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A SLOW WALK INTO HIGHER EDUCATION

City University of New York

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A SLOW WALK INTO HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Irma Diamond Newmark

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1983

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IRMA DIAMOND NEWMARK

1983

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

A SLOW WALK INTO HIGHER EDUCATION

by

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A special kind of education will be needed to meet the needs and desires of a large segment of hitherto under-represented adult students. Programs can be designed to help overcome the logistical, family, financial, and academic problems unique to their situation.

Perpetuating the present apparatus of the educational bureaucracy preserves the structural "fixedness" of the academic community and may be a stumbling block to the development of realistic programming for culturally alienated groups.

A "Slow Walk" into higher education, on a path of flexible school structure and step-progression education, is one means of improving college services to disadvantaged adult students to help them survive in a middle-class industrial society.

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Chapter 1INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will define a continuing education program model for adult undergraduates and the colleges that serve them. The program was organized in response to specific needs. It was planned as a series of structured answers to the difficulties experienced by a small private college when it could not attract new adult students to its classes. College administration sought a new approach to recruiting.

This dovetailed with the needs of a potential student body, mature people who often found it difficult to attend classes at the college during the specified times, but wanted an education.

The college's need to expand its student body and the adult students' increased aspiration for higher education was the catalyst for the creation of the model program.

Jencks and Riesman (1968) have wryly defined a general contemporary situation in higher education. They observe that "Students' desire for social mobility fits together with educators' desire to build colleges." They view this as the overall problem of the relationship between higher education and American society today (Jencks & Reisman, 1968).

In addition to these specific desires, there is a general need for an educated citizenry to tackle difficult social problems such as relations between blacks and whites, men and women, the economy, unemployment, urban blight, international relations, etc. There is a general consensus that universities are partially responsible for solving these problems and that an educated community is needed to deal with these complicated problems.

The adult clientele in the university is highly motivated to learn. Their incentives include the opportunity for vocational advancement, a desire to close the gap in earlier schooling, individual intellectual self-development, financial benefits, and a desire for social mobility (Ziegler, 1966).

The educator's goal is to give the adult student broad general knowledge and the professional training needed to gain competence and achieve his potential (Ziegler, 1966).

However, there is a large gap between student motivation and the realization of these goals. For no matter how good the intentions of colleges, students, faculty, and administrators, the problems inherent in the university system make the realization of ideal goals difficult.

The trouble resides in the structure of the university itself.

Parsons and Platt (1973), Etzioni (1961), Barton (1968), Feldman and Newcomb (1969), Morison (1966), and Brown and Goldin (1973) have all attempted to clarify exactly which element of university structure creates educational and administrative problems.

The issues revolve around two core ambiguities:

1. The university has a "mission"--What is it? Who defines it? The question revolves around the dichotomy between pure knowledge and research, or community involvement and applied knowledge--with all the issues, benefits, and costs accruing to each perspective.
2. The university competes for resources. This is due to its need for external financial support--however, it seeks to avoid external control and regulation.

What happens to its traditional "ivory tower" quality, and the autonomous collegiality (which is the basis of pure research), when this external constituency extends its control to the heart of the university?

Furthermore, the nature and destiny of the institution often affects the interests of the community. The issue of where and how the university can appropriately

apply its intelligence and influence in the community is at issue.

Some, like Parsons and Platt (1973) and Illich (1971), advocate a new form of university in order to include wider segments of the society in its orbit such as the poor, minorities, and women.

This is a new college constituency who have been studying in a parallel educational structure--the adult education system.

Adult education in America has many meanings. It is now being referred to as Continuing Education--a term that connotes life-long learning. It includes a vast array of credit and non-credit coursework both in the university and in the community. No comprehensive plan or theory has guided its growth. It has responded to the diversity of American society and to the needs of the moment in mid-20th century American life (Ziegler, 1966).

In this paper, I suggest that a unified perspective of continuing educational programs is needed--one that views the university as a public educational resource open to all.

Ivan Illich describes what he calls the hidden curriculum--the structure underlying what has been called the certification effect (Illich, 1971). Illich

is referring to the structure of schooling

which demands that people of a certain age assemble in groups of about thirty under the authority of a professional teacher for from five hundred to a thousand times a year. It does not matter if the teacher is authoritarian so long as it is the teacher's authority that counts; it does not matter if all meetings occur in the same place so long as they are somehow understood as attendance. The hidden curriculum of school..teaches... that society entitlements depend on rank. It...gives knowledge certificates, which are accepted as an avenue to greater power, and increased legitimacy...and is accepted by the liberal pedagogue.

Illich suggests that "ritual schooling" is symptomatic of deeper social ailments felt by a discontented citizenry, and advocates alternative institutional arrangements, with emphasis on an alternate conception of learning.

These observations strike a note that are reflected in the model of fluid education--which reaches out to people in their own communities and structures time arrangements in cooperation with students themselves.

In this paper, I describe a new program that addresses some of the issues involved in what Illich calls the hidden curriculum.

The program has a flexible structure, offering remedial work, introductory courses, and a full liberal arts curriculum. The program is designed to bring the adult

student into the orbit of the university--within a time plan that fits the student's community and family life.

The perceived value of experiments like this for the students is described in interviews with a sample of students who were asked about their motivations for going to school, their reactions to the school experience, and their goals for achieving the liberal arts degree.

The program was described by students as giving them an increased sense of self-development and hope for new work possibilities.

The value of the model to colleges, however, is ambiguous. The chief benefit is in including a new age group into the boundaries of higher education, which allows the college to meet the rising expectations of new students who may be older, minorities, or women.

An added benefit to colleges is the low cost of the program. In a competitive atmosphere, this is a valued component.

On the other hand, a cost to the college is the deeper need for government funding necessary to support the venture, and therefore further submission to government control and regulation. For that reason, the college in the model both valued the program and was disturbed by it.

I believe the program, even with its problems, is worthwhile, and that the benefits outweigh the costs, both to the college and the undergraduates. Programs like this can make a contribution as one innovative solution to the crisis of the definition of the university...a crisis which arises from the "mission and competition" nature of the structure of the institution.

However, the success of the model would require some pre-conditions--a perspective that must be held by all: Education should be viewed as a public resource--open to all, and it should be understood that adult students will take full part in decision-making and program planning from inception to completion of the coursework.

In this spirit, I attempt to define a fluid education model embodied in an experimental demonstration project--a project called "The Mobile School."

Chapter 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Various attempts are being made today to describe the contemporary university. Parsons and Platt (1973) describe it as a community of intellectuals, where coercion and special interests are secondary. Etzioni stresses normative control and compliance as the unifying force in the university (Etzioni, 1961), an ideological position, and Eckerman (1963) believes that the principal mechanisms of control in the university are coercive control, structural constraint, and non-academic values.

