rationale for accreditation in educational administration. Nationally noted accreditation expert Kenneth E. Young and his associates in their 1983 *Understanding Accreditation* presented five aspects or themes of institutional and specialized accreditation. Although written two decades ago, these guidelines remain relevant today, especially in the field of educational administration:

1. Accreditation is a valuable—perhaps even essential—social tool whose usefulness and effectiveness have not been fully appreciated and whose full potential has yet to be realized.

2. Accreditation began as a voluntary, nongovernmental process and should remain so if its inherent values are to be preserved and enhanced.

3. Accreditation is a process that, at its heart, consists of guided self-evaluation and self-improvement and serves as a centerpiece to the little-understood, informal, but elaborate commitment to self-regulation in postsecondary education. The primary value of accreditation is to be found in the process itself, not in the formal results of the process—that is, the announced decision of whether a program is accredited.

4. Accreditation should be judged by its effectiveness in encouraging and assisting the program to evaluate and improve its educational offerings. All other outcomes and uses of accreditation are secondary to this objective and should not undermine it. To be effective, accreditation must focus primarily on the program, just as education must focus on the student.

5. Accreditation is highly vulnerable to misuse and abuse by those who wish to turn it into other purposes. But there are enough countervailing forces to offset perversions of the process or power plays.

Accreditation is the principal mechanism whereby university preparation programs in educational administration review, renew, and improve their preparation of school leaders. Accreditation serves the interests of the students enrolled in our programs as well, by signifying that the preparation they are receiving meets or exceeds the standards of what our profession has judged appropriate academic preparation. Accredited programs attract more highly qualified candidates, and more highly qualified candidates have greater potential to improve practice as education leaders and increase student success.

CONS

Any accreditation process can be misused and abused. In addition, some argue that the process is counterproductive and actually promotes standardization at the expense of creativity, experimentation, and innovation. The application of the "one right method" closes off any serious reconsideration of the outcome and the processes involved in the constructive process.

To some, present accreditation processes represent external regulation resulting in a lessening of commitment to excellence. The argument is that only "lowest common denominators" can be used to assess wide groups of programs and individuals. In addition, the result is a depression of personal ownership in the professional decision-making process. Performance is then measured by rules followed rather than attention to the ever-expanding dimensions of professional excellence: Programs become stagnant, repetitive, and predictable.

No professional field remains static. Educational administration is no exception. Our knowledge base continues to change as new research affects what we know about effective leadership. Effective accreditation must be an ongoing process, as opposed to a "once every 5 years" practice. There is much debate suggesting the two national accrediting bodies (NCATE and Teacher Education Accreditation Council, or TEAC) are the wrong tools for validating quality and acting as a driver of program improvement in educational administration. This position suggests the real problem relates to the absence of an accreditation process that accredits educational administration programs independently. And though the ELCC process is specialized to administration programs, it is too closely tied to the NCATE college of education accreditation. Some educational experts are questioning whether specialty fields such as educational administration should rely entirely on unit organizations for accreditation. Alternatives include accrediting our program independently, as is done in the field of psychology, two of whose specializations—counseling and school psychology—have greatly improved program quality standards and accreditation processes more independent of national accreditation bodies.

The argument over whether the NCATE/ELCC accreditation process accomplishes its purpose has led to another accreditation choice in the field. Recently, the U.S. Department of Education recognized the Teacher Education Accrediting Council (TEAC) as a second accrediting alternative. TEAC describes its process as an audit of evidence of student achievement. Through the use of "inquiry briefs," institutions must provide evidence of several quality principles related to student learning, assessment, and instructional learning, in addition to seven standards of student learning. The TEAC process seems to rely less on specific program standards formulated by professional specialty associations than does NCATE.

In the field of educational administration, the adoption of the Interstate Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) standards and implementation of the ELCC accreditation process have been important components of program improvement. Currently, efforts are under way to review the existing program standards and focus additional attention on the models of educational administration accreditation. The most likely vehicle for such improvement is the National Policy Board of Educational Administration.

—Theodore B. Creighton

See also accountability; admissions; behaviorism; bureaucracy; ideology, shifts of in educational leadership preparation; Interstate Leaders Licensure Consortium; knowledge base, of the field; management theories; theory movement, in educational administration; total quality management; universities, preparation of educational leaders in; University Council for Educational Administration

Further Readings and References

Cibulka, J. G. (2004). The case for academic program standards in educational administration: Toward a mature profession. *UCEA Review, 46*(2), 1–4.

English, F. (2003). Cookie-cutter leaders for cookie-cutter schools: The teleology of standardization and the delegitimization of the university in educational leadership programs. *Leadership and Policy in Schools, 2*(1), 27–46.

English, F. W. (2004). Undoing the "done deal": Reductionism, ahistoricity, and pseudo-science in the knowledge base and standards for educational administration. *UCEA Review, 46*(2), 5–7.

Murphy, J. (in press). Uncovering the foundations of ISLLC standards and addressing concerns in the academic community. *Educational Administration Quarterly.*

Sundre, S. M. (2004, Spring). ACEHSA accreditation safeguards the public interest. *Journal of Health Administration Education,* pp. 1–7.

ACHIEVEMENT GAP, OF STUDENTS

The gap between majority-minority students has attained the status of the search for the Holy Grail in education, especially since the provisions and penalties of Public Law 107-110, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, are aimed at removing it. Despite the expectations of the erasure of the gap in achievement test scores advanced in the federal legislation, the discrepancy

between minority-majority students on school achievement tests continues into the present. It is neither a recent phenomenon nor confined to the United States.

Scholars who have examined the persistent gap in achievement are convinced that there is no single cause and that the gap is not monolithic. However, nearly all indicate that socioeconomic status is a key indicator: that children from lower-income families tend not to do as well in school as their higher-income counterparts. Lack of access to the dominant forms of cultural capital in the larger society remains a key stumbling block for children of lower-income families. Other critical variables include the level of education of the parents, the number of parents in the home, and the type of community in which a family resides. In this respect, schools reflect rather than act as social change agents for lower-class families. Schools also embody forms of power that reinforce the subservient status of children of color and poverty.

Another key aspect of the achievement gap is the nature of the tests themselves. Originally, both intelligence and achievement tests were based on assumptions anchored in eugenics, and they were consistently biased against the poor. Alfred Binet, the creator of the IQ test in France, noticed that lower test scores were invariably from children in lower-class homes. The differences such tests revealed were often considered as measures of innate properties rather than measures of cultural access. A key supporting argument of the notion that children of the lower classes were "less able" was based on the alleged research of Cyril Burt in England. Burt, the director of testing in England's schools, publicized studies in which he showed that environment had less impact on schooling success than the student's general intelligence. Today, Cyril Burt's research has been listed as fraudulent. Burt invented his data to support his biases. There are still modern proponents of the IQ as an explanation of the achievement gap, that is, the viewpoint that the discrepancy is due to the fact that some children are simply less intelligent than others. Such was the view proffered by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray in 1994 with their book *The Bell Curve.* The assertions of Herrnstein and Murray are that differences in test scores are more innate than acquired and that government spending on the poor to improve their learning in schools will largely be futile. Such views are considered by most scholars as arguments advancing racism in public policy.

Tests used in school are not only measures (partial or otherwise) of the curriculum and general schooling experience, they are also measures of culture, and culture is a multidimensional phenomenon bringing with it a host of attitudes, expectations, and strategies for coping with life. The schooling experience is not neutral. It is packed with values both written and hidden. Children of different cultures come to the school with a broad range of familiarity with its routines and values. Children with less familiarity are at a disadvantage in a competitive environment.

Some research conducted for the Council of the Great City Schools in 2002 on successful school systems where definite progress had been reported on closing the gap in achievement indicated that important changes began with the board of education, which pursued reform with a singular purpose. The board did not engage in micromanagement of the day-to-day affairs of the school district, but focused on the overall direction of the school system with the superintendent. These were other successful strategies reported:

- A focus on student achievement with specific goals on a definite timetable for accomplishment, aligned curricula with state standards, and institutionalized means to translate such standards into classroom practice
- The installation of concrete accountability systems that held administrators personally responsible for progress in reducing the gap
- A focus on the lowest-performing schools with methods to improve the competence of the instructional personnel and leadership at those schools
- Adopting districtwide curricula and working toward consistent implementation of those curricula across the school system
- Focused professional development that reinforced the district's curricula and worked toward improving constancy of delivery
- Determination to engage in data-driven decision making where budgetary and other decisions were anchored to the results (or lack thereof) being attained
- Beginning reforms at the elementary schools to reduce the flow of unprepared students coming into the secondary schools
- Providing expanded and intensive instruction in reading and math at the secondary schools, even at the expense of other parts of the curriculum

School districts that were not able to show a reduction in the achievement gap were marked by the lack of clear consensus on the part of stakeholders about

the district's direction and its approach to reform. The districts also lacked clear indicators of success, timelines, and consequences for not doing well. The district's central office took little to no responsibility for improving teaching or reducing the gap, and the policies and practices of the central office were not connected to the schools nor to classrooms.

School leaders in these systems were often confronted with conflicting or ambiguous directives but were largely left to their own devices in trying to reduce the achievement gap.

It is also clear that certain forms of site-based management are dysfunctional in reducing achievement gaps, especially where the gaps are the result of unaligned teaching or disjointed curricula and other instructional materials being used in a nonconsistent manner. A high-stakes centralized testing program requires a centralized curriculum, not a decentralized one. This fact has not been appreciated by many school reformers, who desire the benefits of decentralized decision making to encourage creative responses but insist on using centralized, standardized measures to gauge success of school interventions.

Despite the public rhetoric from politicians and other educational leaders about eliminating the achievement gap, it is not likely to become a reality until the causes are understood much better than they are now.

—Fenwick W. English

See also accountability; achievement tests; alignment, of curriculum; at-risk students; Binet, Alfred; Black education; bureaucracy; Burt, Cyril; critical race theory; critical theory; cultural capital; cultural politics, wars; Department of Education; decentralization/centralization controversy; discrimination; diversity; efficacy theory; elementary education; equality, in schools; equity and adequacy of funding schools; feedback; governance; high schools; human capital; immigration, history and impact in education; individual differences, in children; intelligence; learning environments; literacy, theories of; measurement, theories of; National Assessment of Educational Progress; No Child Left Behind; planning models; politics, of education; psychometrics; reading, history of, use in schools; school improvement models; site-based management; systemic reform; underachievers, in schools

Further Readings and References

English, F. (2002). On the intractability of the achievement gap in urban schools and the discursive practice of continuing racial discrimination. *Education and Urban Society, 34,* 298–311.

English, F., & Steffy, B. (2001). *Deep curriculum alignment: Creating a level playing field for all children on high-stakes tests of educational accountability*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Education.

English, F., & Steffy, B. (2005). Curriculum leadership: The administrative survival skill in a test-driven culture and a competitive educational marketplace. In F. English (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of educational leadership* (pp. 407–429). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Evans, R. (2005). Reframing the achievement gap. *Phi Delta Kappan, 86,* 582–589.

Herrnstein, R., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life.* New York: Free Press.

Judson, H. (2004). *The great betrayal: Fraud in science.* Orlando, FL: Harcourt.

Ramirez, A., & Carpenter, D. (2005). Challenging assumptions about the achievement gap. *Phi Delta Kappan, 86,* 599–603.

Snipes, J., Doolittle, F., & Herlihy, C. (2002, September), *Foundations for success: Case studies of how urban school systems improve student achievement.* Washington, DC: Council of the Great City Schools.

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

An achievement test is an assessment tool that measures what students have learned over a period of time. Student learning may take place in a number of domains. In the 1950s, Benjamin Bloom and his colleagues proposed a six-level taxonomy of cognitive learning: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The lowest level of the taxonomy, knowledge, generally requires a student to memorize facts and concepts. The next level, comprehension, is a result of more internal processing of the information a student has learned. The more advanced levels, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, involve more complex skills and mental processes. Student learning may also occur in the affective domain. For example, it is widely believed that student motivation toward a subject may change as a result of instructions. There is also the psychomotor domain that deals with a student's use of muscles, such as typing and athletic skills. Unfortunately, assessment in the affective and psychomotor domains seldom receives adequate, if any, attention.

The various types of learning suggest different assessment approaches. For instance, the knowledge level of the cognitive domain is usually assessed through the use of multiple-choice items and other traditional types of test questions. The assessment of a student's

ability to apply knowledge to solve problems, however, seems to be best accomplished through more complicated assessment tasks, such as an open-ended essay question or a performance task. The assessment of psychomotor skills may also be conducted through a performance task. Student attitude or interest is usually assessed through either classroom observation or, more formally, a survey. An achievement test, however, is often perceived as a traditional paper-and-pencil test. Although performance tasks, classroom observations, and surveys are all important tools used in assessing student achievement, they are seldom considered achievement tests.

An achievement test is often differentiated from other forms of traditional tests. It differs from an intelligence test since it assesses student learning rather than student ability or intelligence. It is also distinguishable from an aptitude test because the latter measures a student's learning ability and potential to succeed in future studies. Despite this, an achievement test may be used to predict a student's future academic success. Take for an example the Scholastic Aptitude/Achievement Test (SAT) that is used for college admission. The SAT Reasoning Test is an aptitude test used to predict a student's overall college GPA. The SAT Subject Tests are achievement tests that are used by many institutions of higher education for predicting student academic success in specific subject areas.

HISTORY OF ACHIEVEMENT TESTING

The history of achievement tests in America started in the mid-nineteenth century, when written tests were first used to replace oral examinations of students in American schools. A major reason for the change was the increase of student population in schools due to immigration. The use of formal written examinations provided a more objective and efficient way to assess student learning. Although the original purpose of using written tests was for teachers to classify students for instructional purposes, it also provided an opportunity for policymakers to monitor school effectiveness. The tests were also used by reformists such as Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, to effect changes in schools.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century saw the beginning of intelligence testing, first in Europe and then later in America. The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale that was revised in 1914 marked the beginning of large-scale individual intelligence testing in the United States. World War I provided a rare opportunity for the experimentation of group intelligence testing on a large scale. Parallel to the development of intelligence tests, achievement tests became for the first time standardized and administered on large scales. The uniform test designed by Joseph Mayer Rice toward the end of the nineteenth century was one of the earliest attempts to use standardized tests on a large scale for the purpose of comparing student learning across schools. More standardized achievement tests were developed in the beginning of the twentieth century, such as the tests developed by Edward Thorndike and his students at Columbia University. Another major development in achievement testing in the beginning of the century was the common exams developed by the College Entrance Examination Board, which were based on the common curricula in nine subject areas.

After World War I, standardized intelligence and achievement testing became well established in American schools. The introduction of multiple-choice questions in the 1920s, developed by Arthur S. Otis, helped to popularize standardized testing. The administration of the SAT by the College Board in 1926 was another major development in the history of standardized testing, which provided the foundation for norm-referenced testing. Although achievement tests were used as supplements to intelligence tests in estimating student ability, there was a general preference in American society for standardized achievement tests to intelligence tests. One of the most influential standardized achievement tests developed at that time was Terman's Stanford Achievement Test. The Iowa Program, started in 1929 through the leadership of E. F. Lindquist for the purpose of diagnosis and guidance, marked the beginning of large-scale state testing. The program proved that large-scale achievement testing could be conducted efficiently and at a reasonable cost.

The period after World War II saw the rapid increase of access to education in the United States. Standardized tests, which were once used to screen and select students, had become tools to provide opportunity for students to demonstrate their ability and achievement. For example, the GED (test of General Educational Development), a test that was first designed for returning army personnel short of high school graduation, provided people with the opportunity to earn an equivalent high school diploma by

demonstrating their academic achievement through unconventional schooling. With the introduction of machine scoring originally from the Iowa Program in the 1950s, standardized testing was now conducted on an even larger scale. Starting from the 1950s, the federal government began to be involved in education, first through federal funding and later directly through a national standardized testing program, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).

TYPES OF ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Achievement tests can be divided into classroom assessments and standardized achievement tests. Classroom teachers frequently engage themselves in designing unit quizzes, midterms, and final examinations. Unit tests are often shorter and simple in structure, whereas final examinations are longer and contain more varieties of test items. Such quizzes and exams form the basis for a teacher to assign grades to students in class. The teacher may also use the results of the tests to monitor student progress. Based on the results of the tests, the teacher learns if the teaching has been effective and if changes are needed in instruction. The assessment approaches of the classroom teacher are often flexible. Aside from achievement tests, the teacher can also use classroom observation, discussion, performance tasks, group projects, and portfolios to assess student learning.

Besides achievement tests developed by the classroom teacher, there are standardized achievement tests developed by commercial testing companies. For example, the *TerraNova* is a test battery developed by CTB-McGraw-Hill that can be used to assess student achievement in reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. The NAEP, a national test administered by the National Center for Educational Statistics, is a congressionally mandated assessment program to monitor the nation's educational achievement and progress. Since the 1990s, standardized achievement tests have also been developed at the state level. Standardized tests typically use multiple-choice questions and a limited number of constructed response items to assess learning. The development of standardized achievement tests usually involves the use of content experts, whose job it is to review test items to ensure that the test measures what it is supposed to measure. A useful tool that may be used by both testing companies and classroom teachers in the test construction process is the test blueprint, which specifies important instructional objectives and the number and type of items that will be developed to assess those objectives. Standardized achievement tests are very often used as high-stakes tests. Results of such tests often become the basis for grade promotion and graduation for students. They are also used in evaluating the effectiveness of teachers and principals.

The standards movement in the 1990s resulted in most states developing challenging curriculums in the school systems. The new curriculums also specified performance standards for student learning. For this reason, most statewide assessments are often called "standards-based tests." Based on those standards, a scoring system is typically set up to specify various achievement levels for an achievement test. For instance, the achievement levels may be divided into Below Basic, Basic, Proficient, and Advanced. Based on the results of such tests, students may be recommended for remediation, placement in special services or gifted/talented programs, or promotion to a higher grade. The standards-based approach to achievement tests has a number of things to be recommended. For one thing, the use of standards helps to ensure that the construction of an assessment is guided by important curriculum standards and instructional objectives. The specification of standards also forms a useful guide for classroom teachers to focus their attention on important instructional objectives. As a result of this, teachers may adequately prepare their students for important achievement tests without having to teach to the specific items of the test. The use of performance level in score reporting makes score interpretation both easy and meaningful to most stakeholders.

MISUSES OF ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

The history of achievement tests, especially standardized achievement tests, is full of misuses. When the written tests were first used in the mid-nineteenth century, they were primarily for teachers to assess student learning for the sake of instructional planning. Policymakers, however, were quick to seize the opportunity to compare schools in terms of their effectiveness. Despite the benign intention, the tests were not designed for such comparisons, since there were big differences across schools in terms of school curriculum and other factors.

In reaction to criticism toward such unwarranted test use, several norm-referenced standardized achievement tests were developed that tried to minimize local

differences in curriculum and emphasize instead common curricula in core subject areas, which made it possible to compare schools and students based on test results. The popularity of such tests, however, attracted many schools to once again misuse the tests, that is, using the norm-referenced test results to make criterion-referenced decisions. Since norm-referenced tests focus on the common curricula and typically use few items per subject area, it is not justifiable to use the test results to infer student performance in each specific subject area. In other words, norm-referenced tests are often mistakenly used for diagnostic information.

A common misuse of standardized testing concerns the SAT. For most of its time, the SAT has been an aptitude test used to predict student performance in college studies. The test results do not reflect student achievement in high schools. Students also take part in the test on a voluntary basis, with some of them never attempting the test, while others may take it several times. Despite this, many states continue to use the test results to compare and rank schools in terms of their effectiveness.

The Mental Measurements Yearbook, published by the Buros Institute in Lincoln, Nebraska, provides comprehensive information about and reviews of every commercially available standardized test. It is an excellent resource that can be used to prevent misuse of standardized tests.

—Yuankun Yao

See also accountability; Asian Pacific Americans; Black education; critical race theory; cultural capital; Department of Education; Educational Testing Service; equality, in schools; equity and adequacy of funding schools; immigration, history and impact in education; intelligence; item response theory; Latinos; minorities, in schools; psychometrics; quantitative research methods; testing and test theory development

Further Readings and References

AERA, APA, & NCME. (1999). *Standards for educational and psychological testing.* Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Anastasi, A., & Urbina, S. (1997). *Psychological testing.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Haladyna, T. (2002). *Essentials of standardized achievement testing.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Lehman, N. (1999). *The big test.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Popham, W. J. (2002). *Classroom assessment: What teachers need to know.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Sacks, P. (1999). *Standardized minds: The high price of America's testing culture and what we can do to change it.* Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.

U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. (1992). *Testing in American schools: Asking the right question.* Retrieved August 4, 2004, from http://www.wws.princeton .edu/~ota/disk1/1992/9236_n.html

ACTION LEARNING

Action learning (AL) is an emerging leadership development activity with two basic goals: (a) solve the organizational problem and (b) engage in learning that can be used elsewhere in a real-time situation. In AL, the first priority is *learning;* the second is *solving the problem.* The focus on learning also distinguishes AL from task forces, teams, quality circles, committees, and work groups.

The concept of AL is attributed to Reg Revans, a Cambridge physicist. Revans observed that by sharing problems and asking probing questions of other scientists, significant new insights could be achieved.

Revans codified his work in AL and continued applying his learning principles to his work as a professor in industrial administration. The strength of the AL process is derived from the interaction of three major elements identified by Revans: programmed knowledge (P), questioning (Q), and reflection (R). In other words, Learning $(L) = P + Q + R$. Factual information, or knowledge, about the problem is gathered on an ongoing basis. Hypothesis forming and questioning occur during set meetings and center around a continuous learning cycle composed of five questions:

1. What are we trying to do?

2. What is stopping us?

3. What might we try?

4. Who knows about this problem?

5. Who can do anything about this problem?

AL programs are built around five distinctive interactive components: (a) the problem, (b) the set, (c) the process, (d) the client, and (e) the facilitator. The solution of the problem must matter to the AL participants. In addition, the problem(s) may either deal with strategic issues (what to do) or tactical issues (how to do it).

AL takes place through a "set." The set (ALS) refers to the four to six action learners who work as a cooperative learning group to define the problem, ask questions, collect and analyze data, form conclusions, present findings, and make recommendations.

The client is the person, or organization, who owns the problem at hand. Leaders in these organizations identify real problems to which they seek a solution. Ideally, clients should be committed to taking action on the recommendations.

The facilitator is most important at the beginning of AL process. They increase group cohesiveness by explaining the AL process to the group and, when necessary, building appropriate interpersonal skills. In addition, the set advisor may increase the confidence and commitment of the client through open communication with the client. Once the group has started, the set advisor may assist individuals in gaining a better self-perception and may act as a resource by asking appropriate questions or suggesting appropriate references.

The unique features of working with an authentic problem and with a live client set AL apart from other leadership development tools, such as case studies, simulations, action research, motivation theories, and problem-based learning.