Underlying these various definitions of the contemporary university's situation are "accounts" of the nature of the institution by its officials--of shared ideals, legitimacy, social control, and reasonableness. The "accounts" are often of a neutral, independent, normatively centered organization. Although the university is a large, contemporary, complex organization, many believe that the idealized, traditional description of the contemporary academic world mainly refers to the status position of tenured faculty and advanced students, who are in a privileged position in the structure (Barton, 1968; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969).

The university differs from other organizations by accounts of acts of control by officials in the organization

(Brown & Goldin, 1973). It also differs from other organizations in that it has a "mission"--a value generalization that is intermingled with its maintenance function (Parsons, 1973), and serves as a stabilizing force to its diverse activities. However, when this value-generalization is held in question, it can polarize the university and produce a crisis of belief, which has been evident in recent years.

The changes in the contemporary university in recent years have engendered various crises for the activities of its diverse subsections.

The structure of the university has been described as a complex organization (Brown & Goldin, 1973; Parsons, 1973; Morison, 1966), and its diversity usually is described in relation to its various functions both inside the university and in relation to the society around it.

Brown and Goldin see the university as a large organization, an agency for social control, which competes for resources, and is therefore dependent on society for financial, legal, and organizational aid. It is in the society external to the walls of academia that new sources of funding emerge, due to the growth of science disciplines and applied fields in the university. The growth of science and social science, research and its application, is in fact, according to Brown and Goldin, the growth of external control over the internal life of the university. In the external environment, societal issues

impinge on the campus. The questions about the purpose of research, who it serves, and what its products are brings a climate of criticism both on and off the campus. Thus, the emergence of issues in the society has as a corollary effect, the disaffection of students who believe that the "accounts" of university officials about the autonomy and non-partisan character of the institution were not a myth, but a fact.

The various constituencies in the contemporary university today find themselves forced to face the fact of the interdependence of the "autonomous" university and the society around it.

More than this, university officials (Clark Kerr, 1966) describe the growth of the university as a diversified system, growing higgeldy, piggeldy, along with its shifting involvement in the life of society and its involvement with the federal government. It is an "uncontrollable" process--a "frantic race to remain contemporary." Robert S. Morison (1966) declares that change is occurring rapidly, there are new conceptions of talent, new financial support sources, and geographical inequalities in higher education.

We get a picture of the merging of many factors in a multi-functional university setting--experiencing an explosion of growth, found to be uncontrollable by faculty and barely controllable by administration.

Another facet of the contemporary university is its rationalization of organization. Administration views the structure as a bureaucracy, and there is a managerial revolution, which brings more central control, bureaucratically administered by managers. This trend is a shift in power on campus away from faculty, who have become mobile in response to the stress on research and its application, and are becoming more cosmopolitan.

They thus find it difficult to attend committee meetings and faculty-student conferences, and political control of the university shifts to the managers and fund-raisers, both inside and outside the walls of academia.

The immediate result of these shifts in the balance of power on campus is the definition of the university as a complex organization, and the social structure of the university itself becomes an issue in society and academia.

We find organizational alienation of students and faculty, and the crystallization of status on campus. However, at the same time, there remains the persistence in the minds of students and others of the myth of the university as an autonomous entity, having freedom of academic action. In some cases this is true, for there remains within the exploding contemporary university a persistent core of the traditional unit--viewed as autonomous, aloof from the society, producing knowledge for its own sake.

Rostow (1968) observed that size transforms organizations and yields new functions, structural arrangements, operations, and perspectives. In the university today, there are increased student enrollments, changes in relation to the size and differentiation of managerial staff. These are indications of what is happening to the institution. It has been called an "action bureaucracy" (Krausse, 1968), providing higher education--which has become a secondary concern. An analysis of its dominant concerns clearly illuminates the strong relationship between the university and the society. The emphasis is on disciplines related to service fields for society, like teaching, applied research, and social science (Benson, 1966); the undergraduate degrees given are chiefly in the fields of Education, Social Science, Business, and English, and the main Doctorates given are in Physical Science, Engineering, and Education (Skolnick, 1969; Benson, 1966). Parsons and Platt (1973) delineated the components of colleges, their type, size, location, and prestige, and showed their relation to other organizations in the society, such as the federal, state, and city governments, private foundations, neighborhood groups, government agencies, and religious organizations, and other schools. They noted that the university is not self-supporting, and therefore needs subsidies (Parsons and Platt, 1973). If funding and support

is from the government, then the power over the standards and content and discipline of the university is by the government. Therefore, the former college, the aloof, autonomous entity, interested mainly in knowledge for its own sake, finds itself competing for money, status, and skilled personnel in order to survive.

However, the university does not offer a political constituency to the funding bodies, for its rewards are circular, and it feeds rewards back to its own structure--its investment is in order to enhance itself. It follows that since the university represents and symbolizes cultural standards, it must justify itself in conventional cultural terms; it is like a celebrity who must maintain himself as a public image to succeed. Furthermore, Metzger (1955) has observed that American businessmen have become the entrepreneurs in higher education, the new patrons of the university. At the end of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century, American business began to support universities. This initiative in providing funds and deciding their general purpose caused an entirely new relationship to form between the university and the economic sector of society. It became necessary for the business patrons to receive signs of gratitude, and disloyalty to them by university personnel was not to be tolerated (Metzger, 1955).

Thus, Minter (1966) observed that the campus is now, in fact, a part of the economic, political, social, cultural environment, as opposed to a community of detached scholars controlled by normative values.

Public universities depend on government budgets, regulations, and subsidizing, and are accountable to the political organization of the state. This contemporary relationship influences the functions of the university, and how the process is organized. Processes of campus governance, curriculum, academic standards, and the ordering of academic priorities were changed by this dependence on government and the political parties' patronage. Both private universities and public now have a different criterion to evaluate students, select faculty, and make settlements on internal disputes. These criteria must now realistically relate to the exigencies of the public mind and its empathetic understanding of what is actually happening on the campus.

Samuel Gould (1966) remarked that the state can: give expanded authority to the university or take it away, cut or increase budgets, investigate the institution or create new legislation regarding the university. It can, in fact, destroy the organization. On the other hand it can force new enrollments, cut enrollments, and create new professional chairs. The state now has the power to use its own judgment

on surveillance over what is subversive or unorthodox, and utilize its own opinion to determine which of these powers it shall use, when, and over whom.

The line of power in California, for example, is that the autonomous branches of the University of California are subordinate to a central board, which is accountable to the state government. Public institution is supported thus as a public trust, which requires "accountability" to all whom it serves or is served by (Aldrich, 1966). This is a network of constraint on the university, for the co-ordinating council for higher education reviews budgets, interprets functions and systems, presents comments to the governor, develops plans for new faculties. This constraining function is viewed as part of the master plan for higher education in California, and is implemented by the state legislature. Then, too, accrediting organizations, professional associations, and other agencies exercise constraint on the university.

It is no wonder that Brown and Goldin (1973) believe that the university is not free. It is constrained by its patronage needs, and its interconnections with the sources of funding, the national, state, and local governments that it serves.

However, if there were to be a revolution in these relationships between the university and the society, the school might have the opportunity to become an autonomous

agency to promote the national welfare.

For enlargement of the university has been also on classic bureaucratic lines.

The socialization of administrators directly into managers, and the existence of professional administrators has created a new field in higher education. This is the opposite of the more traditional caretaker role of past administrators (those who take care of, and care about). Now there are new, co-ordinated executive powers that are more instrumental, there is a realignment of priorities and commitments, and a redefinition of the university in terms of the rationalization of managerial practice. Thus, we find ourselves with a chartered entity--the academic system, under surveillance by state officials, budget officers, comptrollers, purchasing agents, the legislator and auditors, and find the university legally less important than its relationships with them. This encourages formality, enlargement of the site and practice of administration, and the emergence of new values, norms, structures, and loyalties (McConell, 1966). Administration, now a nonacademic specialty, thinks in terms of outputs--an economic concept (Temmer, 1969).

The general character and nature of the university, then, becomes cosmopolitan, with local administration taking on matters of local jurisdictions, and the state finance officers making decisions on educational programs, faculty

salaries, and admissions policies--a system of remote control.

Thus, the effect on the university is a new distribution of power on campus, with the governing board, president and his principal administrators taking a major role.

Brown and Goldin (1973) delineate the ambiguous role of faculty, leaving decisions to managerial jurisdiction, and leaving the hierarchy of priorities to be decided by the administrators. Scarce resources are then distributed by management--resources like space, personnel, and materials.

Administrative concern in the contemporary university has shifted away from the school to the men to whom they are accountable. The people they manage become a secondary concern.

The crisis of the 1960s on campus, involving the issue of student rights, due process in regard to university disciplinary actions, the role of the university in relation to its surrounding community, and the role of the university in its involvement in military research, was a crisis due much to the shift in priorities away from undergraduate education to government-sponsored patronage for research. Local decision-making on campus was largely affected by the larger political strategy of a more centralized, bureaucratized administration. The crystallization of statuses on campus, and the insulation of the managers from the students (and often

from the faculty), had coercive potential, which was realized on many large campuses, like Columbia University, Queens College, and the University of California at Berkeley. The strategy the centralized administration used to deal with student unrest was to "trade-in" on the now ambiguous role of faculty, who had not recently been involved in the governance of the college body, insulated themselves from students, and reemphasized the university administration as the primary decision-maker in the university. The coercive potential of university officials resulted in a hardening of the lines and differences between the professional and academic community, and the managerial group (Wallis, 1966; Vaccaro, 1969).

Administrators are bureaucrats, conservative in outlook, and are committed to order on campus--and although these orientations are divergent from those of faculty and students, they do indeed mesh with student goals toward social mobility, and professorial goals of cosmopolitanism as a style in their own work (Brown & Goldin, 1973).

The 1960s saw academic confrontation between students and administrators--with students attempting to reform the university to enable them to make their own choices of curriculum, student activities, admissions policies, and involve themselves in decision-making regarding the governance of the university. Instead, the university experienced the consolidation of rule. The issue of whether or not students

might take a stand opposed to that of administration is made subordinate to the increased autonomy of the university, with administration legitimizing political organizations, or withholding permission to participate in them from students.

Parsons and Platt (1973) note that the principle of free discussion in controversy is traded off with increased autonomy.

The result is a new public scrutiny of higher education, and its outgrowth, the emergence of a heavy research industry. There has also been a rapid development of the service and applied disciplines, an expansion of the university as a socializer, and a shift in patronage from the public to the private sector (Brown and Goldin, 1973).

With the advent of World War II, the war economy demanded that the entire country mobilize behind its central purposes, and all efforts were coordinated in order not to violate the concepts of stability and social order.

The faculty finds itself involved mainly in research and consultation--for their own promotion is dependent on these options. The university uses an officially sponsored, heavy research industry for measuring faculty performance and the justification for dispensing either rewards or demerits to faculty (Brown and Goldin, 1973).

The contemporary university is now defined by its output. Productivity is an evaluation criterion, and the university becomes, in effect, a knowledge factory with its major

and most powerful constitutencies being groups other than students. Government and business are the new constituencies, students are relegated to a more minor role, and faculty seeks academic security, and uses intellectual weapons for political action (Brown and Goldin, 1973).

By the end of the 1960s, the university is in the hands of managers, and from their perspective teaching is less important than research (Rossi, 1966).

The division between teaching and research is a new professional mode. Faculty options are divided between the cosmopolitan option of research, which involved travel and working on problems external to the university, and the local option of teaching and local committee work with students (Ridgeway, 1968; Wallis, 1966; Morison, 1966; Rossi, 1966).

C. Wright Mills (1959) notes that in America at this time, the technician is being held in esteem over the intellectual.

The "meaning" of this stress on external problems and heavy research is different to different segments of the university.

To the university administrators, it promotes competition, but it also forces them to control by government over the distribution of facilities and the relative strength of its disciplines. There is control over its curricula and standards of performance. The prestige of the university

depends on the publications of the faculty--another product of the knowledge factory.

The faculty member enjoys the fact that it provides him with a setting that is entrepreneurial and meritocratic.

There is increased prestige and income, and increased opportunity for professional advancement.

The nature of the mission is altered, and university organizational structure is altered, by the shift to the stress on research. The Cox Commission (Skolnick, 1969) defines two new issues in the university:

1. The ideology of the official order of society as it relates to university.
2. The constituencies of the university.

If these two aspects of the university are in flux--then what is the role of the university in the application of the knowledge it produces?

The enormity of the change is suggested by the fact that in 1964, organizational research commanded 85% of the federal funds for higher education (Benson, 1966).

The consequences of these shifts in university purpose and structure by the 1970s was the shift in control of the university by the political and economic sectors of the society--with funds coming from the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, Space, and National Aeronautics (Ridgeway, 1968).

Indirectly, these sources of funds affected colleges and became the locus of confrontation between students and university (Rossi, 1966; Ridgeway, 1968).

The application of knowledge has become a first priority on campus, and the education and socialization of student constituencies a secondary priority. Etzioni (1961) defines students as "lower participants."