—John Pisapia

See also case studies; constructivism; feedback; field theory; functionalist theory; knowledge base, of the field; problem-based learning

Further Readings and References

Revans, R. W. (1978/1995). *The ABC of action learning: A review of 25 years of experience*. Salford, UK: University of Salford.

Revans, R. W. (1980). *Action learning: New techniques for management.* London: Blond & Briggs.

Revans, R. W. (1982). *The origin and growth of action learning.* London: Chartwell Bratt.

ACTION RESEARCH

This is a form of reflective inquiry in which a group of stakeholders systematically addresses issues, problems, and ideas that emerge from a particular community with the intention of generating genuine improvements in the quality of practice. In school settings, action research entails thoughtful consideration of educational theory and research, the analysis of the effects practice on student learning, and use of research findings to inform curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Educators cannot afford to practice their craft in an unsystematic fashion. Schooling is a highly complex, decision-driven, and action-oriented enterprise with immediate and long-standing ethical implications for individuals and society. Decisions about what and how to go about the business of schooling and teach are too often based on intuition, memories of events, anecdotal information, and casual observations. To be effective, school-based professionals must collaboratively examine and interpret the learning environment in order to make informed decisions about curriculum design, instructional strategies, and assessment for learning. It is the systematic and collaborative collection and analysis of valid data considered in light of established theory that helps to transform typical and less rigorous forms of reflective practice into action research.

The term *action research* was first used in the 1940s to characterize group research activities that resulted in changed community practices (such as Native American farming tactics). In time, the principles of action research came to be applied to the examination of pedagogical and educational reform activities. Today, action research stands in marked contrast to traditional educational research (or "pure" research), in which an outside investigator examines an issue, generates findings, and then leaves interpretation and implementation of the results up to school practitioners. Through applied social science data collection and analysis methods, school-based action researchers explore and test new ideas, methods, and materials; assess the effectiveness of the new approaches; and determine the most worthwhile approaches to curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Action research is most effective when it becomes an embedded and routine part of practice, when educators collaboratively initiate and manage systematic inquiry as part of their teaching and administrative responsibilities. When undertaken by educators in school-based learning communities, action research becomes an exceptional and powerful means of professional development.

STEPS OF ACTION RESEARCH

Action research is predicated on collaborative systematic inquiry within a group of educators and involves multiple elements characteristic of applied social

science research. These elements include (a) identifying and defining an issue, problem, or idea of shared interest to a community of practitioners; (b) reviewing established theory, research, and other information related to that which is being studied; (c) posing specific questions to be addressed through the research; (d) developing a plan and the data collection methods related to the research question(s); (e) collecting and analyzing information in order to elicit findings; (f) individual review and structured group discussion about research findings; and (g) adapting individual and collective pedagogical practices based on the research findings. To be empowering and credible, the steps of action research need to be informed by common values that educators want to realize in practice, and findings should be shared publicly and open to professional scrutiny.

BENEFITS OF ACTION RESEARCH

Efficacy studies of the action research model suggest it is a highly beneficial process for educators. Teachers involved in action research tend to grow intellectually and professionally, develop more positive attitudes toward their colleagues, and expand their analytical and pedagogical skills. Action research, when collaborative and embedded in practice, stimulates the ingenuity of teachers and cultivates their ability to creatively and effectively address important educational problems and issues. Increasingly, the establishment of professional learning communities predicated on the action research model of inquiry is being championed by educational leaders (such as the National Association of Secondary School Principals) as the most effective means to promote student performance and school improvement.

BARRIERS TO ACTION RESEARCH IN THE SCHOOLS

If action research is one of the most effective means through which teachers and administrators can improve their practice, increase student achievement, and cultivate personalized learning communities, why is engagement in action research generally sporadic, inconsistent, or nonexistent? Action research requires time and sustained commitment on the part of educators; yet our current system of schooling is an individual action-oriented enterprise that excludes the

concerted and collaborative evaluation of practice. Too often, action research is ineffective because it is perceived or treated as an add-on. Teachers need systemic opportunities and support as they work with colleagues to continuously examine the effects of their practice on student learning and school performance. Some educational leaders may not be willing to support teacher-conducted action research because they believe it to be less credible than pure educational research conducted by outside investigators. However, it is widely recognized that all research suffers from issues of validity, reliability, generalizability, and investigator bias to some degree; there is nothing inherently less rigorous about action research as a method of systematic inquiry. Perhaps the greatest barrier to reaping the enormous personal and professional benefits of action research is the closed and competitive nature of schooling. Teachers tend to focus on what takes place in their own classrooms and give little consideration to the curricular and instructional practices of their colleagues. The cooperative evaluation of instructional practices and public sharing of evidence-based findings can feel uncomfortable and threatening to educators used to working in isolation and without critical and supportive feedback. Educational leaders need to address the isolationist and action-oriented nature of schooling and create systemic opportunities for teachers to engage in action research if sustained school improvement and student achievement are to become a reality.

—Rebecca Gajda

See also critical thinking; field theory; fieldwork, in qualitative research; frame theory; hypotheses, in research; interpretive studies; measurement, theories of; qualitative research, history, theories, issues; quantitative research methods; research methods; systems theory/thinking

Further Readings and References

Hord, S. (2004) *Learning together, leading together: Changing schools through professional learning communities.* New York: Teachers College Press.

National Association of Secondary School Principals. (2004). *Breaking ranks II: Strategies for leading high school reform.* Reston, VA: Author.

Parson, R., & Brown, K. (2002). *Teacher as reflective practitioner and action researcher.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Schmoker, M. (2004). Tipping point: From feckless reform to substantive instructional improvement. *Phi Delta Kappan, 85,* 424–432.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS

Charles Francis Adams II (1835–1915), descendent of the politically famous line of Adamses in Massachusetts, influenced issues of the economy, railroading, politics, the Civil War, and basic and higher education. His contributions to basic education foreshadowed ongoing issues such as professional development and lifelong learning.

Adams was born in Boston, son of the well-known public official Charles Francis Adams, the first. The second Charles Francis fought in the Civil War as an officer, seeing action at Antietam and Gettysburg. After the war, he turned his attention to railroading, writing several exposés on the problems of railroading, especially mismanagement of the Erie Railroad.

After serving on several railroad commissions and boards, including the Massachusetts board and the Union Pacific, he turned his attention to the public school system in the Adams hometown of Quincy, Massachusetts. His autobiography conveys his concern about the lack of public attention to the quality of public schools. He observed that the lack of attention to school management resulted in ineffective education yet carried a hefty price tag.

Adams suggested reforms for Quincy, which were widely adopted. The Quincy board hired a superintendent with experience in German Common Schools, giving him freedom to make reforms such as combining the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic with the concept of hands-on experiences. Adams believed that quality would result from improved practices, rather than just increased expenditures. He also delivered an influential address to the National Education Association in 1880, in which he called for increased professionalization of school administration, including the creation of formal preparation programs in elite colleges and universities.

Adams served higher education for 24 years as a member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, and he gave a series of lectures at Oxford University. Two years after publishing those lectures, he died and was buried in Mount Wollaston Cemetery in Quincy. His educational legacy was a blueprint for reform reflective of current practice.

—*Helen C. Sobehart*

See also accountability; boards of education; bureaucracy; constructivism; philosophies of education; productivity; professional development; property tax; reform, of schools; restructuring, of schools; school improvement models; systemic reform; taxes, to support education

Further Readings and References

Adams, C. F. (1876). *The new departure in the common schools of Quincy and other papers on educational topics.* Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
Adams, C. F. (1916). *Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915: An autobiography.* Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

ADAPTIVENESS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Until recently, most school organizations enjoyed considerable autonomy in their daily operations and did not concern themselves with the development of specialized adaptive functions. Political influence, formal and informal expectations, authority, and problems of perceived legitimacy have fostered a climate of accelerated change, compelling educational organizations to become increasingly responsive, innovative, and adaptive. The underlying factors driving transformation in public education's areas of operation are well publicized. Federal and state supported initiatives, like charter schools, vouchers, parental choice, high-stakes testing, teacher and administrator turnover and decentralization, coupled with shrinking budgets for professional development, families living in poverty, and fulfilling the needs of ethnically diverse and special education student populations, provoke substantive questions in the minds of many about the future of public education. In particular, the recently revised Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), also known as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, Public Law 107-110, presents sweeping implications for those who work in educational organizations. These pressures have also resulted in a not-so-subtle transformation in how school organizations view themselves, their roles, and most important, what it means to be successful.

The texture and slope of this precarious landscape has produced public perceptions of chaos and disequilibrium in the "fields" that interact with educational organizations. More specifically, these various external pressures have resulted in heightened anxiety around the manner in which school organizations and in particular

school leaders will conceptualize and implement effective responses to these emerging demands. Undoubtedly, these types of adaptive problems press complex organizations, like public schools, to articulate and eventually depend on forms of knowledge, expertise, and operations not necessarily related to the principal tasks of the organization. Although the organizational literature provides a significant body of research focused on issues of organization adaptation and change, the ability of complex organizations to successfully adapt to social and regulatory forces continues to be the subject of much theorizing and research. Issues of structural inertia created by organizational age, size, and density raise questions about the tolerance of school organizations to adapt their structures and conform to institutional pressures in order to be perceived as legitimate and remain competitive in this turbulent environment.

What is adaptiveness of organizations? There are numerous theoretical orientations that have examined adaptive mechanisms and "logics" used by organizations to respond to changing environments. In each instance, adaptive functions are focused on the survival of the organization. Extant literature suggests that adaptiveness of organizations implies a process of transitive learning and an appropriate response to change. Adaptation involves a deliberate process in which organizational leaders (managers or subunits) systematically scan relevant environments for threats and opportunities in order to develop strategic responses and modify organizational processes and structures accordingly.

Scholars have pointed to the fact that institutionalizing adaptiveness requires increased levels of organizational learning, communication, and leadership. As organizations find themselves enmeshed in rapidly changing milieus, their ability to scan the environment and modify search strategies is important. An unambiguous perception of the organization's relationship with the external environment greatly affects adaptive activities. It also requires leaders to be cognizant of organizations' existing competencies in light of these changing demands. Modification of existing organizational structures and routines is accomplished through a "social process" directed at organizational learning. Although leaders provide a formalized context for this process, learning in these instances is organic and evolutionary. It involves a process of socialization (e.g., sharing the tacit knowledge of individuals) around the pressing issues of the organization, making that knowledge explicit through dialogue and collective reflection (e.g., metaphors, analogies and concepts), and then internalizing and acting upon it by members of the organization. Through the learning process, leaders utilize knowledge to establish an organizational environment that is more dynamic, flexible, and responsive to change.

Finally, research in this area has demonstrated that institutionalizing adaptiveness has an effect on "expanding the organization." The outcomes of this process often result in the reallocation of resources; changes in organizational aspirations, performances, and outcomes; adoption of new technologies (e.g., human expertise, mechanical equipment); as well as organizational rules, cultural norms, and routines.

Unlike some very large and powerful corporations, educational organizations are not designed or able to control external forces. For that reason, they find themselves responding to relentless and pervasive national attention and pressures focused on the quality of their programs and achievement of their students. The current structure of many educational organizations makes them vulnerable in their ability to appropriately address these external demands. Yet existing research and theory articulates that survival of school organizations is intricately tied to their attention and response to the external environment coupled with an inward focus and the development of a complex, dynamic, and flexible adaptive structure.

—*George J. Petersen*

See also accountability; collaboration theory; hierarchy, in organizations; innovation, in education; matrix organization (the "adhocracy"); organizational theories; restructuring, of schools; staffing, concepts of; systemic reform; systems theory/thinking

Further Readings and References

Aldrich, H. (2000). *Organizations evolving.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2003). *Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice, and leadership* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Fulmer, W. E. (2000). *Shaping the adaptive organization: Landscapes, learning, and leadership in volatile times.* New York: AMACOM.

Scott, W. R. (2001). *Institutions and organizations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

ADDAMS, JANE

Jane Addams (1860–1935), a leader in social reform, women's rights, antiwar, and civil liberties issues,

founded the social settlement Hull-House on Chicago's Near West Side in 1889. Hull-House was modeled on London's Toynbee Hall and was designed to enrich the lives of poor people in Chicago's immigrant community. She was the first American woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize (1931). Among her activities, she was a founder of the National Federation of Settlements (president 1911–1935), the World War I Women's Peace Party (1915), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (served as first president 1919–1929), and the American Civil Liberties Union (1920). She was vice president of the National Woman's Trade Union League, served on the Chicago Board of Education, helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909), was elected first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (later known as the National Conference of Social Work), served as first vice president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, seconded the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt at the Progressive Party convention, and presided at the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915.

Addams belonged to the first generation of women college graduates. She graduated from the Rockford Female Seminary in 1881. She was granted a bachelor's degree the following year, when the school became accredited as the Rockford College for Women.

Reform projects that emerged from Hull-House included the Immigrants' Protective League, The Juvenile Protective Association, the first juvenile court in the United States, and a Juvenile Psychopathic Clinic or Institute for Juvenile Research. Through Hull-House efforts, Illinois enacted protective legislation for women and children, which in 1903 included a strong labor law and a compulsory education law. These efforts expanded to a national level when the Federal Children's Bureau was created in 1912 and a federal child labor law was passed in 1916.

Addams wrote 11 books, including *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), *Women at the Hague* (1915) with Emily Balch and Alice Hamilton, *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1916), *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922), *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930), *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent* (1932), and *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* (1935). She authored multiple articles on subjects such as immigration, ethnicity, child welfare, juvenile justice, civil rights, life in the settlement house, industrial conditions, reform, and suffrage.

When speaking about the work of Hull-House, she emphasized caring for the children of the immigrants, nursing the sick, and offering classes for adults and children. She encouraged young women to assist in this work. Through her speeches, she raised money to support the activities of Hull-House. She also gave speeches publicly opposing America's entry into war. She was expelled from the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Jane Addams is a model of educational leadership. Beginning with her insistence on receiving a bachelor's degree as one of the first women college graduates and throughout her career as an advocate and provider of education for children and adults, her leadership is evident. The work of Hull-House, the enduring reform initiatives, her public speeches, her leadership roles, her fund-raising activities, and the books and articles she penned reflect her contributions as a leader in promoting education for all.

Recognized around the world for her work on behalf of those who suffered from hunger, poverty, and oppression, Addams was referred to as "Mother of the World" because of her work for peace and justice.

—Marilyn L. Grady

See also class, social; compulsory education; equality, in schools; feminism and theories of leadership; immigration, history and impact in education; peace education; women in educational leadership

Further Readings and References

Davis, A. F. (1973). *American heroine: The life and legend of Jane Addams.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Elshtain, J. B. (2002). *Jane Addams and the dream of American democracy.* New York: Basic Books.

Wheeler, L. A. (1990). *Jane Addams.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Silver Burdett Press.

ADMINISTRATION, THEORIES OF

The Industrial Revolution produced a growing number of increasingly complex organizations, including schools and school systems. Organizational scholars of the time, most often experienced practitioners, were

seeking new and better ways to manage their organizations, focusing especially on the industrial worker. Many of the concepts and principles that were developed within classical organization theory had a lasting influence on organizational thought, essentially to maximize performance to increase production. Administration theory (formal organization theory) was one of three major strands identified within classical organizational theory that included scientific management and bureaucracy.

Within this growing group of organizational theorists, the professional school superintendency evolved as a new administrative position in educational systems only after other approaches failed to administer effectively the growing, complex, urban systems of public education. In the last 20 years of the nineteenth century, as industries were moving toward a model of efficiency and scientific rationality rose in full force to challenge religion, a potpourri of corporate-minded reformers, university professors, and other educators found urban schools inefficient and stuck in corrupt politics. From the factory-like city schools with unwieldy large school boards, these reformers began to professionalize the urban superintendency to the current model of the superintendency of the twenty-first century schools.

The first movement to have a major impact on professionalizing the superintendency was scientific management, led by Frederick Taylor, credited as the founding father of the movement. Arguing in 1911 that there was much waste and inefficiency in industry, Taylor stressed the need for organizing human beings for work in the most efficient way possible. He emphasized a scientific analysis of each element of the work, job descriptions in terms of recruitment and training of employees, employee appraisal, and a reward system. His principles of management included time and motion studies, price per rate of work, the separation of planning from performance, and the principle of the scientific methods of work to increase efficiency.

Ellwood Cubberley, who was superintendent of schools in San Diego before becoming dean of the School of Education at Stanford University, designed an administrative system for schools. Cubberley took Taylor's methods and devised a new industrial management theory that applied scientific management theory to school leadership, effectively modernizing early twentieth-century school administration. Even then, Cubberley's model was criticized for stressing

efficiency and bureaucracy as the answer to multifaceted pedagogical problems. Like those who disagreed with Taylor's methods, critics argued that students were not raw material and that schools were not factories charged with molding students in what amounted to a production process. Today, some consider Cubberley's views to be denigrating to women, non-Americans—his published views on European students were especially harsh, classifying those students as lacking both intelligence and motivation—and even the democratic process.

Raymond Callahan documented in 1962 the extent to which school administrators of this period adopted the business/efficiency ideology. He compared the efficiency experts of the industrial era with educational efficiency experts and the factory system of education. Efficiency was demonstrated, for example, using records and reports, educational cost accounting, the educational balance sheet, child accounting, and the standardized testing and accountability movement in schools.

Taylor's scientific management approach, to analyze and prescribe for the worker, is considered a microlevel approach to organizational maximization, for the bottom of the organizational pyramid upward. The other two strands of classical theory, administrative theory and bureaucracy, are considered a macrolevel approach, dealing with structure and principles applicable to higher-authority levels in the organization, from the top down. What Taylor did for the worker, Henry Fayol (in 1949) and others did for management and developed formal organizational, or administrative, theory. This group contended that organizations could be managed more efficiently if certain universal principles were applied. They developed a set of common processes and principles that provided the guidelines for formal organizational structure and eventually were adopted by educators as descriptive of the functions of school administrators. An organization should be specialized by function and division of labor. A chain of command would be established as a line authority moving downward through the structure of the organization, with employees reporting to one supervisor. Vertical communication would proceed through this chain. There should be a particular span of control per supervisor, which, though variable, usually included five or six subordinates. Authority levels should be at a minimum, making communication and control easier, improving efficiency. Finally, line departments were to have direct responsibility for decisions relating to the production of a good or service, and staff departments,

for example, personnel, were to provide specialist advice and services to assist line departments. School organizational structures including governance and administration were developed from a combination of scientific management and administrative theories.

The third strand of classical theory, bureaucracy, was developed by German sociologist Max Weber. Weber asked: How is it a leader can give a command and have actions carried out? He answered the question by classifying claims to the "legitimacy" in the exercise of authority. He suggested the bureaucratic model as the most appropriate form of organization for industrial production, and it is based on the notion of rational authority that is inherent in the manager's position in the hierarchical structure. Since leaders usually inherited status and authority and thus did not always have "charisma" to lead the organization, Weber maintained that a division of labor was needed that would provide the organizational hierarchy and authority, rules and regulations for order, and power for goal attainment within the organization. Each position in the organization was defined by a set of rules and procedures guiding the organizational members' activities. Duties and rights are predetermined. The amounts of discretion and authority would be strictly controlled at each level.

In the 1930s and 1940s, dissatisfaction with the classical approach to administration, with its heavy emphasis on production and efficiency, a mechanistic view of man, the prevalence of hierarchy and authority, and the neglect of social and psychological influences on the behavior of people in organizations, led to the human relations period in administration. Mary Parker Follett, the most influential contributor to the philosophy of the period, noted in 1924 that the fundamental problem of any organization was the building and maintenance of dynamic, yet harmonious, human relationships. Among the first to speak out on the value and dignity of satisfied workers, she helped lay the groundwork for organizational behavior as an interdisciplinary science. Perhaps her best-known contribution is her concept of the four principles of organization. First, Follett maintained that adherence to the principles should contribute to dynamic, harmonious human relationships. Second, she suggested there should be direct contact with workers in the early stages of their work. Third, coordination of work activities is a reciprocal and a continuing process. Fourth, in dealing with conflict, which Follett considered a normal process in management, she urged the

creative solution or problem-solving approach, "integration," rather than domination or compromise.

Studies conducted by Harvard professor Elton Mayo, in addition to the writings of John Dewey and Kurt Lewin, gave credence to the human relations theories of Follett. The studies were conducted at the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne plant near Chicago between 1924 and 1932 and published in the mid-1930s by Mayo and his colleagues. Results showed that wages and physical working conditions were not the chief factors in employee motivation and productivity—a long-held assumption. Among other influences, the amount of work accomplished by workers was determined in part by their social capacities and perceptions of their importance to management. Informal norms of behavior such as social codes, conventions, traditions, and routine or customary ways of responding to situations influenced effective work relations.

The experiments at the Hawthorne plant stimulated further investigations of human behavior in formal organizations, as the human relations approach to school administration became a major theme between 1930 and 1950. The studies helped generate a new perception of management as a social process of influencing human behavior in organizations rather than a mechanical process of manipulating impersonal production factors. In the field of education, for example, people—teachers, children, parents—became the focus of administrators rather than "ledgers and statistics." Some critics contend, however, that it still remains to be established whether the concepts of the humanistic approach to administration have carried over into practice.

After the classical period and the human relations movement, a third influence on the concept of the superintendency might be characterized as a move to develop a theory of administrative behavior within a social science framework. Chester I. Barnard, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation and of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, influenced the movement by combining scientific management with humanistic concepts, forming a new concept of effectiveness and efficiency. While he placed great stress on the importance of leadership in the management of institutions and saw cooperation as the basis for creative activities within the organization, Barnard recognized leadership as being influenced by variables such as the individual, social groupings, and conditions surrounding the organization.

Barnard considered organizational effectiveness as having to do with achievement of two kinds of goals: physical or physiological and social. He suggested organizational effectiveness and efficiency were linked together through an identifiable, stable system of communications, maintained by the executive who has three chief functions. First, the executive maintained a system of organizational communication, achieved through a division of labor, the supervision or control of the organizational whole which included techniques for effectiveness in selection, promotion, demotion, and dismissal of personnel and maintenance of an informal system of communication, which involved the compatibility of personnel. The second function of the executive was to promote the recruitment and maintenance of key personnel into cooperative relationships with the organization, accomplished chiefly through the maintenance of morale, inducements, deterrents, supervision and control, inspection, education and training. Finally, the executive was to formulate and define the purposes, ends, and objectives of the organization.

Barnard's sociological analysis of the two dimensions of organizational efficiency and effectiveness was a precursor to other social scientists who extended the theory of administration. After the classical theorists, the human relations school, and the social scientists movement, the next period of scholarship in administration took place within systems theory, an attempt to combat the criticism of the closed-system emphasis of both the efficiency theories and human relation theories.

The work of Jacob Getzels has been most influential to the theory of administrative work from a social systems perspective. With colleagues and students at the University of Chicago, Getzels formulated a theoretical model that viewed administration as a social process where the social system influenced operations. This model gave theoretical assistance to numerous empirical studies based upon an attempt to integrate the formal and informal aspects of administration. These social scientists considered the educational organization as a unique social system in which administration functions within a network of interpersonal or social relationships. The network of interactions is a crucial factor in the administrative process. Within this social system, behavior is shaped by both psychological (idiographic) and sociological (nomothetic) factors. In the two-component system, the observed behavior is a function of the institutional role, as defined by the expectations attached to it, and the personality component of the role incumbent, as defined by the person's needs.

In open systems theory, the source of diversity and variety within the system is the environment. Open systems are capable of self-maintenance based on environmental input or interaction, essential for open systems functioning. Within the open systems perspective are several schools of thought, of which contingency, or situational, theory has been influential in educational administration. In the situational perspective, principles of management are not fixed, but are affected by many variables, such as size, objectives, leadership styles, education and training of staff, availability of resources, nature of market, economic pressures, and government policies. When managers make a decision, they must take into account all aspects of the current situation and act on those aspects that are key to the situation at hand. Thus, organizational and administrative processes and choices are contingent upon the particular character or nature of the organization itself, the environment of the organization at that particular moment, and the specific task or tasks the organization seeks to accomplish at a particular time. Some scholars maintain that the notion of contingency is not theoretical, rather a selection set, an array of existing theories within a general framework of postmodern and critical theories.

Critical and postmodern theorists in educational administration believe the factory model of schooling with its time-clocked units of learning, division of labor, and attempts to standardize learning and achievement is in need of change. These theorists have begun a shift, an expansion to scholarship in leadership and community building with academic work in diverse areas, such as social action research, school improvement and reform, community action, the democratic community and civic engagement, accountability issues, equality and equity, ethics and values, and social justice.

The context of schooling has changed, and inexorably, administration, of necessity will change. Public school services have been extended, in some communities, into the sponsorship of community centers, adult education, summer schools, and recreation programs. With the increase in the number of households in which both parents work and in the number of single-parent households, programs such as Head Start have been established to care for preschool children. In large cities, special high schools are sometimes established to serve special student needs; for example,

there may be separate schools for artistic, industrial, scientific, or classical subjects or for students with behavior problems. Many twenty-first-century public schools, particularly in economically depressed urban areas, suffer from economic cutbacks, an increase in student crime, and an inability to find qualified administrators and teachers. Efforts to revitalize public school systems have included such varied approaches as decentralized community control in large urban areas, privatization of public school administration, school vouchers, and charter schools.

In these early years of the twenty-first century, the need for a bureaucratic administrator is giving way to the need for an interpretivist administrator, an effective leader; and communication skills, team-building skills, transformational management skills, and values will be vital to future school leaders as the management pyramid is flattened. The need to maintain a stable organization is giving way to the need to make change; school improvement, human action, aligning people, and the value of that change will be important. The need to maintain bureaucratic rigor is giving way to the need for school reform; bureaucratic authority will shift to moral authority; leadership will become transformational. The need to maintain human relations in the school will shift to the larger community beyond the school campus; community empowerment and involvement, group commitment, and collaboration are the focus for the school leader/administrator. If communication is at the heart of an effective leader, information will be the leader's lifeblood, the power source from which change will come. There will not be a singular gatekeeper of information; the administrator will obtain information from a mixed group and share with others. Information will drive value-laden decision making.

—JoAnn Danelo Barbour

See also Barnard, Chester I.; bureaucracy; contingency theories; Cubberley, Ellwood; division of labor; efficacy theory; Follett, Mary Parker; Hawthorne Studies, The; hierarchy, in organizations; leadership, situational; nomothetic/idiographic dimensions; open systems theory; satisficing theory; scientific management; superintendency; systems theory/thinking; Taylor, Frederick; Weber, Max

Further Readings and References

Barnard, C. I. (1966). *The functions of the executive.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1938)

Bogotch, I. (2005). A history of public school leadership: The first century, 1837–1942. In F. English (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of educational leadership* (pp. 7–33). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage,

Callahan, R. (1962). *Education and the cult of efficiency.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cubberley, E. P. (1916). *Public school administration.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

English, F. (2003). *The postmodern challenge to the theory and practice of educational administration.* Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

Fayol, H. (1949). *General and industrial management.* London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.

Follett, M. P. (1924). *Creative experience.* New York: Longmans, Green.

Getzels, J., Lipham, J., & Campbell, R. (1968). *Educational administration as a social process.* New York: Harper & Row.

Lunenburg, F. C., & Ornstein, A. C. (2004). *Educational administration: Concepts and practices* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Mayo, E. (1933). *The human problems of an industrial civilization.* New York: Macmillan.

Taylor, F. W. (1947). *Scientific management.* New York: Harper & Row.

Weber, M. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology* (H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills, Eds.) New York: Oxford University Press.

ADMISSIONS

The field of educational administration has long been criticized for the ways in which men and women are prepared for school leadership positions. In 1960, the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) characterized the preparation of superintendents and principals as a "dismal montage." Later in the 1970s, researchers described university preparation programs as "dysfunctional structural incrementalism."

Effective educational leadership programs consist both of program experiences and the quality of entering candidates. The selection of candidates is fully as critical as the preparation program itself. A review of the empirical research related to candidate recruitment and selection reveals (a) a scarcity of comprehensive studies and (b) the utilization of excessively small samples.

The National Policy Board for Educational Administration (NPBEA) published *Improving the Preparation of School Administrators* in 1989, a bulletin emphasizing the need to strengthen the procedures

used to identify and select students into educational administration programs, and recommended raising standards of administrator preparation programs to ensure candidates have effective analytical ability and administrative potential and have demonstrated successful teaching.

There is some evidence that a more proactive stance to the recruitment and selection of potential school leaders in the nation's university preparation programs has taken place over the last decade. Most of the research up to 2000 resulted from small sample sizes and relied on data from department chairs and deans. More recent studies have expanded to study more of the over 500 university preparation programs.

More recent studies found that the majority of universities still rely primarily on Graduate Record Examination (GRE) scores, letters of recommendation, and grade point averages in the recruitment and selection of candidates. Evidence of the use of strategies focused on *analytical ability, high administrative potential, and demonstrated success in teaching* is minimal at best.

The problem relates to how we select prospective school administrators for our university preparation programs. Recent research has identified the criteria weighted most heavily in the selection of candidates as GREs scores. And are these requirements sufficiently high to attract the brightest and most capable candidates to our programs? Data published by the *Graduate Record Examination Guide* reveal that students entering educational administration programs from 1996 to 1999 attained scores ranking third from the bottom when compared with 41 graduate fields. Compared with seven specific education majors, education administration ranked second from the bottom in verbal reasoning, third from the bottom in quantitative reasoning, and second from the bottom in analytical reasoning.

The present use of GRE scores, undergraduate grade point averages, and letters of recommendation for the selection of candidates for school administration in isolation are not in question—they have their place—but when they are the sole basis for selection, they are and have been found to be only partially effective.

The lack of rigorous selection procedures has several potentially negative effects:

- Weak selection procedures lower the quality of instruction offered, since courses and instruction are often geared to the background and intelligence of the students
- Easy entry diminishes the status of education administration programs in the eyes of the public
- The candidates themselves realize that anyone can get the credential if he or she keeps paying for credits
- Low standards of admission permit and encourage enrollment of candidates interested only in a master's degree in education with little intent of vigorously pursuing an administration position

Increasing the level of selection will likely result in a higher quality of administrator prepared by institutions of higher education (IHEs), thus providing better principals and superintendents for the nation's schools. Many studies point to the importance of quality leaders, and support exists for the stance that no amount of significant education reform or restructuring will occur without strong effective leadership. The prediction that as many as 50% of school administrators in the nation will leave their positions in the next decade due to retirement and career change translates to the potential of replacing approximately half of the education leaders in our country in a relatively short period of time. Emphasizing that strong effective leaders throughout the nation have a direct effect on student achievement and organizational change, the impact on and potential for implementing major educational reform is immense. If such a large number of school administrators is replaced in the next decade, a *window of opportunity* exists to radically improve the quality of education.

Improving the selection of school administrators must become a higher priority in all university preparation programs. How will the greater education community respond to this need for numbers? Will IHEs address the supply and demand with current selection processes, or will they focus on the opportunity to improve quality and effectiveness in education? If the latter, education leaders must be certain that university selection procedures are rigorous, effective, and cost-efficient. A specific fear is the possibility that universities might even lower standards for admission to accommodate the growing need for candidates, allowing the issue of supply and demand to undercut the quality of prospective school leaders admitted to education administration programs.

It is interesting to note the heavy emphasis on quality of university program (e.g., National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, Interstate Leaders Licensure Consortium, Educational Leadership

Constituent Council, and NPBEA) with an accompanying absence of emphasis on quality of candidates selected to education administration programs. Why is it assumed that high-quality effective administrators can be produced by university programs without first attracting and selecting candidates with existing potential for administration and leadership? And why do IHEs still utilize the common non-behavior-based selection criteria that show no evidence of relationship with leadership skills, knowledge, and dispositions?

Along with existing selection criteria, universities must give thought to considering more behavior-based criteria to better identify candidates with leadership potential. Until all involved parties address the selection of candidates with strong analytical ability, high administrative potential, and demonstrated success in teaching, the education administration profession will continue to be a refuge for mediocre candidates.

—Theodore B. Creighton and Stacey Edmonson

See also accreditation; gender studies, in educational leadership; leadership, national standards; schools of education; sexism (glass ceiling); universities, preparation of educational leaders in

Further Readings and References

Creighton, T., & Jones, G. (2001, August). *Selection or self-selection: How rigorous are selection criteria in education administration programs?* Paper presented at the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration Conference, Houston, TX.

Pounder, D., & Young, I. (1996). Recruitment and selection of educational administrators: Priorities for today's schools. In K. Leithwood, J. Chapment, D. Corson, P. Hallinger, & A. Hart (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership* (pp. 279–308). Boston: Kluwer.

National Policy Board for Educational Administration. (1989). *Improving the preparation of school administrators: The reform agenda.* Charlottesville, VA: Author.

ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence, in industrialized countries, is viewed as the transition stage between childhood and emerging adulthood. In the United States, because of physical and social shifts, adolescence can currently be said to span ages 10 or 11 to 18. But the actual life stage of adolescence is socially and historically variable, dependent on the coming to adulthood within the context of current economic circumstances, social norms, and policies.

In the United States, G. Stanley Hall established adolescence as an area of study, publishing the first textbooks on adolescence in the early 1900s. At that time, he defined the age range of adolescence as beginning at age 14 and continuing into young adulthood, capped at age 24. His influential theory of adolescence as a time of "storm and stress" is still widely touted. According to Hall, this stage was characterized by conflict with parents, mood disruptions, and risk behaviors. More recent research suggests that this description does not accurately reflect the life experience of most adolescents. Scholars today emphasize that most adolescents have good relationships with their parents, that their mood swings are rarely so extreme as to need psychological interventions, and that most of them do not engage in highly reckless behavior on a regular basis. However, the storm-and-stress descriptor continues to be evoked for this age group.

Early adolescence is usually seen as the ages 10 to 14 and is regarded as an increasingly significant developmental period. Early adolescence is a time of physical, sexual, and psychological awakening. The median age for menarche, the onset of a girl's first menstruation, has steadily dropped in the last century and has now leveled out to age 12.5. Initial changes of puberty begin about 2 years earlier, currently marking the beginning of adolescence at about age 10. Incredible physical growth coincides with major changes in the social life of early adolescents as most move from elementary to middle schools. Identity issues permeate the whole adolescent period, with adolescents addressing the questions "Who am I?" and "Who can I become?" For early adolescents, it is thought that they first engage these questions through affiliation with others their ages. They take on a "group identity," where through their choices of affiliation they are essentially signaling "I am like you." Early adolescent culture is permeated with the presence of "cliques" that reflect these choices.

Later adolescence, ages 15 and up, brings youth closer to the issues and eventual roles of adulthood. During this time, it is expected that an adolescent begins to form a sense of self that is distinct from friends and family. While sharing some traits and beliefs in common with both of these important groups, at the same time an adolescent may exert his or her differences from them. This sense of distinctness is a hallmark of adolescent behaviors. There is also an emphasis on future thinking during this time, where adolescents begin to envision life possibilities

or, conversely, begin to lose hope in a personal future for themselves. These choices are reflected in choices such as planning for college and dropping out of high school.

Over the past 200 years, youth have been reaching puberty at earlier ages. Ironically, this change has occurred simultaneously with a postponement of adulthood, with increasing numbers of adolescents in college, prolonging a period of dependence and preparation for the future. The past 50 years have seen the widest separation ever experienced between the timing of sexual maturation and the assumption of adult roles such as marriage.

—Kathryn G. Herr

See also cognition, theories of; compulsory education; counseling; creativity, theories of; dropouts; esteem needs; giftedness, gifted education; grades, of students; high schools; individual differences, in children; learning, theories of; lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender issues in education; life span development; parental involvement; pregnancy, of students; tracking, of students; tutoring; underachievers, in schools

Further Readings and References

Arnett, J. J. (2001). *Adolescence and emerging adulthood: A cultural approach.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Davis, N. (1999). *Youth crisis: Growing up in the high-risk society.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis.* New York: Norton.

ADULT EDUCATION

The lack of a singular definition complicates the term *adult education,* which encompasses the following indicators:

- A broad description of the process by which individuals continue learning after formal schooling
- Institutional or organizational coordinated activities to accomplish specific educational objectives

More concisely, adult education can be defined as those planned educational activities that enhance an adult's ability to function on a day-to-day basis. This may involve improving an individual's knowledge, skills, and/or attitude. What constitutes an adult will vary due to the individual's social, maturation, cultural, biological, and psychological differences; however, adult education primarily refers to individuals involved in postsecondary learning activities.

In the field of adult education, the concept of andragogy was stylized by Malcolm Knowles, who is known as the father of adult education. *Andragogy* is referred to as the art and science of helping adults learn, whereas *pedagogy* is more teacher-directed learning and is considered the art and science of teaching children. One is not better than the other, since andragogy and pedagogy exist on a continuum, taking into consideration the role of the learner's experience, readiness to learn, orientation to learning, and maturity level.

Determining adult education clientele will also vary due to the role and capacity in which an individual, agency, organization, or institution is structured to work with adults. Adult education can range from a consultant providing customized training to a business or industry, assisting individuals interested in obtaining their General Educational Development (GED), organizing and leading a community-based activity, or teaching a blacksmithing class. Adult education can take place in a variety of settings; it involves all types of individuals, can have specific curriculum or none at all, is sometimes not even labeled adult education, but such things as staff development, manpower development, developmental education, professional development, in-service education, continuing education, or lifelong education.

Typically, adult educators work with adults in some form of teaching or administration, such as business and industry trainers; college and university faculty; individuals with special interests or expertise offering sessions through professional, community, or educational agencies; basic education educators providing adult literacy or English as a Second Language (ESL) and working in corrections, corporations, or social agencies; conducting evening adult classes in schools; organizers of community, health, or social networks; authors of self-help books; or volunteers who help others learn.

Development within the field of adult education has led to characterization through the use of agency typologies. The variety of programs available to meet individuals' continuing education, skills, and knowledge-building needs have been organized and categorized as the following types:

- Type I—Independent adult education agencies: These are private agencies specifically established to serve education needs of adults. Examples include

correspondence schools, technical, trade and business schools, sports officials schools, residential adult centers, and professional drivers schools. Type I agencies are usually privately funded.

- Type II—Educational institutions: The primary purpose of this type is to provide education for individuals of all ages; however, adult education is not the primary goal or function. A secondary goal is to address the educational needs of adults. Examples include public school adult education, community colleges, universities, cooperative extension service, community education, and evening colleges.
- Type III—Quasi-educational organizations: The purpose of these organizations is to serve educational and noneducational needs of the community. Education is considered an allied function to fulfill some goal of an agency. Examples include libraries, museums, community and religious organizations, YMCA/YWCA, senior citizen centers, health agencies, welfare agencies, theater, art, and community interests.
- Type IV—Noneducational organizations: In these organizations, adult education is a subordinate function, since education is used to enhance the achievement of organizational goals. Education is viewed as a component that can further the organization's primary goals and serve the interests of special groups. Examples include the armed forces, unions, hospitals, government agencies, and trade associations.

Classifying organizations in terms of their adult education foundation is an integral function within the field of adult education. The institutional dimension is important because we can increase understanding of the field by considering how types of organizations have shaped it over the years. The organization's function thus reflects the adult educator's role in society. To fully characterize the field of adult education in terms of its agencies and programs, continued and/or additional use of the typologies is warranted.

Adult education has responded to specific needs that have arisen either individually or within the surrounding environment. The link between adult education and the surrounding environment is a critical one. The link is important because of the continual changes taking place throughout the workplace, home, and community. These changes include advances in technology, company acquisitions, mergers, reorganizations, and new policies, procedures or regulations. In addition, changes may relate to health issues as one gets older, aging in itself, job changes, promotions, relocations, marriages, divorces, family role reversals,

and drug/alcohol abuse. All can be unsettling manifestations of change affecting individuals at different levels and intensity.

It is not the events of change that can overwhelm individuals, it is the unanticipated implications these events bring into their lives. Change can be either positive or negative; however, change in any form may cause disruption. The need for adult education will likewise come from a variety of factors. This variety of stimuli strengthens the importance and current thinking of adult education. The field of adult education acknowledges that adults are a much more diverse group than children; therefore, the field of adult education should continue to develop and meet the needs of diverse populations.

Current thinking requires a deeper understanding of the learner's decision-making process, since adult learners usually guide and plan a majority of their own learning. Adults will participate in learning activities in order to (a) pursue a utilitarian goal, such as a degree, certification, or licensure; (b) enjoy the activity associated with the learning setting, such as socialization of school or being with individuals who have similar interests; or (c) seek learning for its own sake, such as the lifelong learner or intellectually curious.

Competency-driven education affects and shifts teaching methodologies to learning methodologies. Adults require unique learning conditions and usually pursue a certain topic because of a genuine interest. Individual motivation or self-direction provides a purpose for continuing their education even if early learning conditions were not positive or encouraging. This learner self-direction emphasis has redefined the role of the teacher from being a simple content provider to a resource and facilitator of self-directed learning and identifies lifelong learning as the organizing principle for all education.

Current thinking in the field of adult education includes providing for the senior citizen community, community-based education programs, and individuals involved in basic skills development. Adult education will continue filling these training and development gaps.

By the year 2020, the median age of North America's population will be 50 years, and the number of adult learners will increase. Rapid changes in technology and workplace demands will force individuals to retrain, update, or change careers. The increasing number of universities and colleges are addressing the needs of the older student. University-level programs are now of more interest to the senior citizen

community than the typical arts and crafts courses. The aging population will bring challenges to the workplace, as the mandatory retirement age will rise as senior citizens become more valued members of the workforce.

Community-based programs are another population served through adult education efforts. They cover a wide variety of learning activities conducted in local locations by a broad range of independent sponsoring institutions, agencies, and organizations. Generally, communities will be rural or urban, and within these communities, educational services are part of the infrastructure. Community-based education is an important part of community and economic development. Another population that adult education serves is those involved in basic skills development or adult basic education (ABE). Basic education refers to the fundamental areas of reading, writing, listening, speaking, and mathematics. The basic areas of communication and computation are the foundation that provides individuals the power and freedom to control their own lives and to meet demands of an ever-changing society. With these skills, the building of basic education is possible. Prospects of gaining economic and social success are relatively low without a high school level diploma or its equivalent. One popular alternative for completing high school is for individuals to pass the General Educational Development (GED) test.

Adult educators should continue to acknowledge the growing population of interested senior citizens who want to learn and have the time and resources to participate in educational endeavors. By doing so, this population's contributions will continue to enhance their communities and society in general.

Community-based education will continue to evolve as projections are made based on jobs, population mobility, and identity with a specific community. The lack of basic education skills has been highly publicized; however, meeting those individuals' needs has not been as responsive.

Education is expected to be viewed as the key to economic growth and technology, along with flexible home, work, and learning schedules. Lifetime employment is not viable in today's economy, as workers are expected to change jobs or careers five or more times. This will require lifelong training and learning, with the accompanying increase in the number of adult educators to meet the needs of all populations.

—Maria Martinez Witte and James E. Witte

See also ageism; career and technical education; career stages; classification of education; communities, types, building of; community relations; computers, use and impact of; consideration, caring; continuing education; decision making; diversity; economics, theories of; learning, online; learning, theories of; life span development; mentoring; motivation, theories of; philosophies of education; problem-based learning; problem solving; Web-based teaching and learning; working conditions, in schools; workplace trends

Further Readings and References

Galbraith, M. W. (Ed.). (2004). *Adult learning methods: A guide for effective instruction* (3rd ed.). Malabar, FL: Krieger.

Knowles, M. S., Holton E. F., & Swanson, R. A. (1998). *The adult learner* (5th ed.). Houston, TX: Gulf.

Merriam, S. B., & Caffarella, R. S. (1999). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Taylor, K., Marienau, C., & Fiddler, M. (2000). *Developing adult learners: Strategies for teachers and trainers.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Wilson, A. L., & Hayes, E. R. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of adult and continuing education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

AESTHETICS, IN EDUCATION

Aesthetics (or esthetics) is a branch of philosophy dealing with the definition of beauty. The word *aesthetics* was first used by the eighteenth-century German philosopher Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, who derived it from the Greek *aisthanomai,* which means "perception by means of the senses." Aesthetics refers to the whole region of human perception and sensation, in contrast to the domain of conceptual thought. Baumgarten helped establish the study of aesthetics as a separate philosophical field of study, envisioning aesthetics as a label encompassing the study of sensuous cognition. Because of the connection of the arts to perception (the sensuous element in this formulation), aesthetics made the arts its central domain.

However, the perception of artworks is not merely an affair of sensation. Memory, expectation, imagination, emotion, and reason (including narrative reasoning) play key roles as well. Consequently, since its advent, the field of aesthetics has been concerned with the operation of fundamental psychological and cognitive processes, especially in relation to the arts. Aesthetics is born of the recognition that the world of

perception and experience cannot simply be derived from abstract universal laws, but demands its own appropriate discourse and displays its own inner logic.

As aesthetics is now understood, it consists of two parts: the philosophy of art and the philosophy of the aesthetic experience and character of objects or phenomena that are not art. Non-art items include both artifacts that possess aspects susceptible of aesthetic appreciation and phenomena that lack any traces of human design in virtue of being products of nature, not humanity. The relationship of the two sides of aesthetics may be explained in two possible ways.