The concept of university autonomy and freedom became a principle of control by administration, rather than a normative concept in a community of scholars (Malia, 1965; Taylor, 1965; Bell, 1968).

Although since the end of World War II the university has been described as having autonomy, and Etzioni (1961) believes authority fully legitimized by shared values, limits are enforced in the interests of stability. Constraints upon the university are practiced by government in the areas of hiring, personnel review, promotion, the giving out of duties, and firing of personnel (Caplow and McGee, 1958). Constraints are paired with determination of policy on budget, curriculum, and personnel in an atmosphere of insulation of administration from faculty and students (Brown & Goldin, 1973).

The relationship of the student to the university is changed, for as Parsons and Platt (1973) say the university is now a place for students to become cultivated or learn the practice of rationality. Competitive grading and curriculum

channelling guides students' lives. Administrators control students by techniques of suspension, selective financing, restricting campus groups, and removal of the due process system. The power of administration is solidified. The ideal of academic freedom is reinterpreted by bureaucratic administration as freedom of the academy to protect itself against conflict and the protection of its own functioning. Political alliances are formed between administration and external agencies providing funding, and between faculty and administration (Eichel et al, 1970). Faculty self-interest brings with it a conservative bent of mind.

The question becomes--is the university a control agency--existing to socialize undergraduates into official ideologues, and to do research to apply its knowledge to official goals, or is the university an agent of social change?

Much of the student crisis of the 1960s related to the new roles taken by faculty and management...the new patronage system on campus. The neutralization of faculty, and the domination by management of the university was a condition of student life, and the main section of student protest (Brown and Goldin, 1973). The reaction against a larger system of control of the university showing itself in police at Queens College, C.U.N.Y, and at Columbia, at Berkeley (Donner, 1969; New York Times, June 4, 1968), was ample evidence of the coercive control of a centralized administration.

The myth of a community of scholars in a normatively organized entity was exposed by the contrast between the liberal university tradition before the anti-communism of the 1950s, and the bureaucracy, patronage, and coercive control of the 1960s.

The issue of the "rights" of students was swamped under the new power of the alliances between business and government, and the new emergence of research as a primary function of the university acted as a base for the growth of the university.

Caplow and McGee (1958) describe processes that led up to the confrontation between students and administration. They trace how faculty wanted to upgrade the professional quality of the discipline, and so supported a path of caution and self-protection. As the university officials were the main participants in official affairs, the professors withdrew from the controversy. This brought more surveillance and control. However, the private colleges did not feel the impact as much as the public colleges, for they were privately funded and were more insulated from the need to conform to public policy (Lazarsfeld & Thielens, 1958).

The processes of silencing dissent and dependence on public patronage changed the nature of the university at this point. The cost of programs, problems of channelling

students, and the need for more protected research establishments became more important. The university found itself open to external control (for it was not unified), and external agencies were able to exert control over internal processes of the university (Metzger, 1955; Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1958; Minter, 1966; Brown and Goldin, 1973).

The student movement of the 1960s proved to be a late reaction to the new goals and authority patterns in the university; however, they raised basic questions which still have not been answered:

1. What is the nature of the university?
2. How shall the uses of the university be determined in relation to basic problems of America--like racism, sexism, poverty?
3. What is the proper relationship between the university and the society around it?
4. What are the proper constituencies with which the university should interact?

The Issue of Constituencies

In an editorial in the faculty union newspaper, the Clarion, the issue of what are proper student constituencies for the multi-university is raised. The various comments and suggestions show the variety of opinions and the vagueness

of the general purposes of the multi-university today. For if the purposes and functions of the university were clearly defined, the question of student constituencies would be clarified.

Some of the issues mentioned are couched as criticism of the university by external constituencies. External constituencies, now believing the university and its products to be in the public domain, have a say in the activities of the entity. The paper identifies them as "the enemy."

The enemy is a strange coalition of forces in American society which has suddenly found strength in mutual support. It is the common sense advocate who must see a specific job at the end of every course of study; the beleaguered taxpayer who has been convinced that higher education, especially research, is a waste of his money; the supernationalist who believes the teaching of varied political and economic systems weakens the American will, and the intellectual elitist who is convinced that higher education belongs rightfully to the few. In an article entitled "Democracy as a Disease?" a dean of the school of General Studies at Columbia University in April Change Magazine asserts that "higher education is best reserved for those of exceptional ability."

(Clarion, 1979)

The "enemy"--that strange coalition of forces in American society--has become felt as an enemy by the university community since the university has become a public issue and taken on public identity. This new public identity has brought with it a reexamination of the functions of the university--especially in relation to its constituencies and

public--both within and outside of the university. The issue of the rights of undergraduates, swamped under the alliance between business, government, and university, and the primacy given to research, emerges as the question of the various functions of the university, and of what happens at the boundaries of the structure itself--the issue of open access to the multi-universities training programs and reward systems.

Parsons and Platt (1973) have analyzed the functions of the multi-university, and looking at its parameters may help to clarify some of the issues involved in constituency-formation in the university.

Parsons defines the multi-university as one of dynamic process and in crisis. He sees intelligence and influence as the money of higher education, which is enacted in a structural bundle. The university of today, with its stress on research, needs reevaluating--the academic community itself, with its stratification, authority structure, and bases of evaluation, and the complaints of students about grading, competition, meritocracy, and the various rights and functions of faculties and students.

What is the aim of the undergraduate educational structure--to educate the elite, or to encourage open access to the university? The practical involvement of the university

in professional training overloads the bundle, and the university finds itself a bundle of related structures--functionally differentiated--but packaged together.

The full university is a combination of functions in a single institution--many of these functions are performed by a single faculty, for the graduate and undergraduate centers are not separated, and faculty performs a double function here. Also, teaching and research are equal obligations, and these combined functions are a source of strain between students and faculty.

All parts of the institution face competition for staff simultaneously, and finally, even though there are many diverse units within the entity, there is a homogeneity of values, producing a situation where the smaller colleges must compete with the larger ones and attempt to maintain the same standards.

This bundle was developed around two foci--that of influence (involved with the diversity of the university and its relation to the society around it), and intelligence (which unites its functions on a social and cultural level).

One of the major factors in the exponential growth of the university in recent years is the fact that the 1200 four-year colleges and universities in this country have no central agency of support or control (like an education

ministry) but rather, a plurality of supporters, like alumni, students, state, local, and federal governments, private foundations, and the general support of the public.

Therefore, the higher education system must influence (convince) all of these publics to support it. Higher education must remain connected to these groups, and thus it finds itself involved in both the economic market and the influence market. These relations are optional, however, and so the university has an opportunity to define new shifting relationships. This is possible because there is relative fluidity and mutuality of access of the participants of the university bundle to each other--and within the university there are diverse opportunities and participations of the various constituencies with each other.