First is that the philosophy of art is basic, since the aesthetic appreciation of anything that is not art is the appreciation of it as if it were art. Aesthetic appreciation of nature is essentially informed by ideas intrinsic to the appreciation of art, such as style, reference, and the expression of psychological states. For extrinsic ideas to be aesthetic, or for one to delight in the beauty of a flower, it is unnecessary for one to imagine natural objects as being works of art. One's appreciation of them is determined by their lack of features specific to works of art and perhaps also by their possession of features available only to aspects of nature. Second is that there is a unitary notion of the aesthetic that applies to both art and non-art; this notion defines the idea of aesthetic appreciation as disinterested delight in the immediately perceptible properties of an object for their own sake; and artistic appreciation is just aesthetic appreciation of works of art. But neither of these possibilities is plausible.

A more acceptable view represents the two parts of aesthetics as being related to each other in a looser fashion, each part exhibiting variety in itself, the two being united by a number of common issues or counterpart problems, but nevertheless manifesting considerable differences in virtue of the topics that are specific to them. In fact, although some issues are common to the two parts, many are specific to the philosophy of art and a few specific to the aesthetics of non-art objects.

Aesthetics is what permits human beings to emerge from the purely physical while retaining the concrete and sensuous in their compositions. It is the condition both of human freedom and the well-regulated political state. Aesthetics provides the foundations of culture as an active, transformative medium in which people mutually civilize one another and proclaim their necessary sphere of freedom from the state.

Aesthetics plays an important role in education, with respect to curriculum, instruction, cognitive development, and so on. John Dewey, in his *Art as Experience,* elaborated his theory of aesthetics. For Dewey, there is an aesthetic quality inherent in *an experience* carried by the flow of movement toward an integrated consummation. Such an aesthetic aspect brings the drama of life into fulfillment and makes transformation possible. An experience must be developed by an intensified engagement of the self in the world, and an interactive relation between doing and undergoing the dynamic combination of thinking and feeling. Dewey also implies ordinary experience can be shaped in an aesthetic and artful manner to become *an experience.*

The heart of Dewey's aesthetics resides in his formulation about the artistic experience (as opposed to a normal experience). According to his definition, an experience is viewed as a total encounter with external phenomena, which runs a complete course from beginning to end and is totally integrated into consciousness as an entity distinct from other experiences.

To the extent that Dewey affirmed the unifying character of experience, he saw that the fundamental nature of any aesthetic event was a certain organized coherence of individual phenomena. What he did argue against was a conception of unity to which all parts were subservient in every case; it was the pragmatic nature of his aesthetic—tension, seizure, conflict, energy, diffusion, the strength of individual moments—that best reveals the instructive value of his theory of aesthetics for education.

An aesthetic experience has its own rhythm, tone, resonance, and drama. To follow Dewey's notion of *an experience* in its inception, development, and fulfillment, an aesthetic way of education begins with the wonder about life, evolves with an absorbed engagement with the world, and reaches consummation in transformative moments. The beauty, the wonder, and the power of the world in both its minute details and its vastness can be captured only by sensitive eyes and appreciated by an open heart. To cultivate this sensitivity and openness is an aesthetic task of education.

An experience, instructed by aesthetics, becomes truly educative when something new, problematic, or unsettling creates a disequilibrium, a need, and challenges previous habits of action, belief, and knowledge. It is then that the process of learning enables one to reestablish a sense of equilibrium through the cooperation and differentiation of emotional, sensational, and ideational activity.

—Patrick M. Jenlink

See also arts education; cognition, theories of; creativity, theories of; curriculum, theories of; imagination; instruction, survey of; moral education; philosophies of education

Further Readings and References

Baumgarten, A. (1954). *Reflections on poetry* (K. Aschenbrenner & W. W. Holther, Trans.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dewey, J. (1934). *Art as experience.* New York: Minton, Balch.

Eagleton, T. (1990). *The ideology of the aesthetic.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Schiller, F. (1967). *On the aesthetic education of man.* (E. M. Wilkinson & L. A. Willoughby, Trans. & Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⏛ AFFECTIVE DOMAIN

When considering how individuals learn and process information, the affective domain is credited with one's value, personal, and esthetic development. The term *affect* originally was used when referring to emotional reactions in the absence of reason. For today's educators, it is used to discuss the integration of cognition and action. An essential element to the taxonomies of David Krathwohl, Benjamin Bloom, and Bertram Masia, the affective domain provides levels of commitment within the ascending categories: receiving, responding, valuing, organization, and characterization by value. Exposure to and participation with each category result in the ability to acknowledge and respond to phenomena, make judgments as to their worth, resolve existing conflicts, and ultimately internalize values that impact individual behavior. Taking into account a child's readiness to learn, the affective domain enhances the framework for understanding essential to language development, and assessment and evaluation, the two processes common to all learning domains. The taxonomy is organized to display levels of commitment and contains examples of observable verbs to assist in understanding its purpose and for use by teachers in designing educational objectives (see Table 1).

When applied to schools, affect refers to those aspects of education that deal with personal and social development. In its broadest sense, affect is seen as instrumental in developing self-esteem as well as one's moral or ethical nature. For this reason, commercially prepared programs that focus on character development are often used to meet the affect needs of students as well as those of society. However, in a time of increased accountability resulting from the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and mandated high-stakes testing, teaching directly to the affective domain may assist educators in closing the learning gaps presently existing among children at risk of academic failure, because this domain integrates emotion and reason. As early as 1984, George Mandler referred to the implications of psychological research, which demonstrated that in the presence of stimuli, thought and feeling occur simultaneously in human experience.

Table 1   Affective Domain

Level	Definition	Appropriate Verbs
Receiving	Being aware of or attending to something in the environment	Asks, chooses, describes, follows, gives, holds, identifies, locates, names, points to, replies, selects
Responding	Showing some new behaviors as a result of experience	Answers, articulates, reads, assists, communicates, complies, conforms, writes
Valuing	Showing some definite involvement or commitment	Completes, contributes, decides, justifies, shares
Organization	Integrating a new value into one's general values, giving it some ranking	Adheres, alters, combines, compares, defends, generalizes, integrates
Characterization by value	Acting consistently with the new value	Acts, advocates, resolves, collaborates, performs

SOURCE: Adapted from Krathwohl, D., Bloom, B., & Masia, B. (1964). *Taxonomy of educational objectives. Handbook II: Affective domain*. New York: David McKay.

For today's educators, integrating social-emotional learning with required content has the potential of strengthening understanding as well as organizing student action in a positive and goal-directed manner. It recognizes that cognitive growth is dependent on the development of social and emotional understanding. Jonathan Cohen reminds us that children cannot just input academic knowledge, but rather grow along a number of developmental pathways of which the affect is only one. Because these pathways are so interconnected, underdevelopment in one inhibits growth in all others; however, expanded growth in any one can also lead to the further growth of others. Developing the whole child, which includes not only the cognitive domain but the affective domain as well, only makes sense in the global world in which we live.

—Shirley Jackson

See also affective education; behavior, student; esteem needs; learning, theories of; moral education; motivation, theories of; satisfaction, in organizations and roles; self-actualization; underachievers, in schools

Further Readings and References

Cohen, J. (Ed.). (2001). *Caring classrooms/intelligent schools.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Krathwohl, D., Bloom, B., & Masia, B. (1964). *Taxonomy of educational objectives. Handbook II: Affective domain.* New York: David McKay.

Mandler, G. (1984). *Mind and body: Psychology of emotion and stress.* New York: Norton.

AFFECTIVE EDUCATION

Affect is defined as a feeling or emotion, as distinguished from cognition, thought, or action. Emotion is an intense feeling, a complex and usually strong subjective response, such as love or fear, or a state of agitation or disturbance. Psychological curricula deal with emotions or the affect. The movement has been called "affective education" by educators. Affective education includes a large variety of curricula and programs designed to change the values and the behavior of students. John Steinberg discussed the history of affective education or teaching toward emotional intelligence in 1998. He maintained that affective education is integral to all learning.

In the early 1970s, the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts became a center for humanistic-affective education. Methods for values clarification, self-concept development and conflict resolution were developed. George Brown, at the University of California in Santa Barbara, began developing the concept called "confluent education," in which he maintained that affective and cognitive growth work together.

Another concept to be developed during the 1970s was the moral education movement. Lawrence Kohlberg from Harvard University led this movement. Kohlberg's research revealed that there were a number of different levels of moral behavior. The levels of moral behavior were similar to the levels for cognitive or intellectual development proposed by Jean Piaget. Piaget's work suggested that children move from concrete reasoning to abstract reasoning. The movement from the simple or elementary levels to the more complex or advanced levels is common to both concepts.

In 1975, affective education was presented in the form of an educational program called Quest. The Quest program, the first of its kind, was designed to be a humanistic values education curriculum. In 1982, a second version was introduced and several more have been published since.

Affective or humanistic education means that we see the "whole" child. During the last three decades, there has been a movement toward spending more time and thought on developing affective skills along with cognitive skills in the classroom. Both affective and cognitive skills are taught and valued. Educators recognize that to be a successful doctor, teacher, nurse, boss, or salesperson, a person needs both knowledge and social skills.

Affective education programs are intended to help students learn to solve social problems. Many programs are described as "value-free," but most of the programs deal with values or values clarification. Most affective education programs are designed to improve self-esteem, good decision making, academic performance, and sensitivity to others. They may also help students reduce stress. For the most part, the curricula use moral relativism as a foundation and self-interest as the primary motivation for developing character or for modifying behavior. Some of the programs are labeled as living or coping skills development programs. As a group, the programs are affective education programs, which address the emotional content of a student's learning process, rather than the cognitive education programs, which deal with the academics such as reading, writing, and math.

Instructional designers, instructors, teachers, or those who plan the lessons for students need instructional

objectives to guide the lesson plans. The purpose of instructional objectives is to identify and specifically define the requirements of the lesson. When the requirements are clearly identified, the instructor will know what to include in the lesson. A clear definition allows the teacher to measure the outcome of the lesson. The instructional objectives will guide the measurement of the learning achieved as a result of instruction for a specific learning objective. The outcome or benefit of the instruction is described by or indicated by the precise description of what the learner is to accomplish. Objectives that are clearly defined are necessary for determining the most effective instructional or teaching strategies to promote the student's mastery of the lesson's objective.

Learning objectives have generally been grouped into three categories or domains. The three domains are cognitive, psychomotor, and affective. It is important to understand the levels within each domain before planning a lesson or unit of instruction. There needs to be a match between the instructional objective and the appropriate level of the domain.

The instructional objectives in the affective domain concern attitudes, appreciations, values, and emotions such as enjoying, conserving, and respecting. The affective domain is generally considered important in education and training, but it is a domain in which educators have had difficulty in writing useful instructional objectives.

David Krathwohl, Benjamin Bloom, and Bertram Masia organized the affective domain into five levels in 1964. The levels form a continuum for attitudinal behavior, from simple awareness and acceptance to internalization, as attitudes become part of an individual's practicing value system. The five levels are receiving, responding, valuing, organizing, and characterizing by a value complex. Receiving is being willing to give attention to an event or activity. Responding is being willing to react to an event through some form of participation. Valuing is being willing to accept or reject an event through the expression of a positive or negative attitude. Organizing occurs when encountering situations to which more than one value applies and being willing to organize the values, determine relationships among values, and accept some values as dominant over others according to the importance to the individual learner. Characterizing by a value complex occurs when the learner consistently acts in accordance with accepted values and incorporates this behavior as a part of his or her personality.

Over the years, there have been many supporters of affective education programs, but there have also been many who have criticized the programs. Some of the complaints directed at the programs include the following: The programs teach "New Age" and Eastern religious precepts; they violate the student's right of privacy by probing into private feelings and attitudes; some programs resemble group psychotherapy; they waste valuable time that could be used for academics; and they shift the Christian child's view from an Almighty God to a humanistic worldview.

—Carolyn Sayers Russell

See also affective domain; attitudes; brain research and practice; character education; child development theories; consideration, caring; humanistic education; learning, theories of; moral education; values education; values pluralism, in schools

Further Readings and References

Krathwohl, D. R., Bloom, B. S., & Masia, B. B. (1964). *Taxonomy of educational objectives: The classification of educational goals. Handbook II: The affective domain.* New York: David McKay.

Morrison, G. R., Ross, S. M., & Kemp, J. E. (2001). *Designing effective instruction* (3rd ed.). New York: Wiley.

Pai, Y., & Adler, S. A. (2001). *Cultural foundations of education* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Webb, L. D., Metha, A., & Jordan, K. F. (2003). *Foundations of American education* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action as a means of redressing past, ongoing, and/or lingering inequities due to race and other factors entered the American legal and educational national lexicon in 1978's *Regents of University of California v. Bakke (Bakke),* a dispute over the constitutionality of a medical school's race-based admissions policy. Affirmative action stands for the notion that courts and other institutions may take race (and other characteristics such as gender and ethnicity) into consideration as affirmative factors in making decisions with regard to admissions and hiring in education as well as other arenas.

In *Bakke,* a divided Supreme Court reviewed a challenge to a medical school program filed by a White

applicant who was denied admission under an affirmative action program that set aside 16 seats out of 100 openings for specified minority groups. In a plurality, meaning that the Justices failed to reach the requisite five-member majority necessary to make their order binding precedent, the Court opened the door to further controversy. The Court held that even though the admissions program was illegal and the White student should have been admitted, the consideration of race per se was not unconstitutional. Yet no single opinion agreed on this point. Four members of the Court agreed that while the White applicant was unlawfully excluded, the constitutional question need not and should not have been reached. Justice Powell, who cast the fifth vote in favor of the applicant, wrote that there was a constitutional problem with the plan because the specified minorities could compete for all 100 of the seats but Whites could apply for only 84 seats. Powell explained that the Constitution did not prohibit a consideration of race or ethnicity as an admissions factor since a university's quest for a diverse student body can be considered of paramount importance in fulfilling its mission; four other Justices joined Powell in agreeing that the plan was constitutional.

Over the next 25 years, the Court reached mixed results in cases involving affirmative action in various settings. For example, in the 1980 *Fullilove v. Klutznik,* another plurality upheld a statute authorizing federal public works projects that gave preferences to businesses owned by members of racial minorities. Conversely, in *Richmond v. J. A. Croson, Co.,* in 1989, the Court struck down a federal law that would have increased the number of minority-owned businesses that were awarded construction contracts. A year later, the Court upheld a preference policy with regard to minority ownership of new radio or television stations in *Metro Broadcasting v. Federal Communications Commission* (1990), since it believed that it had a substantial relationship to an important Congressional interest. Five years later, the Court overruled this judgment in *Adarand Constructors Inc. v. Pena* (1995), reasoning that a program that would have given preferences to minority contractors in building projects could not be upheld unless it could pass the so-called strict scrutiny test.

The Court's only previous judgment on the merits in a dispute involving education, *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education* (1989), concerned a school board's attempt to maintain a racially integrated faculty during a reduction in force (RIF). The Court decided that a layoff of nonminority teachers based solely on race violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Another case involving school employment, *Taxman v. Board of Education of the Township of Piscataway (Taxman)* in 1996 and 1997 was days from oral argument before the Court when the parties reached a settlement. *Taxman* involved a dispute wherein a school board, erroneously thinking that its affirmative action plan required it to terminate the contract of a White, rather than an African American, female teacher based solely on race, dismissed the White woman even though the two had virtually identical credentials. The Third Circuit affirmed that since the board's RIF plan, which was adopted for the purpose of promoting racial diversity rather than remedying discrimination or the effects of past discrimination, violated the rights of nonminorities, it was unconstitutional.

Following the lead of the Supreme Court, lower federal courts reached mixed results over the use of affirmative action plans in education. In cases involving K–12 schools, the First (*Wessman v. Gittens,* 1998) and Fourth (*Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools,* 1999) Circuits struck down the use of race, but the Ninth Circuit initially upheld its use as criteria in admissions decisions, in the 1999 case, *Hunter ex rel. Brandt v. Regents of the University of California.* More recently, in 2004, the Ninth Circuit struck down an "open choice" assignment plan for a school district that was not under desegregation order on the basis that while racial diversity is a compelling interest, the plan was unacceptable since it was not narrowly tailored to achieve its goal in *Parents Involved v. Seattle Sch. Dist. 1.*

In higher education, the Fourth (*Podberesky v. Kirwan,* 1994), Fifth (*Hopwood v. Texas,* 1996), and Eleventh (*Johnson v. Board of Regents of the University of Georgia,* 2001) Circuits vitiated affirmative action plans. Conversely, the Sixth (*Grutter v. Bollinger,* 2002a) and Ninth Circuits rejected such challenges (*Smith v. University of Washington Law School,* 2000), thereby setting the stage for the Supreme Court to enter the fray.

The Court's most recent rulings on affirmative action both originated at the University of Michigan (*Grutter v. Bollinger,* 2003 and *Gratz v. Bollinger,* 2003). *Grutter* was filed by an unsuccessful 43-year-old White female applicant who was in the 86th percentile nationally and challenged the Michigan Law School's use of race as a factor in admissions. During

the litigation, school officials conceded that the plaintiff probably would have been admitted had she been a member of one of the underrepresented minority groups, defined as African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Ultimately, the Sixth Circuit upheld the policy in 2002, since it thought that it was narrowly tailored to achieving the law school's goal of a diverse student body.

Gratz was filed by two unsuccessful White applicants, one female and the other male, to undergraduate programs at the University of Michigan's College of Literature, Science, and the Arts. The students claimed that the use of race as a factor applied a more stringent standard to nonminorities. In fact, during the year the female sought admission, university officials accepted all 46 applicants from the preferred minority group with the same adjusted grade point average and test scores as nonpreferred candidates, less than one third of whom were admitted. In addition, the policy gave members of the same minority groups as in *Grutter* a bonus of 20 points on a 150-point admissions scale, an amount roughly equivalent to one full grade on a 4-point GPA. This scale awarded only 12 points for a perfect score of 1,600 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

A federal trial court in *Gratz* struck down the race-conscious admissions policy on the basis that it was not a sufficiently narrowly tailored means of achieving the governmental interest in remedying the current effects of past discrimination or the discriminatory impact of other admissions criteria. Before the Sixth Circuit could act on the case, the Supreme Court agreed to hear an appeal in both cases.

The Supreme Court's rulings in *Grutter* and *Gratz* may well have left more questions unanswered than they resolved. In *Grutter,* by a five-to-four margin, the Court upheld the university's affirmative action admissions policy in its law school, maintaining that since diversity is a compelling governmental interest, officials could use race in decision making where the criteria were sufficiently narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling state interest of having a racially diverse student body. Conversely, in *Gratz,* in a six-to-three judgment, the Court struck down the university's reliance on a point system in undergraduate admissions since its use of race was not sufficiently narrowly tailored to achieve its goal of a diverse student body.

Writing for the five-member majority in *Grutter,* Justice O'Connor found it unnecessary to consider whether diversity is a compelling state interest, since she endorsed Justice Powell's concurrence in *Bakke,* which established this premise. She thus declared that insofar as diversity is a compelling state interest and officials at the law school narrowly tailored their plans to achieve a "critical mass" of underrepresented racial and ethnic minorities in the student body, they could use race as a "plus" factor in admissions decisions. O'Connor also wrote that diversity could be used as a factor as long as officials did not apply a quota system and since all candidates were subject to review. Rounding out her opinion with the hope that racial preferences will no longer be necessary in 25 years, a time frame she did not expound on, to further the government's interest in diversity, Justice O'Connor never addressed under what circumstances such set aides should end or when the goal will have been achieved, thereby all but inviting future litigation.

As author of the majority opinion in the Court's six-to-three judgment in *Gratz,* Chief Justice Rehnquist rejected the notion that diversity cannot constitute a compelling state interest. Even so, Rehnquist's opinion struck down the undergraduate admissions policy as being insufficiently narrowly tailored to achieve the state's compelling interest of achieving a diverse student body because it did not provide the individualized consideration that Justice O'Connor described in *Grutter* or that Justice Powell called for in *Bakke.*

The immediate impact of *Grutter* and *Gratz* on K–12 schools is uncertain. Perhaps the most interesting development in *Grutter* and *Gratz* is that Justices on both sides of the issue agreed that diversity is a compelling state interest. While it could have been anticipated that the supporters of affirmative action accepted diversity as a compelling state interest, it is surprising that the other justices did not raise more of a challenge, especially given the lack of empirical data supporting their position.

Grutter and *Gratz* have the potential to influence admissions and hiring decisions in education even as questions remain about the meaning and application of diversity. To the extent that only a handful of public elementary and secondary schools use admissions criteria, typically in the form of entrance examinations augmented by grades and teacher recommendations, the impact of these cases is likely to be minimal. Put another way, as long as any entrance procedures use examinations that control for cultural bias, are valid and reliable, and are only one part of an overall admissions protocol, then the Court's affirmative action

guidelines may have a limited impact because school officials are not treating race as the only factor in making decisions.

Insofar as *Grutter* and *Gratz* involved race-conscious admissions policies in higher education, an important question arises about what additional steps educational leaders in elementary and secondary schools can do to assist students who typically rely on affirmative action policies.

Among the options that educational leaders in elementary and secondary schools might wish to make available to all students, but most notably those who are underprivileged and at risk, are before- and after-school programs, enrichment activities, and other programs designed to enhance their academic standing. Such an approach may make students less dependent on affirmative action programs in admission to institutions of higher learning. As costly and/or time-consuming as it may be to implement such programs, as long as their goal is to raise student achievement, it will be difficult for critics to question such a proactive approach to enhancing learning.

Following *Grutter* and *Gratz,* the future of affirmative action in higher education also remains in some doubt. Put another way, in *Grutter,* the Court treated race in a manner consistent with *Regents of University of California v. Bakke* in reiterating that it can be a factor but not the determining element in admissions decisions. The upshot is that race may wind up playing a smaller, rather than a greater, role in admissions processes such as in the undergraduate program at issue in *Gratz* unless officials can demonstrate a compelling interest not only to achieve diversity but also to avoid quota systems in creating narrowly tailored policies. Furthermore, critics of affirmative action may rely on *Gratz* for the proposition that numerical designations such as scores cannot be employed in admissions decisions. Either way, more litigation on the future of affirmative action is all but certain.