There is access to peers and faculty members, which creates a legitimacy of access. This is necessary due to the diversity of the structural bundle which is the multi-university today.

This bundle is often "messy" for this fluidity, and mutuality is acted out in a multiplicity of functions which means a differentiated influence market for all potentially interested parties drawing from potentially interested spectrums of interests at all levels of society.

On the value level, higher education is seen as a

legitimately open system in general exchange with the community, and is viewed as an open forum for ideas, speakers, and practical matters. These forms of access have two consequences. They increase the influence of the system over the population and external organizations, and also make the university open to criticism from both left and right.

The criticisms relate to access to the university-- problems of the boundaries of the system at its outer edge, to the role of faculty, and roles of other constituents of the university.

However, if the problem of the university's extension into the influence and economic markets are criticized still, if the university isolated its functions from public interaction, the broad influence market vis-a-vis the general public would suffer. Both local activities (the undergraduate function) and cosmopolitan activities (research) offer contacts to the community, making the university a national and even an international system.

The university can develop a wide range of significant outputs into the society. Some of these outputs are: an advancement of knowledge and the development of competence, the socialization of an educated citizenry, services and knowledge to the applied professions.

Although the multi-university has functioned to produce these significant outputs, many crises have barraged it due to its functional diversity and its extension into the affairs of the public community surrounding it. Suggested changes at the structural level affect the contributions and influence of the university in the community.

Suggested changes in the structure of the university are:

1. Changing the status of cognitive interests or expressive interests for the undergraduate.
2. Increasing access and opening the boundaries of the system to bring the disadvantaged into the system.
3. Involving the system in the local and national community, professional training, consulting services, and participating in morally sanctioned programs of action.
4. Changing the internal structure of the university--in particular the stratification among administration, faculty, and student.

Further issues revolve around special categories of undergraduate students who are functionally clustered in the academic system. These groups are:

1. The Young: A synthesis is needed of cognitive, moral, and affective teaching on undergraduate level.
2. The Professionals: A synthesis is needed of the cognitive and practical.
3. Intellectuals: A balance of theory and practice is needed--a balance of cognitive and non-cognitive, which involves a commitment to values and goals.

Since the university system is a social system encompassing academic freedom (issue: autonomy of the university), tenure (issue: collegiality instead of bureaucracy), and mechanisms of integration, there are social structural strains that have polarized the university. Moral imperatives are viewed as more important than cognitive imperatives. The politization of the university, with right and left political interests served within its clusters of functions, has reduced the former autonomy of the university.

The issue of academic freedom can be interpreted to mean that the university can be structured to maintain an exploratory environment, with a tenured collegiality, which is necessary for the fiduciary role of the university.

Since we have come to see that the structural bundle of the university is the structural outline of the market system, involving intelligence and influence, we have also

come to understand that the bundle is not rigid, it has flexibility and resilience--and is involved in a diffusely complex evolutionary process.

The new form of the university must be made compatible with the inclusion of wider segments of the society--the poor, minorities, and women.

The nature and destiny of the university in the late 20th century is such that change occurs rapidly. There is a concentration of talent that reaches out to the community beyond it, and it cannot maintain itself without funding support from the very community it serves. Its service function, therefore, is also its master...for it serves the same group from which it seeks financial support. Political attitudes in society make the funding issue fraught with difficulty for the university. It is damned if it does, and damned if it doesn't. The split in the university administration is caused by the diversity of interests it represents: professional managers who are bureaucratically oriented, promotional personalities, and research-oriented faculty.

The administrative form of the university, whether bureaucratic, promotional, or statesman-like, has an effect on the every day life of the institution for the university is at all times a process, an organism evolving and exploding. The question always present is, can the process be managed?

Students at this time have an entirely new set of expectations relating to the university. They expect dreams of social mobility to be realized there, mainstream rewards to be forthcoming. There are some students who want more--they expect a kind of salvation, an image of respectability, intelligence, and influence, that they believe will accrue to the graduates.

Faculty would like to see benefits of lifestyle, honor, prestige, and the unobstructed ability to do creative scholarly work.

"The society" wants to solve problems via research done in the university.

All of these constituencies of the university want something different from it. And superimposed on all the demands from these constituencies are worries of federal intervention, worries about money, buildings, styles of administration, and the feasibility of the proper functioning of the multi-university.

All of this means, however, that the university is important, and often fosters social inventions needed by society (Parsons and Platt, 1973).

This necessity for social inventions relates to the rapid growth of the university, for although its rapid

growth raises problems, it also provides an opportunity for experimentation.

Although the university is not able to offer salvation, it is able to offer possibilities of new knowledge and social organization to be applied to specific problems in the modern industrial world.

The social organization of the university itself relates to the question of social intervention in the society around it. For the modern university is organized around both a centralized and a decentralized functional model. It is cloistered and sets its own goals, a function of the academic freedom still inherent in its traditional core, and it promotes affairs in the wider community, to advance and apply knowledge to community problems. The very faculty that wants its autonomy and aloofness from the surrounding community often sits on boards and advises governments on legislation, their work is often subject to control by funds outside the university--therefore, their academic freedom is compromised. Thus, the social organization of the university today carries within it centripetal and centrifugal forces (Wallis, 1966).

Interdisciplinary units and centers of research make one concentrate on problems requiring interdisciplinary investigation, rather than on a specific field of knowledge, therefore, there is a trend towards more central control of

knowledge and the institution.

However, at the same time, much research is externally oriented, towards fragmented problems funded by a variety of sources, and often this research becomes oriented to priorities that have originated in the society itself--therefore, the researcher loses control of his own products (Wallis, 1966).

Due to this situation, the powers in the university that were in faculty hands in the past are then concentrated in the hands of administrators.

The only function that is mainly centered inside the university is the teaching function.

Thus, the socialization of undergraduates, although shifted to a secondary priority by events, is one function that is truly university bound, and an unchallenged area of university responsibility--all agreeing that it is inside the walls of the university that undergraduates should be educated and socialized. The undergraduates themselves agree that the university is the proper field of action for learning and social mobility legitimation.

The Undergraduate Adult Learner

However my special concern is a particular undergraduate--the adult learner what is the proper teaching function of the university in relation to adults in our community?

Historically, the purpose of the university is socialization of the younger student. Now in the 20th century, most universities have added programs for adults and in addition provide a wide range of services to government and other agencies in the surrounding community.

Adult education is a 20th century development of the university. In 1964, 28770,000 persons were engaged in some form of educational activity (Ziegler, 1966).