—Charles J. Russo and Ralph D. Mawdsley

See also Black education; civil rights movement; critical race theory; discrimination; minorities in schools; Supreme Court, United States, key cases in education law

Further Readings and References

Adarand Constructors Inc. v. Pena, 515 U.S. 200 (1995).
Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Pub. Schs., 197 F.3d 123 (4th Cir. 1999), cert. denied, 529 U.S. 1019 (2000).
Fullilove v. Klutznik, 448 U.S. 448 (1980).
Gratz v. Bollinger, 135 F. Supp.2d 790 (E.D. Mich. 2001), 539 U.S. 244 (2003).
Grutter v. Bollinger, 137 F. Supp.2d 821 (E.D. Mich. 2001a), stay denied, 137 F. Supp.2d 874 (E.D. Mich. 2001b), hearing en banc ordered, 277 F.3d 803 (6th Cir. 2001), reversed, 288 F.3d 732 (6th Cir. 2002a), opinion after hearing en banc, 309 F.3d 329 (6th Cir. 2002b), cert. granted, 537 U.S. 1043 (2002c), 539 U.S. 306 (2003).
Hopwood v. Texas, 78 F.3d 932 (5th Cir. 1996), rehearing and suggestion for rehearing denied, 84 F.3d 720 (5th Cir. 1996), cert. denied sub nom.
Hunter ex rel. Brandt v. Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 190 F.3d 1061 (9th Cir. 1999), cert. denied, 531 U.S. 877 (2000).
Johnson v. Board of Regents of the Univ. of Ga., 263 F.3d 1234 (11th Cir. 2001).
Metro Broadcasting v. Federal Communications Comm'n, 497 U.S. 547 (1990), rehearing denied, 497 U.S. 1050 (1990).
Parents Involved v. Seattle Sch. Dist. 1, 377 F.3d 949 (9th Cir. 2004).
Podberesky v. Kirwan, 38 F.3d 147 (4th Cir. 1994), rehearing denied, 46 F.3d 5 (4th Cir. 1994); *cert. denied,* 514 U.S. 1128 (1995).
Regents of Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).
Richmond v. J. A. Croson, Co., 488 U.S. 469 (1989).
Smith v. University of Wash. Law Sch., 233 F.3d 1188 (9th Cir. 2000), cert. denied, 532 U.S. 1051 (2001).
Taxman v. Board of Educ. of the Township of Piscataway 91 F.3d 1547 1547 (3rd Cir. 1996), cert. granted, 521 U.S. 1117 (1997a), *cert. dismissed,* 522 U.S. 1010 (1997b).
Thurgood Marshall Legal Soc'y v. Hopwood, 518 U.S. 1033 (1996); *appeal on remand,* 95 F.3d 53 (5th Cir. 1996), on remand, 78 F. Supp.2d 932 (W.D. Tex. 1998).
Wessman v. Gittens, 160 F.3d 790 (1st Cir. 1998).
Wygant v. Jackson Bd. of Educ., 476 U.S. 267 (1989).

AFROCENTRIC THEORIES

The early scholarship on Afrocentric theories can be found in the work of Black scholars such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. While the particular philosophies of these turn-of-the-century scholars were different, they spoke to an emphasis on the education of Black people. This emphasis included the integration of Black history, language, and culture in schooling and the elimination of segregation as a way of life for Blacks in the United States.

Contemporary Afrocentric theories emphasize Black self-identity, multiculturalism, pluralism, and curricular change in education. Dominant strands of scholarship on Afrocentric theories posit that Blacks are educated based on a Eurocentric paradigm in

which White language, culture, and history are privileged over all others. Two core presuppositions represent a starting point for thinking about Afrocentric theory as necessary for the education of Blacks as well as other marginalized populations: (a) Education is fundamentally a social phenomenon whose ultimate purpose is to socialize the learner; to send a child to school is to prepare a child to become a part of a social group; (b) schools are reflective of the societies that develop them (i.e., a White-supremacist-dominated society will develop a White-supremacist educational system). M. K. Asante's Afrocentric theory represents an epistemological grounding that focuses on the inclusion of all cultures in the curriculum rather than a single, dominant culture. Multicultural education is fundamental for subject matter competency, and a multicultural education should include an Afrocentric initiative. Afrocentric theory represents a change in how curriculum is theorized, developed, and implemented and provides educators an opportunity to rethink and reexamine their perceptions of Blacks within the dominant society. Afrocentric theories are not anti-White theory; rather, Afrocentric theories are antiracism and antihegemony in the curriculum.

Centricity in education is defined as a perspective that positions students within the context of their own cultural references and allows them to relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. Afrocentric theories provide a lens for viewing a phenomenon from an African/Black perspective.

The central question in Afrocentric theories is: What kind of education takes place in the classroom? In educational settings where Afrocentric theories are recognized and included in the curriculum, teachers do not marginalize Black students and cause them to question the value of their language, culture, or history. Rather, the curriculum allows Black children to see themselves in the events and depictions of life in America as well as globally and as active participants in the construction of knowledge. All subject matter areas are adaptable to Afrocentric theory, and Black students can be centered inside all subjects. Ideally, Afrocentric educational programs should be infused throughout all classes, rather than considered an add-on to the curriculum.

Three challenges have been posed by Afrocentric theory:

1. It questions the imposition of the White supremacist view as universal and/or classical.

2. It demonstrates the indefensibility of racist theories that assault multiculturalism and pluralism.

3. It projects a humanistic and pluralistic viewpoint by articulating Afrocentricity as a valid, nonhegemonic perspective.

—Linda C. Tillman

See also Black education; civil rights movement; critical race theory; cross-cultural education; cultural capital; cultural politics, wars; curriculum, theories of; desegregation, of schools; dialectical inquiry; discrimination; Du Bois, W. E. B.; equality, in schools; equity and adequacy of funding schools; ethnicity; ethnocentrism; human capital; individual differences, in children; intelligence; minorities, in schools; multiculturalism; philosophies of education; politics, of education; resiliency; Woodson, Carter G.

Further Readings and References

Asante, M. K. (1991). The Afrocentric in education. *Journal of Negro Education, 60*(2), 170–180.
Du Bois, W. E. B. (1961). *Souls of Black folk.* Greenwich, CT: Fawcett. (Original work published 1903)
Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro.* Washington, DC: Associated Publishers.

AGEISM

Ageism has three distinct yet interconnected aspects: (a) prejudicial attitudes toward older persons, old age, and the aging process, which includes attitudes held by older adults themselves; (b) discriminatory practices against older persons; and (c) institutional practices and policies that perpetuate stereotypes of older persons. Ageism is also the belief that the old are to be pitied, have endless physical and social problems, and need to be supervised and patronized. Like other prejudices, ageism influences a person's self-view and behavior, often in a negative manner. Prejudice is socially rather than biologically determined. The social construction of old age is more damaging to the elderly than is the biological aging process.

Descriptions of ageism usually include the following features: (a) Ageism represents and creates prejudices about the nature and experience of old age; (b) ageism is not a new phenomenon; its history predates capitalism as a form of social organization; (c) negative images of old age are instilled in almost all individuals by a process of socialization through language,

religion, literature, the media, and the theories and practices of the medical establishment and social services professionals; (d) negative attitudes are confirmed and reinforced by the phenomenon of "structural ageism," which operates to determine the functions and rules of everyday life; and (e) ageism leads to a perception of old age as some kind of disease or affliction.

AGE DISCRIMINATION

Negative stereotypes about older workers as well as the elderly in general may act as precursors to discriminatory practices toward them. Todd Nelson wrote in 2002 that the Age Discrimination Act of 1967 (ADEA) was designed to protect individuals older than 40 years of age from employment discrimination based on age, as well as to promote opportunities for older workers who were capable of meeting job requirements. Under the ADEA, it is unlawful for an employer to discriminate against a person because of his or her age with respect to terms, conditions, or privileges of employment—including but not limited to promotion, firing, hiring, layoff, compensation, job assignments, training, and benefits. The act was amended in 1974, 1978, and 1986. The act now prohibits mandatory retirement for most federal, state, and private employees based on age. However, there are areas of discrimination not addressed in ADEA, some of which are subtle, such as qualified older adults not being hired for positions or job-displaced middle-aged and older workers having a difficult time finding employment.

AGEISM REDUCTION

Following are 10 suggestions for ageism reduction:

1. Heightening sensitivity to the stereotyping of older persons

2. Creating greater exposure to diversity in the personal characteristics of older people

3. Having greater commitment to recognizing and responding to diversity in dealing with older people

4. Making deliberate use of perspective taking to see the older person as an individual

5. Seeking out opportunities for intergenerational cooperation

6. Taking advantage of opportunities to promote the social attractiveness of older people

7. Strengthening institutional practices that promote the norm of human-heartedness

8. Sensitizing ourselves to the stigma of degeneration and dependency

9. Reviewing policies and practices for evidence of stigmatizing through disrespect, particularly the disrespect communicated through treating older people as an invisible group

10. Mandating inclusiveness of older people in policy planning and implementation

—*Jean M. Haar*

See also adult education; attitudes; discrimination; human capital; life span development

Further Readings and References

Butler, R. (1975). *Why survive? Being old in America.* New York: Harper & Row.

Falk, U., & Falk, G. (1997). *Ageism, the aged and aging in America: On being old in an alienated society.* Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

Glover, I., & Branine, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Ageism in work and employment.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Nelson, T. D. (Ed.). (2002). *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

ALIGNMENT, OF CURRICULUM

Alignment refers to the match or congruence of the written curriculum, in whatever form it may exist, and the testing or assessment program(s) in use. Earlier terms for the idea were *instructional alignment* or *curriculum overlap.* Research in the 1980s revealed that achievement scores were greater when the curriculum in use "overlapped" the "test content." The key idea is that children do better on tests if they are familiar with or have practiced or been exposed to the content and format of the test(s) in use. Nearly all of the test prep courses available to students utilize the concept of alignment to enhance test performance. The idea of "no surprises for children" captures this idea. Children should be familiar not only with test content but also test context or format. How a student comes to be familiar with test content and format has been the subject of debate and contention. It lies at the heart of whether students, teachers, or administrators have "cheated" in preparing students for tests, especially

high-stakes testing where students, teachers, and administrators may suffer some form of punishment for poor test scores.

One may begin aligning by writing curriculum first by securing a set of validated curricular objectives, and then moving to match the curriculum with a test or battery of tests. This approach is called a *frontload.* The problem with this approach is that unless objectives are quite specific, the range of potential test items is so broad as not to be very helpful in improving test performance. In cases where curricular objectives are ambiguous or excessive, front-loading is not a very productive way to go about establishing alignment. It is too time-consuming and slippery to provide solid alignment data. This is a problem in using the national standards: There are so many as to not provide a realistic instructional focus. Many state departments of education curricular frameworks are also not very helpful as tools of alignment. Nonetheless, frontloading is the traditional method of engaging in alignment.

The second approach to curriculum alignment is to begin with publicly released test items and deconstruct them (break into smaller, analytical pieces) to discern the level of cognitive difficulty, the format, and the type of content. The purpose of test item deconstruction is not to copy and teach the item to students. This would be of very little value, especially as nearly all tests are being changed. The purpose is to provide for aligned teaching so that students are fully prepared to engage in high-stakes assessment. This practice has been called *backloading,* and it can produce dramatic results on a short-term basis.

The concept of *deep curriculum alignment* refers to the practice of teaching beyond any particular test, at higher levels of cognition than any specific test, so that students are prepared not only for the current battery of tests but also alternative tests and different formats. Deep alignment retains the idea of curricular-test congruence but does not confine levels of learning to only tested knowledge, skills, or applications. It transcends any immediate test prep situation but retains the initial congruence between any specific curriculum and any specific test. The matter of curriculum alignment has been found to be of singular importance in studying urban school systems that have been able to make progress on closing the achievement gap.

Additional research of over 200 elementary schools in Chicago found that instructional program coherence was a critical factor in explaining improvements in standardized achievement test scores. Creating a schoolwide curriculum framework was a crucial ingredient in improving student test scores. Such a framework is one example of curriculum alignment.

—*Fenwick W. English*

See also accountability; achievement gap, of students; achievement tests; critical race theory; cultural capital; minorities, in schools; Scholastic Aptitude Test; school improvement models; systemic reform

Further Readings and References

Downey, C., & English, F. (2004). *Examining student work for standards alignment and real world/test formats: Connecting resources to the curriculum.* Johnston, IA: Curriculum Management Systems.

English, F., & Steffy, B. (2001). *Deep curriculum alignment: Creating a level playing field for all children on high-stakes tests of educational accountability.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Education.

Squires, D. (2005). *Aligning and balancing the standards-based curriculum.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) is a national organization that solicits voluntary member institutions of teacher education "to promote the learning of all PK–12 students through the promotion of high-quality preparation and continuing education for all school personnel" (www.aacte.org). This Washington D.C.–based organization boasts membership of over 740 liberal arts colleges, state universities, research institutions, and education organizations from throughout the United States that prepare approximately two thirds of the nation's new school personnel each year. State chapters of AACTE have been established in 45 states. The presidents (or their designees) from these chapters are members of the Advisory Council of State Representatives (ACSR), which meets twice a year to advise the national association on policy issues and concerns in the member states.

In 1902, the organization began as the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC). Together with the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education and the National Association

of Teacher Education Institutions in Metropolitan Districts, AATC merged in 1948 to create the present structure, with its newly formulated constitution and bylaws. Currently, membership is limited to institutions, not individuals. The three categories for participation include regular, affiliate, and candidate. Regular membership is granted to 4-year colleges and universities that have established their commitment to the preparation of school personnel, while affiliate membership is designated for various other institutions, including not-for-profit 2-year or 4-year foreign colleges and universities, not-for-profit 2-year American institutions of higher education, and other not-for-profit groups, such as state education associations, regional education laboratories, and university-based research or policy centers. A national board of directors and executive committee help to make decisions for the organization, along with the Advisory Council of State Representatives, as previously noted.

As a leading voice for educational preparation, AACTE publishes myriad publications throughout the year. For example, newsletters or briefs on issues related to teacher education, state and federal policy and legislation, and professional development offerings are sent to institutions 17 times a year to keep members informed about association programs, guidelines, and activities. Recent briefs included commentary on the presidential education budget cuts, high school reform, and proceedings from the AACTE annual meeting. Members may submit short articles, news stories, editorials, job postings, and professional development opportunities by e-mail or hard copy to the association to be included in the newsletter.

The *Journal of Teacher Education* is also published by AACTE through Corwin Press. For over 50 years, it has provided information on policy, practice, and research in the field of teacher education. Each year, five issues complete a peer review process, highlighting a special issue related to the preparation of school personnel. Past journal themes have addressed accreditation, assessment and evaluation, extended programs, teacher education faculty, and student teaching, to name a few.

Professional development is provided to the nation's teacher education faculty through a variety of means. The overall organizational meeting is held once a year in various locations across the United States. Practitioners and professors present research and papers, related to the conference theme and its substrands. Approximately 2,000 deans, chairs, and faculty of colleges and universities, researchers, K–12 educators, and policymakers attend this annual event. An additional series of institutes and trainings are made available through the Academy for Leadership Development. Two conferences focus specifically on the needs of department chairs and new deans. Web seminars are also organized to bring together professionals from across the country, without the cost of time and travel.

—Melissa A. Rasberry

See also accreditation; higher education; schools of education; unions, of teachers; universities, preparation of educational leaders in

Further Readings and References

Ducharme, E. R., & Ducharme, M. K. (1998). *The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education: A history.* Washington, DC: AACTE.

Rafferty, C., Sperry, L., & Huffman-Joley, G. (1999). *Examining scholarship: A case study in redefining the role of the professoriate.* Washington, DC: AACTE.

Thiessen, D., & Howey, K. (Eds.). (1998). *Agents, provocateurs: Reform-minded leaders for schools of education.* Washington, DC: AACTE.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

The American Association of School Administrators (AASA) is a national association comprised largely though not exclusively of central office administrators, and it is considered the national school superintendents' organization. The precursor to the AASA was the National Association of School Superintendents, organized in 1865 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, several months after Abraham Lincoln's assassination. In 1870, the organization merged with the National Teachers Association and the American Normal School Association to become the National Education Association (NEA). Within the NEA, it was known as the Department of Superintendence until 1937, when it was changed to its current designation. AASA is no longer affiliated with the NEA, having separated from the larger body in 1972.

In its heyday, the Department of Superintendence was hugely influential in public education. Many of the most important discussions and debates regarding

contemporary educational issues occurred at its annual meetings. Some of the most important factors in the adoption of scientific management and business ideology perspectives occurred as a result of the Department of Superintendence's activities, documented extensively in Raymond Callahan's (1962) classic book *Education and the Cult of Efficiency.* The AASA would also later push for the spread of W. Edwards Deming's *total quality management* ideas in education.

The AASA holds a national conference each year. In the past, the national conference drew between 25,000 and 30,000 individuals. In recent times, both membership and conference attendance have substantially dwindled to much smaller numbers. The association still supports a study of the American superintendency every 10 years. This document has become an important data source for scholarship regarding the changing nature of the school superintendency. In addition to the annual national conference, the AASA sponsors a summer institute for rural and suburban superintendents, a women administrators' conference, a national school facilities conference, and an annual indoor air quality (IAQ) tools for schools symposium.

The current mission of the AASA, as stated on its Web site (http://www.asa.org), is "to support and develop effective school system leaders who are dedicated to the highest-quality public education for all children." The AASA has also been a staunch supporter of the creation and implementation of the Interstate Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) standards for school leaders.

—*Fenwick W. English*

See also accountability; boards of education; bureaucracy; chain of command; chief academic officer; community relations; Council of the Great City Schools; decision making; Department of Education; ethos, of organizations; feminism and theories of leadership; governance; hierarchy, in organizations; Interstate Leaders Licensure Consortium; knowledge base, of the field; leadership, distributed; leadership, theories of; leadership effectiveness; leadership styles; line and staff concept; locus of control; management theories; National Education Association; politics, of education; power; restructuring, of schools; school districts, history and development; span of control; standard setting; state departments of education; stress, in school administration; superintendency; systemic reform; table of organization; total quality management; unions, of teachers; values of organizations and leadership; vulnerability thesis, of superintendents; women in educational leadership

Further Readings and References

Glass, T. (1992). *The study of the American school superintendency 1992: America's education leaders in a time of reform.* Arlington, VA: AASA.

Glass, T., Bjork, L., & Brunner, C. (2000). *The study of the American school superintendent: A look at the superintendent of education in the new millennium.* Arlington, VA: AASA.

Sobehart, H. (2002). *Monograph: Women Administrators Conference: Leadership in changing times.* Arlington, VA: AASA.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Founded in 1916 by teacher locals from Chicago, Gary (Indiana), New York City, Scranton (Pennsylvania), and Washington, D.C., the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is a union representing 1.3 million teachers and educational support personnel in more than 3,000 local and state affiliates. Based on a labor union model, the AFT had its charter signed by Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, which represented primarily skilled workers. Margaret Haley, a sixth-grade Chicago teacher, headed the Chicago teacher local, which was one of the founding groups. At the onset, the militancy that became characteristic of the AFT was hardly apparent, since the cooperation among all educational employees dominated its rhetoric and policy on teacher welfare. Notable educators and academicians such as John Dewey and Albert Einstein have been members of the AFT.

The formative years of the AFT were characterized by division between the factions in the Midwest and the more militant Easterners, particularly those from New York City. The AFT had been plagued by divisiveness and internal problems owing to a lack of a strong national staff and funds. Effective communication between the locals and the national and the dispersal of national AFT officers throughout the country weakened the national structure until the centralization of executive power in the 1950s. After an initial period of rapid growth that included charters for almost 200 locals in 4 years, AFT membership declined in the face of attacks aimed at the socialistic leanings of some AFT locals. The radicalism of some AFT members created tension with its parent organization,

the AFL. When George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, was elected president in 1940, the revocation of several local charters—representing a third of the AFT's membership—was under consideration. When the charters of those locals whose actions were defined as hostile to democracy were revoked, the membership loss was compounded by the AFT's difficulty in generating support outside of large, industrial cities. Some localities issued "yellow dog contracts" that forbade teachers from joining unions. During the 1930s, the AFT worked successfully for tenure legislation in almost 20 states, and its defense of classroom teachers and minority educators predated that of its most important rival, the National Education Association (NEA). As early as 1918, the AFT called for equal pay for African American teachers, the election of African Americans to local school boards, compulsory school attendance for African American children, and the end of segregated AFT locals in the South, which was not realized until the 1950s.

The course of AFT history has been shaped by its locals, which have been far stronger than those of the NEA. A focus on crises at the local level characterized the AFT and contributed to its militancy. However, the strength of AFT locals was problematic at times. The charges of communist infiltration that occurred in the late 1930s and the early 1940s resurfaced in the McCarthy era of the 1950s, when the AFT became aggressive in the defense of academic freedom. The AFT's organizational structure strengthened under President Carl J. Megel from 1954 to 1961, but the AFT lost the financial subsidy of the AFL-CIO. However, state affiliates had become more significant, and under Megel's direction, the AFT devoted greater attention to public relations.

In 1960, a one-day walkout of the United Federation of Teachers, an AFT local in New York City, buttressed the AFT's image as a strong proponent of collective bargaining and increased the AFT's membership from 60,000 in 1960 to more than 200,000 by 1970. AFT members concentrated in large metropolitan areas made significant collective bargaining gains. During this period, with teacher strikes more prevalent, the AFT's rate of growth far exceeded that of the NEA. The AFT's success contributed in part to the NEA's metamorphosis into a labor union. While the NEA adopted similar tactics and goals, it continued to couch its actions in "professional" terminology with "negotiations" and "sanctions" replacing "collective bargaining" and "strikes." However, some

AFT locals engaged in activity that diminished the national's record of commitment to social justice, which had included support of voter registration drives in the South and local training programs for minorities. For example, in 1968, during the Ocean Hill Brownsville crisis, in New York City, the United Federation of Teachers, an AFT local, opposed community control and thus invited charges of racism.

The AFT's relationship with the AFL-CIO suffered during the 1970s with the teachers union far less conservative than its parent labor organization. Consequently, the AFT had to double its efforts to secure the support of local labor for school bond issues and school board members.

The AFT's incorporation of other education personnel such as paraprofessionals occurred in the 1960s, but unlike the NEA, which welcomed school administrators and teachers under one umbrella, the AFT maintained an adversarial relationship with school administrators who did not belong to the AFT, but to separate associations. Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), a strong local leader, assumed the presidency of the AFT and became an important national figure in discussions on educational reform. Shanker took the union concept of skilled workers and shaped it into an appeal for qualified professionals. In 1977, the AFL-CIO created a Department for Professional Employees, which AFT President Shanker headed. The AFT expanded its constituency to include health care professionals in 1978 and local, state, and federal employees in 1983. In addition, AFT activity in the 1980s reflected a global perspective marked by its support of the Polish Solidarity union movement, the Black trade union movement in South Africa, and the Chilean teachers union. A merger of the AFT and NEA failed in the late 1990s. However, local and state affiliates of the two associations have merged in several metropolitan areas, and the two national organizations cooperate on occasion. Today, the AFT includes many people not directly involved with education. *The American Teacher* is the official publication of the AFT, which holds a biennial convention at which elected officers and delegates set policy.