However, adult education in this country has not developed functionally, according to some special purpose for the term itself is ambiguous, having many meanings. It now includes credit and non-credit courses at universities and all higher education institutions; courses in the public school, evening high schools, and junior colleges; secretarial and vocational work at commercial schools, technical and management courses, and programs by social, civic, religious, fraternal, professional, and public organizations; religious education, public forums, and creative arts courses given by churches and synagogues; lectures, films, discussion groups, art fairs and music festivals offered by public libraries; museum courses; agricultural work and home demonstration courses given by the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service; courses offered by government agencies and the armed forces; the new field of community development; television education;

commercial correspondence schools; plus an enormous amount of self-education.

All of this goes under the subject of adult education and includes many thousands of sponsors, millions of students, making it a totally disordered unit, often set up in response to individual or group needs articulated at various times and at various places. No comprehensive plan or theory has guided its growth. It relates mainly to the pluralism in American society and the needs of the moment in mid-20th-century American life.

However, in the university itself, the evening college and university extension division are attempting to formulate solutions to common problems. In the years between 1890 and 1910, education for adults was scarce and just beginning to be institutionalized. 19th century adult education was held in high schools in the evening, or a farmers' institutes. In New York, these sessions took place mainly in Cooper Union. Occasional lectures were given by labor and church organizations, and Eastern high schools gave English and Americanization lectures for the foreign born.

Some liberal arts colleges organized public lectures for adults, and adults were permitted to attend agricultural or vocational instruction or mechanical arts.

However, with the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, the land-grant colleges were established, and adults participated in technical and agricultural seminars.

In rural areas, the Cooperative Extension Service made available technical and agricultural education to adults in 1914.

The modern phase of adult education--the form we see today--was begun at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when the idea of extension was adopted in America (from an English Oxford model), and the University of Chicago organized a university extension division along with the founding of the university itself.

Its purpose was "social service" and was stated as providing instruction for those who for social or economic reasons cannot attend its classes. This is a legitimate and necessary part of the work of every university--and suitable credit should be accorded (Ziegler, 1966).

Ten years later, this division became a college, and other universities followed suit within the public sector (municipal universities).

General Extension was organized in 1906 by President Charles Van Hise. President Hise wanted to make the boundaries of the university congruent with the state. All people of the state were to be served by this division, regardless of financial resources or geographic proximity.

Thus, the university took onto itself the responsibility of extension of education and by 1913, private universities and land-grant institutions had organized 28 extension divisions.

The university general extension system, the cooperative agricultural extension system, and the evening college took form between World War I and World War II. After World War II, the state had a network of extension courses on a variety of subjects--work was both credit and non-credit.

Cooperative extension--utilizing county agents, offered technical assistance and the latest research to farmers, and to families in the subject of home economics (Morison, 1966).

In urban communities, evening colleges provided courses for employed adults, who wanted to study at night to further themselves, and who had interrupted their education.

Many adults in urban communities were able simply to further intellectual interests in liberal arts courses.

Recently, evening and extension systems have served entire communities, giving credit and non-credit courses utilizing many mechanisms--lecture, seminar, conferences, workshops, special institutes, and educational television.

The largest urban communities like New York City, Chicago, etc., have classes running throughout the cities,

suburbs, and regional areas far from campus.

At this time, most cities of any size which have a municipal university also have a higher adult education division.

The larger state universities have extension, evening colleges, either on campus or off.

Therefore, evening colleges and extension divisions of municipal universities are alike in geographic area and kind of population served. Ordinarily state jurisdictions serve citizens in the state, and large state universities organized classes in smaller cities and towns away from their own campuses (Ziegler, 1966).

In recent years, the diversity of these courses and the multiple sponsorship of them created a need for the university to separate out education for adults from that of non-academic sponsorship of adult education.

In the mid-1950s a new concept of the education of adults emerged, and the term in the universities was changed from adult education to continuing education.

The new term connoted education as a process--a process of lifelong learning. Centers of Continuing Education were established at major universities under grants from the Kellogg Foundation.

At this time, and using this new concept, a new recognition of adults as students took place...

It is recognized that adults, at different periods of their lives possessing different interests and different needs, require distinctive educational programs. There is a difference between the goals of undergraduate and graduate students and the goals of young adults in the years they are securing their first jobs, getting married and becoming established. There is a difference between the educational needs of young adulthood and middle adulthood, the first being characterized by a concern for vocational and technical training which will assist in professional competency and job advancement, the second being characterized more perhaps by a desire to fulfill one's intellectual interests and creative impulses. There is also a difference between the educational needs of middle adulthood and old age, and between the ways men and women regard their own further education. (Ziegler, 1966, p. 137)

Thus, the new concept of continuing education recognized the philosophy that there is a unity between education and human existence.

Changes in the society allowed university administrators to act upon this concept. There was a new influx of students, greater mobility and leisure in American life--there was higher expectation by all groups for a better lifestyle due to modern technological advancement and the conflicts of the black, student, and women's movements in America.

New adult students entered the university demanding new courses in everything from philosophy to politics, and they were not content with the methods of teaching youths

that were not relevant to their needs.

This development, the concept of education and life being integrated, the new student constituencies demanding different subject content and appropriate teaching methods, gave educators the opportunity to experiment, to innovate, to develop enriched materials and new approaches.

National groups like Fund for Adult Education, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, and American Foundation for Continuing Education, brought diverse influences to bear on the structure of higher education.

Several hundred thousand adults took advantage of the innovations via campus classes, classes in community centers, libraries, or their own homes.

The adults were not interested in credit courses usually housed in extension divisions or evening colleges, and were taught with diverse teaching methods like study discussion, lecture discussion, residential weekend seminars, and conferences.

In the main, the university extension philosophy is that of service to all people of the state. Adults in the state looked to the university for instruction in the area of their special interests.

Extension divisions were heavily involved in meeting the requests of these special interests by offering part-time

coursework and organizing coursework on demand. This took the university further and further from its traditional activities and stationary character.

After World War II, university extension doubled and trebled its size (being all things to all people) and was not controlled by the same academic standards of undergraduate and graduate education (Ziegler, 1966).

However, there was now an attempt to use central personnel for these programs, and to stay in touch with the central university, even though the continuing education units were often separate from the main institution and had a different concept of education itself.

At this time there was a new emphasis on liberal education in continuing education schools, for in previous years these units offered only vocational or professional training to adult students.

This can be seen if the bulletins of large state universities are examined. Many of these courses are given on and off the campus, and offer a wide range of courses in the Liberal Arts to adults, including highly specialized courses, and courses that are unique in content.

A new development in the field is the emergence of the "special degree program" for adults who cannot enroll in day or evening college. These special degree programs

differ from traditional programs in entrance and course requirements, arrangements of subject matter, and the ability of the adult to proceed at his/her own pace. All of them take into consideration the life experience of adults, allowing credit for previous learning or experience in the community.

Emphasis is on broad liberal arts courses and interdisciplinary seminars, and a large amount of independent study and individual counselling. The special degree program represents universities' creative attempt to deal with a new kind of student in a new kind of situation.

At this time, societal trends are affecting continuing education.

1. National organizations are providing opportunities for experimentation and innovation.
2. There is an explosion of knowledge.
3. There is an increase in the population.
4. There is a high rate of mobility among a large and growing middle class.
5. There is a shorter work week, accompanied by leisure time.
6. A rise in expectations of minority groups and women for better jobs and living conditions.

7. Urbanism is on the rise as a determinant of culture.

However, adult education has not kept pace with all of these new trends, and educators must reassess certain questions in the light of rapid change.

The questions are:

1. How extensive should extension be?
2. What are its geographic and subject matter limits?
3. Should courses be offered for adult students who would not ordinarily meet university standards?
4. Should adult divisions become engaged in non-course projects?
5. Should the needs of society be the touchstone for organizing curriculum instead of or in addition to the interests of the individuals?
6. How shall the university use its resources in relation to the society around it?

(Ziegler, 1966)

Some of these questions can be approached by considering a new reform within the vehicle of lifelong education-- a mobile form of Adult School. The rapidly changing trends

in the external environment, and the changing expectations of adult students for social mobility and more opportunity for self-expression requires a reassessment of the organization of higher education programs. The various forms of continuing education can be directed toward a specific purpose, rather than toward individual needs.

If the university is able to use a basic concept of continuing education to change the boundaries of the institution--changes which will open the age, sex, and race boundaries, and provide more flexible curricula, some of the internal problems and dissatisfactions of students might be ameliorated.

However, this will require flexibility and a new perception of the main priority of the spectrum of programs in continuing education.

For instance, older students can play an integrative role on campus and might soften the stratified lines in the university at the present time.

The issues of sex and race will also be reflected in the curriculum via ethnic and women's studies. Student involvement with governance, greater concern with the teaching function, a less passive student role, the modification of formal grading, and the adoptive upgrading of groups in society will be further changes needed to ameliorate some of

the problems now present in the university structure.

Ziegler believes that this upgrading process, and the process of inclusion into the university of new constituencies will extend the age cohort, act as a catalyst for new fields of endeavor, and spur a variety of experiments in new programs (Ziegler, 1966).

He projects that these experiments will take the form of interdisciplinary combinations, combinations between academic and non-academic interests, programs with greater emphasis on the expressive in curricula.

One example of such an experiment, geared to an older student constituency, is called The Mobile School. The Mobile School is fluid in concept and attempts to deal with some of the conflicts raised by the shift away from the undergraduate as first priority, the bureaucratic atmosphere, the insulation of administrators, and the ambiguous role of faculty today.

I believe the need of continuing education programs is for an administrative style that is concerned and personalized. A combination of the "promoter" and the "scholar" would be an ideal combination today, but is difficult to realize. However, we might be able to rearrange priorities and school structures to soften the hard lines of stratification in the university.

The concept of Fluid Education suggested here begins with the assumption of shift in priority back to the undergraduate and requires a flexible administrator, committed to the personal welfare of each student.

Chapter 3

CURRICULUM CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

The problems of the content and forms of higher education are likely to be determined by the role-consciousness of the various controlling groups in ...universities, colleges, and local authorities.

For...we are approaching a period in which... the Social Problem becomes increasingly that of coping with the knowledge explosion and its social effects.... We are in need of "perception of the real role of education in our time. (History of Education Society, 1971)

Higher education began with the "universitas". "universitas" in western Europe was the term originally applied to any group of people organized into a guild for any common purpose, but gradually the term was applied specifically to universities of faculties and students. The first real European University, however, appears to be, by common agreement, the School of Medicine at Salerno in the ninth century. The students and faculty organized into guilds and corporate organizations and the stronger schools (cathedral schools) became "universitas," which gave them protection against a hostile king or anyone who might attempt to bring them under control. Students organized into guilds for their own protection, and then, for social and financial reasons, regrouped themselves into "nations" according to country of origin. In the University of Paris, there were the "nations" of France, Normandy, Picardy, England, etc. (Atkinson & Malecka, 1962).

A group of "masters" teaching the same subject was called "facultas," and each of these elected a "dean." Deans of the facultas and councils of the nations made up what was known as the university council which annually elected a chief executive. The chain of authority went from the Pope to the Bishop to the Chancellor. Gradually, the power to issue the teaching license was given to the university...which gave the university great power and prominence. A few of the universities gained even greater prominence as the Pope gave to the Chancellor the right to issue licenses to teach anywhere (Licentiae Docendi Ubique). This meant granting authority beyond their own dioceses--a much desired power.

At Bologna, Italy, the student guilds had gained enormous student rights, the power to exert administrative control over the University. The rector of the student guilds was recognized as "head of the university", and faculty members were made to take an oath of obedience to him. Faculty had to abide also by the regulations of the student guilds concerning the length and contents of lectures, their time of beginning and ending, and length of academic term. We can see here the beginnings of the students' rights movement, still in conflict in America today.

It was customary for the student to enter the University at the age of 12, study under a master until he could "define and determine" (be able to read, write, and speak Latin). If he passed an examination, he was declared a "bachelor."

After this process, for four to seven years, he continued his studies under several masters until he could "dispute" (defend his thesis or masterpiece). A successful defense entitled him to a license to teach, and he then became a "master". At this point, he became eligible to compete with the other masters for students, and to charge fees for his instruction. This appears to be very much like the beginning of the concept of exit requirements, rather than entrance requirements, for at the age of 12, the child has to be formed through educational structures to become a "master" (at the exit from the structure) and one could not know if this was possible, unless there was the opportunity given. The proving was in the path of successful completion of the dispute of the masterpiece.

Gradually, cathedral schools by a slow process became transformed to the "University". The university of Paris (founded 1160) was soon known as the greatest in the Middle Ages. By the 14th century, the university had 40 colleges, including the Sorbonne, which offered theology, law, the arts, and medicine. There was a struggle for the autonomy of the university, which was the struggle of the faculty to set their own curriculum--a struggle which foreshadows the universities' role now as having the "right to innovate"--a right for faculty to create information as well as disseminate it.