—Carol F. Karpinski

See also boards of education; bureaucracy; Chicago school reform; collective bargaining; contracts, with teacher unions; differentiated staffing; elections, of school boards, bond issues; fringe benefits; governance; just cause; management theories; market theory of schooling; National

Education Association; politics, of education; power; professional development; reduction in force; resource management; salary and salary models; seniority, rule of; staffing, concepts of; state departments of education; unions, of teachers; working conditions, in schools

Further Readings and References

Eaton, W. E. (1975). *The American Federation of Teachers, 1916–1961.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
Murphy, M. (1990). *Blackboard unions: The AFT and the NEA, 1900–1980.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Urban, W. J. (2000*) Gender, race, and the National Education Association: Professionalism and its limitations.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism refers to bias, political, social, and economic agitation and discriminatory activities directed against Jews. The contemporary definition of anti-Semitism includes bias based on religion, ethnicity, and race. The roots of anti-Semitism, however, were religious and based in large part on historical events and monotheistic beliefs that separated Judaism from other major civilizations and religions in ancient times.

The word *Semitic* was used historically to identify the descendants (both Jews and Arabs) of Shem, the eldest son of the biblical Noah. The term *anti-Semitic* was purportedly coined by the German Wilhelm Marr in 1879 to describe the anti-Jewish campaigns occurring in Europe. Anti-Semitism was a misnomer, though, because it implies discrimination against all Semites—both Jews and Arabs—but the term has since been used to describe all anti-Jewish discrimination. Although there is no clear explanation for the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, social scientists suggest that anti-Semitism grows during periods of crisis and instability, when fears and frustrations are deflected to scapegoats (such as in the 1880s and pre–World War II Germany).

The hostility against Jews in the late 1880s was based on the ethnologist theory that people of Semitic lineage were inferior to those of Aryan decent. Drawing from the concepts of Social Darwinism, discrimination against Jews expanded from religious to racial discrimination and thus limited any possibility

of Jewish assimilation. Although most respected ethnologists rejected this theory, it continued to gain popularity, due in a large part to the widely read writing of the French philosopher Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau and the German economist Karl Duhring, and was used to justify the persecution of Jews that has existed for thousands of years. It thus set the stage for Hitler's Final Solution: Nazi Germany's systematic murder of approximately 6 million Jews.

Although the term was coined in the late 1800s, the monotheistic beliefs of Jews had clashed with other predominate cultures for hundreds of years. In the Roman Empire, Jews were discriminated against politically, and very few were allowed to become Roman citizens. After Constantine the Great made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire in the early fourth century, Jews were regarded as the killers of Jesus Christ and discrimination against Jews on religious grounds spread throughout the Western world.

In the seventh century, Jewish refusal to acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet formed the foundation of anti-Semitism in the Middle East.

Throughout history, Jews have been massacred (especially during the Crusades and in Nazi Germany), required to wear identifying clothes and markings (beginning as early as 1215), segregated into ghettos (as early as the 1431 Council of Basel decree), and economically crippled through restrictions or quotas on enrollment in higher education and restrictions on the types of business activities open to them (Jews throughout Europe could not own land and were not allowed to join commerce guilds).

In the United States, anti-Semitism peaked after World War I and was part of a general wave of resentment of minority groups, also including Roman Catholics and African Americans. Anti-Semitic sentiments grew as economic conditions declined during the Great Depression. It was not until 1965 that the Second Vatican Council *Nostra Aetate* of the Catholic Church finally repudiated and reversed the church's 1900 years of unofficial anti-Judaic and anti-Semitic teachings and practices by declaring that the Jewish people were not to be held responsible for the death of Christ. Nevertheless, periodic outbreaks of acts of vandalism to synagogues continue to occur. One contemporary manifestation of anti-Semitism is seen in the neo-Nazis and White supremacist groups who are responsible for modern anti-Semitic propaganda (such as the denial of the Holocaust) and violence against Jews.

In the Middle East, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 (on land claimed by Arabs) generated a resurgence of Jewish anti-Semitism in an attempt to stop Zionist immigration to the region. This conflict continues, and Israeli people live with the constant threat of terrorism from numerous pro-Arab terrorist organizations.

—Bonnie C. Fusarelli and Max S. Nathison

See also discrimination; diversity; eugenics; history, in curriculum; Holocaust education; minorities, in schools; neo-Nazism

Further Readings and References

Lazare, B. (1995). *Anti-Semitism: Its history and causes.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Perry, M., & Schweitzer, F. (2002). *Anti-Semitism: Myth and hate from antiquity to the present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Poliakov, L., & Kochan, M. (2003). *The history of Anti-Semitism: From Voltaire to Wagner.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

🏛 ARCHITECTURE OF SCHOOLS

School architecture is the art and the science of designing educational facilities. The expanded definition includes the school planning process, the design process, the interior design elements and furniture, and the exterior landscaping. Most architects and school administrators consider school architecture within the confines of aesthetics, form, and function.

Schools have evolved from being in homes, churches, and one-room schoolhouses to buildings that are designed and constructed for the sole purpose of instruction with multiple rooms. As this transformation has occurred, the complexity of the school facility increased: from simply a "box" with one or more classrooms to a complicated maze of offices, clinics, laboratories, auditoriums, cafeterias, computer complexes, and gymnasiums.

Glen I. Earthman and Linda K. Lemasters noted that one of the most crucial decisions that a school board will make after deciding to build a school is the selection of the architect. Such a process can be lengthy; however, if the end product is a school that is useful to students, teachers, administrators, and the public, the time spent in selection of the architect is worthwhile. Selection of the architect should be based on experience, recommendations from previous clients, and style and personality match with the school board and administration.

Earthman and Lemasters suggested three methods of architect selection: direct selection, competitive review, and design competition. Small school systems or communities, private schools, and charter schools may opt to simply select an architectural firm to design a school for them. It is a method that can be time-saving, but is not a process without risk. The selection may be based on friendship, convenience, or simply a recommendation, rather than selection occurring based upon qualifications.

A competitive review process is required in most states to secure any professional services. Often both state and local agreements for professional services require competitive bids, with the lowest bid being selected. The lowest bid can be a cost advantage, as long as the architect is the most qualified as well.

The third process is a design competition. With this process, a school or school system sets forward a design problem with specifications. Architects are requested to submit educational specifications and preliminary drawings. These documents are submitted to the school board or a committee to review the submissions and to select the most qualified submittal. Care needs to be taken that selections are based not solely on aesthetics, but knowledge of what is best for the users.

Earthman wrote that no matter which process is used, the emphasis should be with the architectural firm with the best past experiences, an understanding of purchasing procedures, quality prior work, ability to bring projects to fruition on time, ability to be on the site daily, and past commitments to equal-employment opportunities and minority business partnerships. All architects must be licensed or registered in the state in which they are working.

School architecture has become much more complicated than simply having an architect design a facility, oversee the construction, and ensure that the design meets the needs of the users. Architecture requires a team of individuals to design various features of a building; engineers to design the heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning systems (HVAC) and the infrastructure to support them; and scientists to oversee environmental aspects of the facility, to name a few. Architecture has been called a product as well as a discipline. It also is a process.

The process includes schematics design development. The architect develops a schematic concept for the building and works to place all of the components within the structure. These schematic drawings include the location of the site, features of the site, and

surrounding structures; size, number, and kinds of spaces in the building; and the design of HVAC, plumbing, and other systems. Other parts of the process are the design development, construction documents, bidding advisement, and construction monitoring.

There are two recent developments in school architecture: including school safety designs in architectural features and creating sustainable designs. The former has developed over the last two decades and is driven by violence in schools. Some of the design elements for consideration to ensure school safety include the following but are not limited to this listing:

- Landscape designs that do not limit visual acuity surrounding the building
- Lighting indoors and outdoors that does not leave dark areas and limited vision
- Unobstructed visual lines in hallways and offices designed with windows from which people can be seen going and coming from the building
- Door and key systems that keep what is meant to be in the facility safe and whatever is to be outside of the building locked out
- Security cameras and other safety systems that are placed in the building in the most advantageous areas of the facility or on the grounds
- The migration of students from one area of the grounds to another without crossing bus routes or parent drop-offs

If the architect is not familiar with safety design, a consultant should be hired to review architectural plans to ensure that all meaningful safety features possible are included.

A recent development is that of sustainable design. Such designs are restorative to natural systems; they are energy-efficient buildings. According to the United States Department of Education, there are several principles that lead to sustainable design:

- Enhanced teaching and learning spaces that accommodate the needs of learners
- Areas serving as the center of the community
- Planning/design processes involving all stakeholders
- Consideration for health, safety, and security needs
- Effective use of all available resources

—Linda K. Lemasters

See also budgeting; hazards, environmental, in schools; learning environments; Planning, Programming, Budgeting System; school plant management; school safety; working conditions, in schools

Further Readings and References

Bingler, S., Quinn, L., & Sullivan, K. (1998). *Design principles: Schools as center of community.* Retrieved July 16, 2004, from the National Clearinghouse for Educational Facilities database.

Castaldi, B. (1982). *Educational facilities.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Earthman, G. I. (2000). *Planning educational facilities for the next century.* Reston, VA: Association of School Business Officials, International.

Earthman, G. I., & Lemasters, L. K. (2004). *School maintenance and renovation: Administrator policies, practices, and economics.* Lancaster, PA: Pro>Active Publications.

Lackney, J. A. (2005). New approaches for school design. In F. English (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of educational leadership* (pp. 506–537). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

ARISTOTLE

Born in Stagira, Greece, Aristotle (384–322 BC) was the son of the physician to the King of Macedonia. When he was in his late teens, he moved to Athens and joined Plato. He stayed at Plato's academy for nearly 20 years. After Plato's death, Aristotle married and became the tutor to Alexander the Great. From 335 BC to 323 BC, Aristotle again took up residence in Athens, where he wrote most of the works we honor today. When Alexander died, Aristotle fled Athens, as did others who were considered friends of the conqueror.

In 1946, Bertrand Russell referred to Aristotle's philosophy as similar to Plato's mixed with common sense. Aristotle did not believe in Plato's notion of reality as a pursuit of ideal forms that were transcendent. Aristotle rejected Plato's theory of ideas and substituted the theory of universals, in which he concentrated on a thing's essence, which he divided into matter and form. Matter becomes definite when it assumes a specific form. Matter without form is only a possibility, a kind of potentiality. Aristotle's importance to early Christianity is to be found in this distinction because he believed that undifferentiated matter contained the possibility of all forms. As matter becomes more differentiated, it becomes more "real." God, in Aristotle's mind, was pure form and pure reality. From this perspective, the evolution of form was its own answer and reason for being. Here was the notion of progress, the idea that something is continually becoming better over time. And God was the unmoved mover of all things, eternal, existing in pure thought, complete and perfect.

Aristotle wrote on ethics, politics, and physics. While highly influential for hundreds of years following his death, his ideas are not so influential today, though certain vestiges of influence remain. Aristotle believed that the aim of the state, at least as it related to education, was to produce cultured gentlemen who honored learning for the sake of learning and were schooled in the arts. Virtue, or the "golden mean," was the position between two extremes. Thus, modesty was the mean between being demure and defiant.

Perhaps Aristotle's most lasting contribution has been in his logics. In this respect, his method of reasoning using syllogisms is still used by teachers today, especially in Catholic education. A syllogism consists of three statements:

1. All men are mortal.

2. All Americans are men.

3. All Americans are mortal.

Although Bertrand Russell pointed out the defects within this system, Aristotle's approach marked the beginning of formal logic. The use of such syllogisms can still be found in the modern educational writings of someone such as Mortimer Adler's 1982 *The Paideia Proposal.*

The tradition of syllogistic logic used by Aristotle continues to reach into the modern school curriculum within a conservative ideology for schooling called by William O'Neill in 1981 *educational intellectualism,* one of three educational ideologies within the conservative educational tradition.

In the broader intellectual streams of Platonic-Aristotelian discourse rests the current ideology of some of the neoconservatives in the Bush administration who are disciples of the writings of Leo Strauss (1899–1973), a professor of political science at the University of Chicago who specialized in the writings of Plato and other philosophers. The neoconservative Republicans are concerned about the loss of manliness in the feminization of politics. Liberal critics of Strauss and his disciples see the reestablishment of authoritarianism in the ideals of leadership they personify. The legacy of Aristotle is indeed a long one.

—Fenwick W. English

See also authority; Catholic education; Christian Coalition; cultural politics, wars; curriculum, theories of; ethics; fundamentalism; global cultural politics; idealism, as a philosophy in education; ideology, shifts of in educational leadership preparation; Plato; Russell, Bertrand

Further Readings and References

Nisbet, R. (1970). *History of the idea of progress.* New York: Basic Books.

O'Neill, W. (1981). *Educational ideologies: Contemporary expressions of educational philosophy.* Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear.

Russell, B. (1946). *History of Western philosophy.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Strauss, L. (2001). *On Plato's symposium.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ARTS EDUCATION

Historically, *art* referred to useful skills, such as shoemaking, metalworking, medicine, agriculture, and even warfare, and in a broad sense, art is still associated with a skill in making or doing. Traditional categories encompass diverse media, including literature (e.g., drama, poetry, prose), visual arts (e.g., drawing, painting, sculpture), and graphic arts (e.g., lithography, photography, printmaking). The definition, among many possible that exist today, that is perhaps most relevant is that art is the conscious use of a person's skills and creative imagination in the production of aesthetic objects. The fine arts are those expressive modalities that require both skill and imagination in the creation of aesthetic products, environments, or other kinds of experiences that can be shared with others.

Art movements and periods are numerous. Among the most well-known, originating in either Europe or the United States, are abstract expressionism, classicism, conceptual art, cubism, dadaism, expressionism, impressionism, minimalism, neoclassicism, pointillism, pop art, realism, romanticism, surrealism, and symbolism.

In their extreme forms, the visual arts range from purely aesthetic to purely utilitarian. In the twentieth century, debates arising over the definition of art and its stylistic, formal aesthetic elements manifested in intellectual experimentation. By the turn of the twenty-first century, a variety of new media (e.g., video art, computer-based interactive multimedia, virtual reality) further challenged traditional definitions of art.

Performing arts offers a variation on these meanings but involves artistic forms that are found in the theater, dance, and music.

STANDARDIZATION AND COUNTERMOVEMENTS

The critical acts of appreciating, perceiving, reflecting, imagining, judging, constructing, problem solving, evaluating, criticizing, and more are all integral to the arts. These are of no lesser value in the field of education. Over a decade ago, the Consortium of National Arts Education Associations produced voluntary standards for K–12 American schools that address these elements. Developing students' capacity for learning promotes benefits such as improved self-esteem and increased motivation, necessary for success within and beyond school. These standards are rooted in the premise that arts education and a student's achievement in other subjects and on standardized tests correspond directly.

In contrast to a national movement to standardize arts education in the schools, educators in the academy, searching for alternatives to empirical approaches within their own domain of the social sciences, created a "paradigm" known as *arts-based inquiry*. This movement originates in multiple, influential sources and concepts, including John Dewey's 1934 *Art as Experience* and the Deweyian notion that artists, unlike scientists, aim to express, not state, meaning. Arts-based approaches to research combine the arts and humanities, which challenge tradition as well as the status quo.

The pioneering work of educators Maxine Greene, Suzanne Langer, Elliot Eisner, Tom Barone, Robert Donmoyer, Norman Denzin, and others since the 1970s has led to groundbreaking efforts to infuse education and the arts with critique and analysis. Together with a rapidly developing cadre of faculty and students, these innovators essentially maintain that the arts inform educational research and yield intellectual gain. The predominant trend in arts-based educational research (ABER) features text or words and verbal communication. The new wave of ABER has propelled experimentation with video, multimedia documentary, photographic portfolios, three-dimensional collage, art studio collaborations, complex technological adaptations of story, voice, movement, and sound, and more.

To qualify as arts-based educational research, a work must satisfy, at least to some degree, these criteria:

- The creation of a virtual reality
- The presence of ambiguity
- The use of expressive language
- The use of contextualized and vernacular language
- The promotion of empathy
- The personal signature of the researcher/writer
- The presence of aesthetic form

Using such principles, arts-based thesis/dissertation writers have broken with convention through experimentation with narrative and aesthetic forms. These range from stage setting, character development, dialogue, and monologue to portraiture, fiction, and script and novelistic writing, in addition to extended metaphor, poetry, and visual artwork.

AREAS OF ARTS-BASED RESEARCH

Three areas of arts-based research—quality-based criteria, research-based performance, and cultural politics—are characteristic of many works of arts-based inquirers. Complex questions have been raised regarding quality, such as how to evaluate the quality of a work and whether distinctions exist between art and research. The issue of quality in qualitative social research remains a prevalent issue.

Performance in arts-based research, the second area, is theorized and demonstrated using a range of modes, including story, painting, poetry, dialogue, script, action, and argument. Dance and theater are also commonly understood as performance. Text, identity, and culture have been added to this list. However, the definition of performance is not static—it is created and re-created in the very act of performing.

The third area, cultural politics, refers to the idea that culture can be performed, just as culture itself performs. Through this lens, the researcher/artist "performs" culture in ways that render the personal simultaneously cultural and political. The stage, like performance art itself, thrives within cultural spaces extending beyond the theater's platform. Performance as an emancipatory pedagogical event is enacted around the country in countless places, not only classrooms but also academic conference sites and, perhaps most important, community-based public spaces. A shared goal of researchers/artists is to create conditions for enabling students, citizens, and others to become critically reflective.

Some arts-based educators and performers view the process of identity construction as an art form and as political. Cultural politics plays a conscious role in many arts-based works in education today. Researchers/artists raise socioeducational issues through artistic production and critique. As examples, ethnotheatrical presentations address controversial material (e.g., racism) and strive for impact with audiences. And by legitimating "the body" as a site for teaching and

learning through improvisational movement inquiry, the exalted place of the written text in the academy is questioned.

VALUES OF THE ARTS AND ARTS EDUCATION

Finally, multiple values of the arts and arts education have been documented. Furthermore, the arts are a way of knowing. Students (and others) grow in their ability to apprehend their world when they learn the arts. Freedom of expression in the arts has long been the hallmark of a free society.

—Carol A. Mullen

See also action learning; aesthetics, in education; cognition, theories of; constructivism; creativity, theories of; critical thinking; curriculum, theories of; early childhood education; giftedness, gifted education; literacy, theories of; measurement, theories of; performance assessment; problem solving; social context; values pluralism, in schools

Further Readings and References

Bagley, C., & Cancienne, M. B. (Eds.). (2002). *Dancing the data.* New York: Peter Lang.

Barone, T. (2001). *Touching eternity: The enduring outcomes of teaching.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Barone, T. E., & Eisner, E. (1997). Arts-based educational research. In R. M. Jaeger (Ed.), *Complementary methods for research in education* (pp. 73–103). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Denzin, N. K. (1997). Performance texts. In W. G. Tierney & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Representation and the text: Reframing the narrative voice* (pp. 179–217). Albany: SUNY Press.

Denzin, N. K. (2000). Aesthetics and the practices of qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry, 6,* 256–265.

Dewey, J. (1934). *Art as experience.* New York: Minton Balch.

Diamond, C. T. P., & Mullen, C. A. (Eds.). (1999). *The postmodern educator: Arts-based inquiries and teacher development.* New York: Peter Lang.

Garoian, C. R. (1999). *Performing pedagogy: Toward an art of politics.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Goldberg, R. (2001). *Performance art: From futurism to the present.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Hoffman, D. D. (1998). *Visual intelligence: How we create what we see.* New York: Norton.

◬ ASBESTOS

Asbestos is a mineral found in rock formations. When mined and processed, it takes the form of very small fibers that are invisible. A typical asbestos fiber is 1,200 times smaller than a hair strand. According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 2004, these fibers, mixed with binding materials are then used in asbestos-containing building materials that include fireproofing material (sprayed on beams), insulation material (on pipes), acoustical or soundproofing material (sprayed onto ceilings and walls), and in miscellaneous building materials, such as asphalt, vinyl, and cement to make products like roofing felts, shingles, siding, wallboard, and floor tiles. The fibers, if released from the product in some manner, remain in the air and can be inhaled. Asbestos is categorized as either *friable* or *nonfriable.* Friable asbestos can be crumbled or broken by hand pressure and is of the most concern because these fibers can be released into the air more readily and inhaled into the lungs. Nonfriable asbestos is less invasive but requires monitoring for deterioration and change to a friable state.

The peak of asbestos use in schools was from the mid-1940s through the 1970s. The EPA estimated in 2004 that nearly all elementary and secondary schools in the United States have asbestos-containing insulation and building materials. The percentage of asbestos in any one material varies, and few precise estimates can be made about the amount of asbestos due to lack of standards in labeling during peak years of use in schools.

Asbestos, left undisturbed, does not pose a major health risk. But as schools have aged and been subjected to renovation and deterioration, concerns grew, and in 1987, the Asbestos Hazard Emergency Response Act (AHERA), Title 20, Chapter 52, Section 4011, was enacted. It required the EPA to develop regulations to address asbestos issues in public and private schools. School districts were made responsible for (a) conducting periodic inspection for both friable and nonfriable asbestos, (b) establishing plans for asbestos management, and (c) creating a framework to provide information about the status of asbestos in the district to parents, teachers, and citizens. The EPA has an asbestos-in-schools assistance program and creates multiple publications to help districts understand the potential harm, and possible actions have been created and are updated as new information emerges.

MANAGING ASBESTOS IN SCHOOLS

Management of asbestos is critical and ongoing. Undisturbed, asbestos causes few problems. Thus, the AHERA rules rarely require removal of asbestos. Trained and licensed inspectors gauge the state of

asbestos; it must be inspected at least semiannually with trained custodial and maintenance staff so that damages or deterioration can be detected and corrected. Three actions to control asbestos are usually undertaken: *encapsulation, enclosure,* and *removal.* These procedures must be done by accredited asbestos professionals. Encapsulation requires spraying the fiber with a sealant. Enclosure requires placing barriers around the material. Removal is only necessary when material damage is extensive and severe. Only an AHERA-accredited professional can advise school officials on the appropriate response action in any given situation.

Making the AHERA schools rule effective in protecting the school workplace is a joint responsibility of district leadership, school employees, parents, and students working with federal and state governments and asbestos control professionals. Local and national parent organizations provide information about asbestos control. The EPA conducts compliance inspections of a sample of schools annually. The agency is responsible for ensuring that schools are adhering to AHERA regulations. The EPA provides an asbestos ombudsman to assist citizens with questions and asbestos issues. This office can be reached through a toll-free number.

—Barbara Y. LaCost

See also architecture of schools; hazards, environmental, in schools; learning environments; school plant management; school safety; working conditions, in schools

Further Readings and References

Asbestos Hazardous Emergency Response Act. (AHERA). (2002). Retrieved September 20, 2004, from http://www.asbestos-mesothelioma-lung-cancer.com/laws_acts/AHERA.html

Environmental Protection Agency. (2003, August). *The ABCs of asbestos in schools* (Bulletin EPA 745-K93–017). Washington DC: Author. Retrieved September 20, 2004, from http://www.epa.gov/asbestos/abcsfinal.pdf

Environmental Protection Agency. (2005). *Asbestos in schools.* Retrieved September 20, 2004, from http://www.epa.gov/asbestos/asbestos_in_schools.html

U.S. Code Title 20 Chapter 52 Subchapter V, § 4011. (2004). Retrieved September 20, 2004, from http://assembler.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode20/usc_sec_20_00004011----000-.html

🏛 ASHTON'S EFFICACY RESEARCH

Teachers' sense of efficacy has primarily been assessed with two factors: sense of personal teaching efficacy and sense of teaching efficacy. The first refers to individuals' assessment of their own teacher competence; the second refers to teachers' expectations that teaching can influence student learning. In 1986, Patricia Ashton and Rodman Webb defined *teacher efficacy* as an educator's expectation of being able to assist student learning. They further noted that the notion of efficacy is similar to, but not identical to, other motivation constructs, such as attributions, personal causation, expectancies for success, and intrinsic motivation.

Ashton and Webb's seminal research on self-efficacy in K–12 education has found that efficacy beliefs of teachers are related to their instructional practices and to various student outcomes. Their 1986 work with seasoned teachers of students placed in classes for basic skills because of severe academic deficiencies further demonstrated that teacher efficacy was related to student achievement. They specifically found that when teachers' instructional efficacy measures were added to the regression equation predicting student achievement, an additional 24% of the variance in mathematics achievement and 46% of the variance in language achievement was explained. Teachers with a high sense of instructional efficacy tend to view difficult students as reachable and teachable and regard their learning problems as surmountable by ingenuity and extra effort. Teachers of low perceived efficacy are inclined to invoke low student ability as an explanation for why their students cannot be taught.

Reasons for these relationships are many, but research has found that teachers who have a high sense of instructional efficacy devote more classroom time to academic activities, provide students who encounter difficulties with the guidance they need to succeed, and praise their academic accomplishments. In contrast, teachers of low perceived efficacy spend more time on nonacademic pastimes, readily give up on students if they do not get quick results, and criticize them for their failures.

—Larry E. Frase

See also cognition, theories of; curriculum, theories of; efficacy theory; flow theory; learning environments; measurement, theories of; motivation, theories of; walk-throughs, of classrooms

Further Readings and References

Ashton, P. T., & Webb R. B. (1986). *Making a difference: Teachers' sense of efficacy and student achievement.* New York: Longman.

🏛 ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS

Since the first groups of Chinese "sugar masters" working in Hawaii, Asian Pacific Americans (APA) and their descendants have been on the land of the United States for more than 150 years. Their arrival not only brought enormous contributions to aspects of construction, agriculture, industry, technology, and so forth, but also inevitably impacted America's historical, economic, cultural, and social advancement.

Personal interests and their native countries' socioeconomic contexts combined with military, economic, and political interventions of the United States have created an impetus for Asian people immigrating to the United States. The immigration history of Asian Pacific people can be divided into two broad periods: from 1835 to 1964, characterized by low-paid laborers, and from 1965 to the present, characterized by refugees and professionals.

The earliest Asian immigrants were characterized as "cheap laborers." The Chinese were the first group to arrive in the United States during the early nineteenth century, as the ancient Chinese feudal empire was declining. They eventually settled on the West Coast, in Los Angeles and San Francisco, working as railroad constructors, miners, or farmers; and by the 1830s, Chinese were living in New York City selling goods and in Hawaii toiling in sugarcane fields. After gold was discovered in California in 1848, the numbers of Asian miners and laborers kept rising from over 1,000 to nearly 37,000 (mostly Chinese). Their numbers continued to increase after the Burlingame Seward Treaty with China in 1868, which guaranteed the right of Chinese immigration; it did not, however, grant the right of naturalization. In the following decades, a great deal of anti-Chinese sentiment arose in California, and in 1877, anti-Chinese riots occurred in San Francisco. This event culminated in the promulgation of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned Chinese immigration for 10 years. This Act was renewed every 10 years and was finally made indefinite in 1904.

In 1885, the Japanese government loosened its emigration restrictions. Meanwhile, California employers were feeling the effects of Chinese exclusion and saw Japan as a new source of cheap Asian labor. The increasing contact between Japanese and American governments prompted more Japanese to move to Hawaii and California to work on sugar and agricultural plantations. In 1908, the number of Japanese immigrants exceeded 120,000 in Hawaii alone. Naturally, Japanese immigrants inherited the anti-Asian sentiment that had long been directed toward the Chinese. In 1907, in response to the increasing threats of violence against the Japanese, Japan and the United States reached the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Under this law, Japan stopped issuing passports to laborers desiring to immigrate to the United States in exchange for respectful treatment of Japanese citizens already in the United States. The 1924 Immigration Act (also known as the Oriental Exclusion Act) banned immigration from Japan entirely.

To fill the shortage of low-paid laborers resulting from both the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, the Filipinos came in the 1900s. Still, Filipinos could not escape anti-Asian resentment, which was pervasive among the dominant White groups, even though Filipinos were classified as American nationals because of their special colonial status. Filipino immigration to the United States slowed down in 1934 when the U.S. government passed the Tydings McDuffie Act, which changed the status of Filipinos from nationals to aliens. Asian immigration came to almost a standstill after World War II.

For most Asian immigrants and their children, the history from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century in the United States is the history of discrimination, segregation, and exclusion. From the very beginning, Asians were seen as the "yellow peril" and regarded as racially inferior people. Violent protests were held against them; internment camps were built to segregate them; and discriminatory laws were enacted to exclude them from naturalization and owning lands.

By extension, education for APA children was always under the shadow of racial discrimination within this period of history. The Committee of the San Francisco Board of Education estimated there were 722 Chinese children living in Chinatown in 1880. However, San Francisco Board of Education policy prohibited them from attending the city's public schools. Earlier, in 1859, California's first Chinese public school opened on the corner of Stockton and Sacramento Streets. It was reorganized as a night institution 2 years later for the convenience of Chinese workingmen. Racists criticized this school the moment it was established, by questioning its legality and propriety. The board of education accepted such criticism, and the Chinese school finally closed in 1871.

During this period of time, private sectors, such as Christian missionary organizations, were very active in providing educational services. Documentation indicates that Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists,

Presbyterians, and Episcopalians all provided some form of English instruction in Chinatown. These religious groups not only defended Chinese from harassment and racial discrimination but also founded more and more schools for Chinese immigrants. In 1876, after the Chinese public school was entirely shut down, 5,500 Chinese were enrolled in Christian schools. However, after the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act took effect, schooling efforts made by the private sector faced more difficulties than ever before. To cope with this situation, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (also known as "Six Companies") established one of the biggest Chinese language schools in 1884, intending to teach traditional Chinese culture and values. However, neither the Christian nor the Chinese language schools could provide what a normal public school could: a standard public education. The case *Tape v. Hurley* (1885) then stimulated the combat between the American public school system and Chinese parents into a new phase. The California Supreme Court ruled that there was no legal basis for the exclusion of Chinese children from the public schools. After this case, the San Francisco Board of Education adopted a new principle regarding Chinese schooling, separate but equal, and this policy remained effective until the late 1930s.

Unlike their Chinese counterparts, Japanese children had attended integrated American neighborhood schools in San Francisco prior to 1906, partly because anti-Japanese sentiment was always overshadowed by anti-Chinese hysteria, and also because Japan was the only Asian country that had modernized industry paralleling Western countries. However, after Chinese exclusion, as more Japanese immigrants entered the United States, anti-Japanese feelings among Americans increased. In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education resolved to send all 93 Japanese students and some Korean children to the Oriental Public School located between Powell and Mason streets. Only two of the Japanese students showed up. Leaders of San Francisco's Japanese community determined to use public opinion to combat such discrimination in California. This action fostered *Aoki v. Deane* (1907). The plaintiff argued that the policy of the board was violating the Treaty of 1894 between Japan and the United States and that San Francisco did not segregate pupils of European immigrants, so it should not segregate those of Japanese descent. This case was dismissed in exchange for the 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement."

The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 did not completely solve the problem of Japanese schooling. Meanwhile, because of continuing immigration and high natural birth rate, Japanese population was booming, to over 71,000 in 1920. Japanese then turned to private language schools to seek better educational opportunities. Around that time, there were almost 80 Japanese language schools scattered in California. The role of the school, opposite to that of the Chinese language school, was to help the *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese) fit into the Americanized life. In general, before World War II, segregation of Japanese schooling did not constitute a phenomenon. In 1929, there were only 575 students in the segregated schools, but 30,000 attended integrated schools.

Japanese children experienced serious school segregation and racial discrimination in 1942, when President Roosevelt's executive order required more than 100,000 Japanese people to move to internment camps. The War Relocation Agency (WRA) inherited the responsibility of educating over 25,000 Japanese American children. Although conditions for schooling were very tough—always short in textbooks, instructional equipment, classroom furniture, and even qualified teachers—schools were operated regularly. These internment camps had existed for several years. By 1945, people were released from the camps, and WRA determined not to enroll any new Japanese students.

The second wave of Asian immigration began with the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. It facilitated a diversified influx to the Asian demographic landscape in the United States. In addition to Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, Indians, Pakistanis, and people from other Asian countries joined the immigrant trend to America. Among these Asian ethnic groups, the upsurge of Indians in particular became salient. By 2000, approximately 1.7 million Indians were residing in the United States, mostly in the "high-tech" concentrated areas such as Texas and California. After the Vietnam War, more than 130,000 refugees, mostly identified as Indochinese, entered the United States from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos as Communists took over. This substantial increase can be in large measure attributed to the Indo-Chinese Refugee Resettlement Program Act of 1975 and the Refugee Act of 1980. The legislation of the 1990 Immigration Act further strengthened the steady increase of Asian immigration. In recent decades,

APA, as a racial category, has become a more and more diverse group that consists of approximately 30 ethnic subgroups, including Chinese, Filipino, East Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, Hmong, Cambodian, Guamanian, Hawaiian, Indonesian, Laotian, and Samoan. The 1980 U.S. census included smaller Asian American groups in the category of all other Asians: Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Bornean, Burmese, Celebesian, Indo-Chinese, Iwo Jiman, Javanese, Malayan, Maldivian, Nepali, Okinawan, Sikkimese, Singaporean, and Sri Lankan. Meanwhile, APA is also one of the fastest-growing groups in the United States. According to the latest census, the total APA population reached 11 million in 2000 and makes up 4.2% of the U.S. population, in comparison with 2.8% in 1990. More than three quarters of the APA population lives in 10 states (in rank order): California, New York, Texas, Ohio, New Jersey, Illinois, Washington D.C., Florida, Virginia, and Massachusetts

In addition to its diversity and growth, the APA population has undergone other significant demographic changes during current decades. The APA population shifted remarkably from being largely American-born to foreign-born. For example, in 1994, 64% of all APA were born abroad; and population projections estimate that the percentage of foreign-born will remain in the majority for several decades. The resident pattern of APA has changed as well. Unlike their ancestors, APA immigrants after 1965 tended to not only concentrate in areas along the East and West Coast but also spread out nationally. These demographic changes will undoubtedly present challenges to educational practitioners, scholars, and policymakers in the United States, particularly when confronted with issues such as curricula, linguistic proficiency, cultural adjustment and maintenance, identity formation, school climate, academic performance, and so forth. The high speed of Asian population growth has already greatly affected schools and colleges in the United States. According to the 2000 census, the school age youth of APA (5 to 19) has reached 2.1 million, compared to 1.7 million in 1990. Recent population projections indicate that by the year 2020, the APA school age population will continue to increase to over 3 million and make up nearly 8% of the whole. These demographic shifts indicate that almost every elementary and secondary school district across the country will face changes and challenges accompanying the increasing APA enrollment.

During the last decades, efforts have been made to address minority students' needs and to promote educational equality, both of which had been long neglected, consciously or unconsciously. Landmark cases, such as *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and *Lau v. Nichole* in 1974, are manifestations of such efforts. The former abolished segregated schools, whereas the latter brought children who speak little English in public schools a bilingual education, although the inadequacy of programs for APA students is indeed more common than for African Americans. In 2001, the national No Child Left Behind Act further put APA children on equal footing with other ethnic groups by requiring American schools to educate every child in this country and facilitate all of them to reach academic and social success.

Since the 1980s, a body of research has begun to emerge with the aim to document, analyze, and explain the high educational attainments of Asians in the last four decades. Census 2000 showed that Asians exceeded Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics in the percentage of college education: Whites, 26.1%; African Americans, 14.3%; Hispanics, 10.4%; Asians, 44.1%. Asians, as a group, were generally believed to be culturally, or even genetically, more competitive in education. However, more recent studies have found this commonly held perception not accurate. Scholars have found that evidence does not support the genetic interpretation and that Asian cultural values, beliefs, and practices have low correlations with their academic achievements. However, the belief held by the majority of APA peoples that education is the best way to succeed and perceptions, expectancies, and beliefs about opportunities for other areas of mobility may have significant research implications to studies regarding Asians' education phenomenon.

There are various Asian American stereotypes commonly accepted by contemporary American educators affecting schooling for APA children. Some stereotypes identify Asian Americans as "intelligent," "high achievers in math and science," "poor English speakers," "humble," "quiet," "boring," "obedient," "foreigners," and the like. Among these stereotypes, the most influential is the one that labels APA as "whiz kids," or model minorities. This monolithic image of APA emerged for the reason of Asians being depicted as educationally and economically successful during the mid 1960s, when African Americans were striving to make charges of racial injustice. Asian scholars, however, unanimously criticize the

"model minority" stereotype as being dangerous to Asian American children. In their studies, this stereotype is, rather, a political tool used by the dominant group against other minority groups to silence claims of inequality, and hence silence the multiple voices of Asian Americans. While the stereotype attributes educational and economic success to all APA students, it naturally denies the needs of people who are suffering poverty and illiteracy, and ignores the between- and within-group disparities exhibited in immigrant history, place of birth, linguistic proficiency, educational experience/achievement, acculturation, religion origination/religious propensity, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

The lack of knowledge of the diverse nature of Asian American children directly resulted in a great paucity of comprehensive programs designed specifically for this group. Some studies conducted by psychological scholars revealed that Asian American students, especially those who are not intellectually gifted and cannot reach the academic standards that the teachers and parents have set up for them, are experiencing emotional distress and intensive peer tension both inside and outside their own ethnic group. As a matter of fact, because Asian students traditionally do not solicit help for their mental problems, the pressure sometimes leads to even more serious problems, such as suicide, homicide, the use of drugs, and joining gangs.

Notwithstanding the privilege of being "whiz kids," Asian American students have constantly found themselves with feelings of marginalization, insecurity, and excessive self-consciousness. These adverse perceptions about themselves are largely attributed to rather subtle, implicit forms of racial discrimination, which can be both institutionalized and individualized. Researchers have suggested that the difficulty of Asian American children to express and assert themselves articulately is a result not only of the unfriendly classroom/school climate that could foster ridicule or hostile peer reactions but also of the cultural incongruity of the "Anglo-conformity" orientation of school systems.

To most teachers and educational administrators, it is said that identifying inter- and intrastudent conflicts is far more complex than spotting language proficiency problems. In addition to this complexity, American school systems still have difficulty dealing with children who enter with various languages, values, backgrounds, and developmental needs. Schooling for APA children facilitates both academic and social success. At this point, adjusting educators' attitudes toward them and hence understanding their diverse needs is crucial. Meanwhile, creation and renovation of curricula, textbooks, and instructional strategies that are more appropriate to APA primary, secondary, and higher education are imperative. Asian American students cannot have equal educational opportunity if they continue to be regarded as "strangers from a different shore."

—*Mei Luo*

See also achievement tests; cross-cultural education; cultural capital; cultural politics, wars; discrimination; ethnicity; ethnocentrism; human capital; immigration, history and impact in education; intelligence; international education; literacy, theories of; migrant students; minorities, in schools; multiculturalism; politics, of education; social context; standardized testing; tracking, of students

Further Readings and References

Johnson, D. (2004). *Asian-American history from Chinese laborers in the 1800s to millions of U.S. citizens today.* Infoplease: 2000–2004 Pearson Education. Retrieved from http://www.infoplease.com/spot/immigration1.html

Leung, B. P. (1998). Who are Chinese American, Japanese American, and Korean American children? Cultural profiles. In V. O. Pang & L. R. L. Cheng (Eds.), *Struggling to be heard: The unmet needs of Asian Pacific American Children.* New York: SUNY Press.

Nakanishi, D. T. (1995). Growth and diversity: The education of Asian/Pacific Americans. In D. T. Nakanishi & T. Y. Nishida (Eds.), *The Asian American educational experience: A sourcebook for teachers and students.* New York: Routledge.

Pang, V. O., & Cheng, L. L. (1998). The quest for concepts, competence, and connections: The education of Asian Pacific American children. In V. O. Pang & L. R. L. Cheng (Eds.), *Struggling to be heard: The unmet needs of Asian Pacific American children.* New York: SUNY Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (2000). *Census 2000 Summary File 1.* Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/population/www/index.html

Weinberg, M. (1997). *Asian-American Education: Historical background and current realities.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

ATHLETICS IN SCHOOLS

The importance generally placed upon athletics in American public schools is unique in comparison to most other countries. While there are many critics who believe interscholastic sports are overemphasized

in the United States, athletic notoriety continues to define the very life world of many schools and the communities they serve. Culture, climate, mores, and values are developed and maintained in direct relationship to the athletic success enjoyed by the local schools. Along with this heavy emphasis on sports comes a variety of critical issues that must be addressed by the school administration.

FUNDING

Funding public school education is a critical issue being faced by almost every school district in the country. Higher operating costs in general, along with unfunded federal mandates, coupled with declining enrollment figures especially in small and rural schools are forcing districts to cut programs and personnel. Since very few school athletic programs are able to "pay their own way," they face the possibility of severe reduction or elimination. Obviously, any discussion regarding athletic programs is of critical community concern and will surely test the leadership skills of local school administrators.

GENDER EQUITY

Gender equity in athletics is another issue local school administrators must effectively address. Under the requirements of Title IX of The Education Amendments of 1972, school districts that receive federal funds must ensure gender equity in every program. Although the past two decades have shown significant progress in women's athletics, there continues to be substantial national concern regarding the issues of equity and accessibility. School athletic departments along with local, state, and national athletic associations continue to be administered mostly by males, and school facilities provided for female athletes are often inferior to those provided for their male counterparts. Addressing these issues, especially in the poorer school districts throughout the country, will continue to be a priority in operation, policy, and procedure for some years to come.

DRUG TESTING

As districts continue to battle drug abuse in their schools, there is an increased emphasis on drug testing for students participating in interscholastic sports. Along with the increase in drug testing has developed an increase in litigation, which, in most cases, has

upheld the practice. Other legal issues such as professional ethics, no-pass no-play policies, and employee negligence continue to surround interscholastic athletic programs as well.

Athletics in schools will remain an important part of the American culture. Dealing effectively with the issues and problems associated with sports will remain a challenge to most school administrators.

—Jerry M. Lowe

See also budgeting; equality, in schools; extracurricular activities; gender studies, in educational leadership; high schools

Further Readings and References

Gerdy, J. R. (2002). *Sports in school: The future of an institution.* New York: Teachers College Press.
Nelson, M. B. (1991). *Are we winning yet? How women are changing sports and sports are changing women.* New York: Random House.

AT-RISK STUDENTS

The term *at-risk students* describes youth who are seen as being in danger of not being able to assume constructive adult roles in society, whose life chances may be diminished long before they reach adulthood. It is a term attributed to those students who are not succeeding in school, who often eventually leave school without graduating, or who graduate without the necessary skills to function as productive citizens and workers. How students come to be unsuccessful in school has been framed in various ways, and this framing becomes critical to any discussion of what can be done to remedy the problem.

Commonly, school failure has been individually attributed as a personal and private failure on the part of a student. From this lens, the factors associated with being at risk are seen as residing in the individual student and/or the student's family. These factors could include membership in a racial or ethnic minority and/or low socioeconomic status. Students growing up in homes where parents have a low level of educational attainment are also seen as placing students at greater risk for school failure. Beyond this, issues such as truancy, retention, or below-grade-level performance are all seen as indicators that the student's connection to school is tenuous.

Students may be described by terms such as "lazy" or "unmotivated," or they may be considered diagnosable, with either behavioral or emotional disorders or learning disabilities. Their families may be described as "broken" or headed by a single parent, probably female. Parents may be viewed as not caring about their child's school success. They are perhaps not involved in school functions, and therefore a "blank canvas" on which negative attributes such as these can be inscribed. The students and their families may live in low-socioeconomic, often urban areas, which are seen as having little to offer students in terms of future success.

These renderings of at-risk students frame the issues as individual attributes (perhaps nonnormative development on the part of the youth) or a set of problems, such as a response to family or environmental problems. Viewed this way, the issues fall within the realm of the individual, and the solutions suggested include counseling or psychological testing and diagnosis. With older students, the remedies may fall within the realm of disciplinary actions designed to pull wayward students into line or finally confirm that they do not fit in the school setting in a productive way. This individualistic orientation leaves unexamined the institutional and societal responsibility in constructing the problems of students considered at risk. It avoids the realities of how societies place some students at risk.

Much of this viewpoint fits within a "culture of poverty" argument originally developed in the work of Oscar Lewis. The "culture of poverty" argument evolved into a stance that children are handicapped because their homes do not provide them with the cultural patterns necessary for the types of learning characteristic of schools and the larger society. In essence, this point of view argues that the children's homes do not provide the necessary stimulation for the "normal" development of these children. For example, some researchers link the experiences of children growing up in a "culture of poverty" with a lower sense of self-esteem. This thesis was specific to a particular socioeconomic niche in American society: the poor.

John Ogbu, in working to explain the lower academic performance of various marginalized groups in relationship to the dominant group, proposed a theory of academic underperformance that has come to be known as *oppositional culture theory*. From this stance, Ogbu argued that some racial and ethnic groups are underachievers in school because educational systems are seen as extensions of the dominant culture. As such, the school experience is seen as a threat to a group's cultural identity. Students, then, are seen as developing behaviors that conflict with or challenge dominant cultural practices. Within this framework, students resist success and academic achievement, since both are seen as the domain of White students. In fact, those peers who are perceived as adopting White norms and behavior were accused of "acting White."

Work by Ogbu and others relied on a shift from the "culture of poverty" argument to one describing cultural deprivation. From this lens, the "problem" of school failure was not the home environment or inferior cognitive capabilities of, in this case, Black students. Rather, Ogbu focused on the deficient motivations and values that impeded successful adaptation to improved opportunities. He argued that these motivations and values have acquired a historical and cultural life of their own and, according to Ogbu, must be transformed. This kind of theorizing moved the emphasis from inadequate stimulation at home or in the neighborhood to values and mechanisms that maintain academic underachievement. This theorizing regarding the creation of an oppositional culture toward school cast a wider net in terms of the group whose behavior it attempts to explain, moving the conversation beyond the poor to include issues of race as well.

The conceptions of at-risk students delineated above are problematic in that educational problems are located in individuals, their families, and/or their communities. These conceptions are implicitly racist and classist. Institutions and structures that help create and maintain educational inequality are left unaddressed and unexamined. Persistent social stratification in the United States is maintained in part by systems that pathologize persons based on their race, family structure, social class, geographic location, and/or first language. While the identification of certain groups of children as "at risk" can be traced back through over 200 years of public policy in the United States, these designations originally referred to children with handicaps and serious diseases, orphans and indigent children, or those who had been abused. Only very recently have the children belonging to specified ethnic, racial, and language groups been added as major "risk" categories.

Surrounding this private and personal framing of at-risk students is a discourse of meritocracy, the belief that privileges are earned and available to all who work hard enough for them. The idea that opportunities are there for the taking to all who avail

themselves of the possibilities further stigmatizes those who are not "making it." It is thought that they have only themselves to blame, and therefore any solution or problem solving is geared toward intervention on a personal basis.

This rendering of the term at-risk students points toward individualistic solutions whereby students need to try harder, cooperate more, and so on. Yet many children of privilege receive and internalize both tacit and explicit messages concerning their "right" to see their privileges perpetuated. Youth of privilege often benefit from parents who are "successes," that is, are highly educated and have accumulated wealth and resources that allow them to provide opportunities to their children. Families in the United States are virtually on their own in providing care for their children and are judged according to the same standards of success or failures as individuals are, that is, how much private wealth they can accumulate to "take care of their own."

In portraying at-risk students as those who are not able to take advantage of the opportunities of the meritocracy, the parallel concern is the image of a "domestic third world." In this conception, children who are underachievers are described as placing U.S. society at risk of becoming a "third world," inhabited by individuals who cannot contribute to the economy and, in fact, will be a drain. This description is in direct contrast to those traits valued and cultivated in the United States: independent, competitive, and self-sufficient. Left out of this analysis is the reality of domestic jobs being "outsourced" to other countries and the economic gutting of urban areas, both of which greatly impact the job prospects of the next generation of workers.

Discourses linking being "at risk" and education appear at least as early as 1983, when the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued *A Nation at Risk.* Citing a rising tide of mediocrity that threatened the very future of the nation, the report was seen as a call to action for educators, parents, and students. Concerned that the country had squandered the gains made in the wake of the Sputnik era, the commission laid at educators' feet the fear that the nation would no longer be competitive in the world market.

Billed as "an open letter to the American people," the report highlighted the conflicting demands placed on the nation's schools, whereby education and educators are asked to provide solutions to personal, social, and political problems that have not been solved elsewhere. But the recommendations coming from the commission focused on a relatively simple equation: Put more effort into one's education and experience more "payoff" for both the student and the country. These recommendations included strengthening graduation requirements, adopting more rigorous standards and higher expectations, and lengthening the school day as well as the amount of time spent on homework. Beyond this, the commission spoke to effective leadership of schools and fiscal responsibility. Ending with a word to parents and students, students were warned that they forfeit life's best chances when they withhold their best effort in learning. Parents were asked to encourage more diligent study and discourage satisfaction with mediocrity. The language of the commission and its recommendations were completely in line with a belief in the meritocracy: Hard work pays off for the student and the country; if students are not succeeding, they are settling for mediocrity. This discourse continues today, particularly as it surrounds those youth considered most "at risk" in today's society: that they are responsible for their failure and their task is to address those issues that interfere with their own school success.

More recently, the Children's Defense Fund, an advocacy group for children, offered a comprehensive examination of how children are faring in the United States. Speaking specifically regarding the state of education, founder Marian Wright Edelman noted that 40 years after a War on Poverty was declared, many minority and lower-income children still lack a fair chance to live, learn, thrive, and contribute in America. Moving the lens from the failures of individual children to the failures of a society, Edelman described the task of the country in the first decade of the twenty-first century as one of opening wide the doors of equal education and economic opportunity to every child.

This perspective is echoed in the work of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, which annually produces *Kids Count,* a state-by-state assessment of the condition of children on a number of indicators of well-being. Most recently, the president of the foundation, Douglas Nelson, singled out for attention youth who are "disconnected," that is, adolescents and young adults who are neither in school, in the workplace, nor in the military. Nelson made the case that these disconnected youth face a lifetime of challenges, including chronic unemployment. Contained within this population are subpopulations who face even more extreme risks and an even higher probability of failure: These

include, for example, those who are in foster care or are detained or incarcerated. The Annie E. Casey Foundation makes the case that if the nation could do no better, then the waste of potential of these youth would be regarded as a tragedy. Yet the very data gathered in the annual *Kids Count* data books debunk the notion that federal and state governments consider youth and their well-being as top priorities of policy initiatives.

Current statistics suggest that children in the poorest families are 6 times more likely than children in more affluent families to drop out of high school. African American, Latino, and American Indian children are overrepresented among the poor. These kinds of disaggregated statistics help sharpen the focus on who is not succeeding in school or, reframed through the lens of the Children's Defense Fund perspective, who is not offered a fair chance to live, learn, thrive, and contribute in the United States. The accuracy of the descriptions of at-risk children are not at question so much as the location of the "blame" for their circumstances.

Advocacy groups for youth locate the responsibility for the 14 million children, about 1 in 5, living in poverty in the United States in the public domain. From this vantage point, measures to address the children at risk include affordable child care, full funding of Head Start, and an increase in the minimum wage, among other interventions. These suggested interventions are in direct contrast to the argument that each family is on its own in terms of accruing the resources sufficient for their children, instead of seeing the welfare of children as part of a public trust.

In their work on children and families "at promise," Beth Blue Swadener and Sally Lubeck posed questions to redirect the "at-risk" conversation. They wondered whether, for example, families have the sole responsibility for getting children "ready" for school or whether schools should be "ready" for increasingly diverse and often marginalized children. This vantage point calls into question whether instructional programs and schools developed for a White, Anglo Saxon, English-speaking, middle-class school population can be adequate for a non-White, non–Anglo Saxon, non-English-speaking or non-middle-class population of students. And, finally, if the responsibility for placing children at risk is located at a broader societal level that includes the very institutions charged with educating them, how can these institutions be held accountable and more responsive to the needs of these marginalized children and families?

Questions such as these are based on the assumption that all children can learn and achieve school success and that no child should be labeled as a likely failure due to economic, social, or racial characteristics of families or communities. Beyond this, Swadener and Lubeck wonder what would happen if the "at-risk" label were replaced with "at-promise" and policies and programs were constructed in congruence with this latter label. What might the full implementation of such an "at-promise" view of children entail?

—Kathryn G. Herr

See also accountability; achievement tests; adolescence; affective education; Black education; brain research and practice; cognition, theories of; creativity, theories of; critical race theory; contextual teaching and learning; determinism, sociocultural; discipline in schools; discrimination; dropouts; equality, in schools; equity and adequacy of funding schools; ethnicity; ethnocentrism; expulsion, of students; high schools; individual differences, in children; intelligence; learning, theories of; literacy, theories of; mastery learning; metacognition; migrant students; motivation, theories of; multiculturalism; *A Nation at Risk;* National Assessment of Educational Progress; neuroscience; productivity; promotion, social; school improvement models; special education; standardized testing; state departments of education; systemic reform; time-on-task; tracking, of students; underachievers, in schools; vandalism in schools; violence in schools

Further Readings and References

Children's Defense Fund. (2004). *The state of America's children 2004: A continuing portrait of inequality fifty years after Brown vs. Board of Education.* Retrieved August 5, 2004, from www.childrensdefense.org

Donmoyer, R., & Kos, R. (Eds.). (1993). *At-risk students: Portraits, policies, programs, and practices.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Lewis, O. (1966). *La vida: A Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty.* New York: Vintage Books.

Lundy, G. F. (2003). The myths of oppositional culture. *Journal of Black Studies, 33,* 450–467.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform.* Retrieved August 5, 2004, from www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/title.html

Nelson, D. W. (2004). *Remarks made by Annie E. Casey Foundation President Douglas W. Nelson at the 2004 KIDS COUNT Youth Summit.* Retrieved August 5, 2004, from www.aecf.org/speeches/060304.htm

Ogbu, J. U. (1978). *Minority education and caste: The American system in cross-cultural perspective.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Ogden, E., & Germinario, V. (1988). *The at-risk student: Answers for educators.* Lancaster, PA: Technomic.

Swadener, B. B., & Lubeck, S. (Eds.). (1995). *Children and families "at promise": Deconstructing the discourse of risk.* Albany: SUNY Press.

⛪ ATTITUDES

Attitudes are defined as the conceptual beginning of opinions, which may be regarded as an expressed attitude. The fundamental difference between an opinion and an attitude is that an opinion can be defined as an observable, usually verbalized response to an issue, situation, or question, whereas an attitude is a covert, unexpressed psychological predisposition or tendency. An additional difference is that attitudes often are thought of as expressions of fundamental likes or dislikes (affects), and opinions as more cognitive conscious decisions about what or whom to support. Large-scale measurement of attitudes, particularly through survey methods, was made possible through the development of psychometric theory and related statistical methods in the early twentieth century and accelerated greatly with the availability of easily used statistical computing packages and high-speed computer equipment.

Attitudes vary along several dimensions. They may be manifest, meaning that they are openly expressed—such as attitudes about whether privatizing public school functions is desirable—or latent, in which case attitudes have not yet been formulated—as with attitudes about how to address education in a new ice age that hasn't yet happened.

Attitudes also vary in strength. Some attitudes are held very firmly, such as support for prayer in public schools, and those who hold them may battle fiercely on behalf of their viewpoints at school board meetings. Other attitudes are maintained only weakly; their holders are less likely to argue forcefully and probably are more open to change. An example of weakly held opinions might be a teacher who has a slight preference for constructivist teaching methods over other alternatives but isn't prepared to fight hard for her preference. Yet other attitudes might barely register at all, and holders of such views may have a very difficult time even articulating what they believe. Clearly, education administrators in most cases will have less to worry about regarding possible public reaction when citizens' views are barely articulated, although such issues can flare up later, when they present problems for policymakers and may stimulate conflict. For example, public views about which middle school mathematics curriculum is superior wouldn't be expected to generate much *Sturm und Drang* until a district's standardized scores drop below the 50th percentile, at which point an extraordinary amount of passion can be unleashed.

Generally, attitudes tend to be stronger the more closely attuned one is to a subject. Special education teachers in a school district are more likely than a young couple without children to feel strongly about a decision by the school board to cut costs by ending the mainstreaming of students with individual education programs. Parents who otherwise may not have much interest in public affairs can become very impassioned when they are dealing with school boards or principals about their children, who many parents would regard as the most important part of their lives.

Attitudes also vary in valence, or direction. For example, someone with generally libertarian views is more likely to oppose a principal's ban on middle school students wearing caps (ostensibly to prevent the introduction of gang symbols), whereas voters with a law-and-order mind-set are more likely to find the principal's edict more appealing. Valence is what education administrators need to worry about when public attitudes form after a particular policy decision is taken: Will the public generally favor or oppose a new school bond referendum? Is there support for building a new middle school? How strong is the opposition to busing students to achieve racial and ethnic balance?

Attitudes held by opinion leaders can be expected to have a bigger impact than views held by others. Opinion leaders are more likely to express and articulate their attitudes, and to try to convince others to agree with them. Attitudes among a more passive audience and the opinions that are articulated based on those attitudes are structured by both formal and informal opinion leaders. Formal opinion leaders exercise their talents for persuasive leadership through elected or appointed positions—for example, as school board members or superintendents—while informal opinion leaders attempt to sway others in more mundane contexts at work, at home, or by communicating through means such as letters to the editors of local newspapers. Most people, most of the time, on most issues, constitute what could be thought of as a passive attentive public—potentially engaged

on a topic (school prayer, for example) but not necessarily actively involved yet. The role of formal and informal opinion leaders is to provide the context for mobilizing more passive members of the public and to stimulate thought and action.

Attitudes are measured in a variety of ways, generally in the form of opinions expressed in response to survey questions. Probably the most commonly used questionnaire items employ the Likert set of ordered alternatives, generally arranged monotonically from most favorable to least favorable. Another commonly used procedure is the semantic differential, which presents items along a continuum with antonymic pairs of terms at the extremes. Examples would be:

The No Child Left Behind legislation is:

Needed										Unneeded
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

The Empire State building is:

Beautiful										Ugly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Generally, several such Likert or semantic differential items are included in a survey and factor analysis (extraction of principal components, commonly followed by rotation of the components to achieve clearer interpretability), and reliability measures (e.g., Cronbach's alpha) are employed to ascertain the number of dimensions represented by the set of items and whether the items form a monotonic scale. Scales can be formed in a number of other ways, including by adding the number of "yes" responses to a series of dichotomous items.

—Mack C. Shelley

See also affective domain; attitudes toward work; behaviorism; behavior, student; brain research and practice; cognition, theories of; consideration, caring; contextual teaching and learning; egocentrism, theories of; Gallup Polls, on public education; learning environments; literacy, theories of; mastery learning; metacognition; motivation, theories of; neuroscience; social psychology; values pluralism, in schools

Further Readings and References

Nunnaly, J. (1978). *Psychometric theory.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1955). The principles of congruity in the prediction of attitude change. *Psychology Review, 62,* 42–55.
Oskamp, S. (1977). *Attitudes and opinions.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001). *Using multivariate statistics* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
Yeric, J. L., & Todd, J. R. (1996). *Public opinion: The visible politics* (3rd ed.). Itasca, IL: Peacock.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

An *attitude* is a mental position, feeling, or emotion toward a fact or state. Attitudes toward work are the mental positions, feelings, or emotions that employees associate with work and the workplace.

In the classical perspective on organizations, employees are viewed generally as having negative attitudes toward work. The classical perspective is based on the view that employees are "basically lazy" and "motivated almost entirely by money." Thus, management needs to keep firm control over employees and closely supervise their work to increase employee productivity.

The classical view is fundamental to Douglas McGregor's 1960 Theory X, which assumes that:

- Human beings inherently dislike work and will avoid it when possible.
- Employees then must be closely supervised, directed, or threatened to ensure that they maintain an adequate work effort to achieve the organization's objectives.
- The average employee prefers direction from those in charge in order to avoid responsibility.
- Most employees have little ambition and value job security more than any other job factor.

The human resource development perspective, on the other hand, is based on the view that employees share common needs for belonging, recognition, and respect and want to contribute effectively and creatively to work that is worthwhile and meaningful. Michael Maccoby wrote in 1988 that employees' positive attitudes toward work are influenced by feelings of trust, caring, meaning, self-knowledge, challenge, opportunity for personal growth, and dignity. Leadership needs to develop an environment where employees can contribute their talents to the accomplishment of organizational goals.

The human resource development view is basic to McGregor's 1960 Theory Y, which assumes that:

- Employees view work as natural and accept it if it is satisfying to them.
- When employees feel committed to the goals of the organization, they will exercise initiative, self-direction, and self-control.
- Under the right conditions, the average employee not only accepts responsibility but seeks it.
- The average employee values creativity and looks for opportunities to be creative at work.

In a Theory Y work environment, autonomy and a sense of control and empowerment are important factors in employees' positive attitudes toward work.

Shared values also influence work attitudes and performance. In 1985, Barry Posner, James Kouzes, and W. H. Schmidt found that shared values foster strong feelings of personal effectiveness, promote high levels of company loyalty, and foster pride in the company. Shared values facilitate understanding about job expectations and consensus about key organizational goals and stakeholders. Shared values also encourage ethical behavior, promote strong norms about working hard and caring, and foster teamwork and esprit de corps.

Not only do leaders want employees with positive attitudes, but employees want leaders with positive attitudes. When leaders are enthusiastic, energetic, and have a positive attitude about the future of the organization, they make the context of work more meaningful and employees are more likely to buy into organizational goals. In addition, positive attitudes can sustain people through difficult and challenging times. There is also evidence that a leader's credibility influences employee attitudes toward work and work behavior. Credibility is the power to inspire belief. Employees want to be able to believe in their leaders. When workers perceive their immediate managers to have high credibility, they are more likely to be proud to tell others they are part of an organization. However, when managers are perceived as having low credibility, employees generally feel unsupported and unappreciated. They are more likely to be productive only if they are watched. They are motivated primarily by money and would consider looking for another job if the organization were having problems. They would also say good things about the organization in public but criticize it privately.

There is a distinction between *a job* and *work.* A job is doing tasks for pay. Work, on the other hand, involves one's inner being. Employees' positive attitudes toward work are influenced by the meaningfulness of their work. Research on workplace spirituality acknowledges that when employees feel a sense of wholeness and a strong connection to coworkers and others associated with work, and sense consistency between their personal core beliefs and the values of the organization, employee attitudes toward work are more positive.

—Judith A. Ponticell

See also affective domain; career stages; consideration, caring; esprit (school climate); esteem needs; involvement, in organizations; job descriptions; motivation, theories of; personnel management; satisfaction, in organizations and roles; working conditions, in schools

Further Readings and References

Maccoby, M. (1988). *Why work?* New York: Simon & Schuster.

McGregor, D. M. (1960). *The human side of enterprise.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Posner, B. Z., Kouzes, J. M., & Schmidt, W. H. (1985). Shared values make a difference: An empirical test of corporate culture. *Human Resource Management, 24,* 293–310.

AUTHORITY

Authority is often considered to be the ability to demand obedience or influence the actions, opinions, and beliefs of others. Modern definitions of power, authority, and influence are commonly used interchangeably. Power is not reserved for only the leadership, but can be exercised by individuals at all levels within and outside an organization. Teachers, students, and parents, for example, may be able to influence the behavior and policy formulation of administrators and boards of education. Authority, however, is power vested to individuals as a consequence of their official position or rank within an organization, such as the authority a sergeant may be able to exercise over a private in the military. Organizations typically include many people who are able to exercise power because of their knowledge or access to information; however, authentic authority is reserved only for persons holding formal positions. Although there are a variety of different components that define authority, the most popular definitions examined by students in educational administration fall within the framework of "authentic authority," as proposed by the German sociologist Max Weber during the early 1900s.

Weber regarded authority as comprising three types of legitimate power that is accepted circumstantially by followers: legal-rational, traditional, and charismatic.

LEGAL-RATIONAL AUTHORITY

According to Weber, legal-rational authority is legitimized by complex, usually written, rules laid out in the form of constitutions, statutes, and other sources of societal law. This form of authority is found not only in governmental settings but is also prevalent in defining the organization and control of most large corporations as well. Authority is vested to superiors by specific legal parameters that serve to structure the positions or offices they hold.

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

The foundation for traditional authority lies in the preservation of the social order as it has existed throughout history. Obligations of followers are based on personal loyalty to the ruler whose governance is legitimized by traditional rules and regulations. Obedience is unswerving among the faithful and adheres to the doctrine of "The Divine Right of Kings." Some examples of traditional authority include ruling families, the feudal systems in early Europe and Asia, some family businesses, and various tribal organizations. It is interesting to note that the ruler is also bound by the same traditional regulations as the subjects and any deviation from this norm would erode the legitimacy of his authority.

CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY

Charismatic authority results in the devotion of followers to an individual based upon his or her character, heroism, or gifts of grace. These leaders are obeyed because of certain divine gifts or unusual qualities they possess, such as revelations from God, extraordinary intelligence, and powerful speech. Examples of the charismatic leader include war heroes, prophets, and visionaries. Allegiance to the charismatic leader lasts only as long as the followers ascribe special qualities to him or her.

Weber's conception of authority focused on the relationships between the leader and follower and not attributes of the leader alone. He understood also that types of legitimate authority may overlap and be evident in the styles of certain leaders.

—Jerry M. Lowe

See also chain of command; division of labor; hierarchy, in organizations; leadership, complex theory of; leadership, theories of; leadership effectiveness; leadership styles; management theories; power; power, remunerative; principalship; span of control; stewardship; superintendency; table of organization; Weber, Max

Further Readings and References

Collins, R. (1986). *Max Weber: A skeleton key.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Diggins, J. P. (1996). *Max Weber: Politics and the spirit of tragedy.* New York: Basic Books.

Schroeder, R. (1992). *Max Weber and the sociology of culture.* London: Sage.

AXIOMATIC THEORY

For a theory to be axiomatic, it must follow a deductive logic flow, from major premise, to minor premise, to logically deduced consequences. Adapted from Euclidian mathematics and later enhancements, applications of axiomatic theory to education and the social sciences express a model as a set of formally presented linguistic statements, in which new concepts are introduced through definitions, assertions about the model are stated as theorems, and those assertions then are proved from the axioms, which may be considered to be either truths or just assumptions.

A classic example of axiomatic logic is the set of three statements:

1. All humans are mortal (major premise).

2. Socrates is a human (minor premise).

3. Therefore, Socrates is mortal (logically deduced conclusion).

This syllogistic set of self-contained, logical statements leads ineluctably to the conclusion that any person you can name is going to die at some point. Although that may seem to state only the obvious, the point is that an axiomatic approach to theory is based on logical deduction, rather than on empirical support or proof. In contrast, an empirical theory would be one grounded in observation, generalizing inductively, from the "bottom-up," rather than deductively, from the "top down." Even more to the point, axiomatic logic holds that even if the major and minor premises are not necessarily true, what really matters is whether

the axiomatic system leads generally to correct predictions or conclusions.

In social science and education research, axiomatic theories may be applied in almost any context. For example, an axiomatic theory of how members of the electorate might vote on a school bond referendum might go something like this:

Major premises:

A1: Voting-age residents of the school district are more likely to be interested if they have children in school.

A2: Residents with children in school are more likely to be interested in the school bond referendum.

A3: Upper-income people are more likely to have the time to engage in political activity.

A4: Upper-income people are less likely to support a tax increase, because they have the most to lose and the most to want to protect.

Minor Premises:

a1: Residents with children in school are more likely to show up and vote on election day.

a2: Voter turnout is likely to be highest among higher-income residents who have schoolchildren.

a3: Wealth may make a voter less likely to vote for the bond issue, but residents with children in school are likely to support the referendum.

Logically deduced conclusion:

To maximize the probability of the bond referendum passing, it would be best to stimulate voter turnout among the part of the electorate who have kids in school but moderate to lower incomes.

Axiomatic theories may or may not lead to conclusions that have a high degree of predictive validity. In this example, it remains to be seen if higher-income residents really do oppose the tax or whether this thinking leads to a winning strategy.

The structures of axiomatic theories have been applied to a wide array of social science areas of research, including game theory and models of bargaining economics, linguistics, and educating gifted children.

—*Mack C. Shelley*

See also Aristotle; economics, theories of; giftedness, gifted education; logic, history and use of in educational leadership; problem solving

Further Readings and References

Aguilar, V. (1999). *Axiomatic theory of economics.* Commack, NY: Nova Science.

Mulder, J. W. F., & Hervey, S. G. J. (1980). *The strategy of linguistics: Papers on the theory and methodology of axiomatic functionalism.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Ward, V. S. (1980). *Educating the gifted: An axiomatic approach.* Ventura: CA: Ventura County Superintendent of Schools Office.