The struggle for autonomy of the University of Paris in the Middle Ages resulted in the recognition of the faculty as the full legal body of the university. In time, the medieval faculty created themselves as a corporate existence, set in their own curriculums, issued licenses to teach, conferred degrees, and appointed their own members. In fact, the very idea of a university in its origins was this corporate existence of a faculty (Atkinson and Malecka, 1962).

Cambridge was established in 1209 by a group of dissident Oxford masters (it was a common medieval practice to set up a new university by seceding from another). In America today, the practice is to set up a loosely connected fairly autonomous unit--the "extension" college, which takes its legitimacy from the parent college; however, it attempts an alternate or more autonomous path of learning both in form and content of education. The precedent for this action is the exit from an established school by dissatisfied educators and students.

Dissidence is also a major component of the creation of alternate school models, for the dissatisfied seek a new vision of education and tend to believe that their re-created structure ameliorates many of the problems embedded in the old establishment.

Another tradition that medieval education instituted was that of philosophical (i.e. ethical/moral) education.

Training in chivalry was given to children of aristocrats in medieval days, much teaching content consisted of high morals and social ideals.

Finally, scholasticism had an important effect on the rise of the university in the 12th century. It is a method of selecting and classifying general principles/statements taken from religious or classical authorities, using a systematic order of commenting on those statements, examining arguments on both sides, refuting arguments on the opposite side, and drawing conclusions. Scholasticism was a great intellectual movement and it set forth the form of education at that time. The usual educational procedure of scholastics was the forefather of the scientific method today. The procedure was: to propose a thesis, offer the proof, raise and refute objections, and treat the entire proposition in a minutely logical manner.

In the period of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, the Renaissance brought with it a growing secularism. Education proceeded on a more humanistic basis and represented a movement against conservative forces (Atkinson and Malecka, 1962).

In Italy, the stress was on personal development, culture, and freedom. It produced a revival of classical learning and paganism--a move away from the university as mainly church-oriented. The best of the humanistic studies provided

for experience in reading, writing and speaking basic Latin, study of the poets and prose writers (both Greek and Roman), and a reading of history and biography.

During this period, an attempt was made to create and develop feelings of joy of living, and to introduce an appreciation of the aesthetic into school curriculum. In this context, nature study was opened to the scholar. Physical training received attention, and swimming, boxing, fencing, riding, dancing, diet, hygiene, moral training, and social development were given in the schools. The aims of humanistic education included freedom of thought, creative activity, and self-expression, personality expression through art, literature, nature study, architecture, and music. Aims included producing the person who was versatile and well-rounded, who evidenced high idealism and a sense of adventure, and who would be able to lead a full life.

The Italian humanist had brought from the Greeks their idea of a liberal education: they sought to develop mind, body, and morals in an integrated whole, and they emphasized individuality and self-realization.

Renaissance education was seen as mainly destined for youth of the upper classes, in order to develop gentlemen and scholars for the Church. Today we see a similar educational goal in the Italian "Right to Study" groups, who advocate that "culture is the wealth of all," not just the

elite, and the same educational aims are seen as valid for the worker and public citizen. The aims of humanistic education are an intrinsic part of the Right to Study Movement.

Moralistic Education

Although at the present time there is a resurgence of the humanistic tradition in the United States (taken from the Renaissance and Italy), most American educational tradition can be traced to the Protestant Reformation (Atkinson & Malecka, 1962). Catholicism was the universal religion before the Reformation, and reform of that religion by Protestants was advocated by people who were dissatisfied with the deification of the religio-ethical concepts and by a lack of moral conviction underlying the church establishment. Protestants were motivated by a perceived need for spiritual/moral reform and were led by Martin Luther (1483-1546), an Augustinian friar who taught philosophy at the University of Wittenberg. He was the father of Protestantism: a dissident movement that substituted the authority of the Bible (a body of teachings) for that of the Church Establishment. They taught that the Bible was truth, and one had to read the bible to know the truth--this was a necessity for education. Reformers Luther and John Calvin (1509-1564) thought of the purpose of education as the preparing of Christian men and women for the afterlife by providing them with adequate

training in the duties of home, occupation, state and church. The three ideals were: intelligence, social virtue, and individual piety. Luther advocated compulsory education. Luther and Calvin were still mainly interested in the classical type of secondary school, for the aristocratic concepts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were still entrenched in the reformation. However, schooling in bible was advocated for all. An innovation by another dissident institution, the Dutch Reform Church, taught 'reading, writing, and arithmetic, plus religion to girls and boys, which influenced the Puritans in England and America and also influenced the Dutch settlers.

Realism in education emerged with three great scientists, who centered their work mainly on concrete objects of the universe. They were Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). This was the beginning of scientific inquiry, and education itself reflected a growing interest in the practical realities of life.

There were three types of educational realists: 1) the humanistic realists, who sought the study of scientific, historical, and social information as a way of fitting an individual to the environment in which he lives; 2) the social realists, who were aristocrats, men of affairs, interested in the training of their own sons for participation in public

life; and 3) the sense realists, who represented the complete search for reality as it was experienced in everyday human relationships. We see the beginning of the scientific movement in education, the importance of the rationalization of life--a stress away from the importance of spiritual and philosophical valuation. These educators believed that knowledge comes only through the senses, and that learning is from things, thoughts, and words (this was the beginning of rationalistic education as institutionalized form).

Rationalistic education sought to ensure that reasoning is the prime factor that should govern man's actions, rather than faith, loyalty, and traditions. It was aristocratic by definition, for the rationalists believed that the common man did not possess the qualities necessary for reasoning properly, or for dealing with problems properly. Thus, they advocated self-education (by aristocrats who were able to do this) through the reading of pamphlets and the participation in general discussions often held in fashionable salons.

Naturalistic education began in the late 18th century and was a reaction against the conventions and artificiality of rationalism. The rationalist glorified the intellect, the naturalist idealized feelings. The naturalist created an educational movement open to all, and the demand by the dissidents was made for a return to the simple virtues.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a major proponent of natural education and also proposed a theory, "negative education," which advocated learning through experiencing the natural consequences of one's mistakes--a method of trial and error.

Rousseau believed that education consisted of doing, rather than knowing, that interest in what one is doing is all important, and that the student should be permitted a maximum amount of freedom. Therefore the student needed to depend more upon his own resources in order to discover the far reaches and limits of his own capacity.

Around 1717, in Prussia, educators declared that the student, in actuality, belonged to the state, and not to the home. The idea of state support and control of the schools, which had been born during the Protestant revolution, was laid down by Frederick the Great (1712-1766), and the concept of nationalism as a dominant theme of education emerged in the writings of the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). He considered the schools' function to be the building and preserving of the welfare of the state. When the concept of nationalism as an aim of education is carried to its ultimate, we see, as we have seen in our universities today, cases where curriculum is set by the demands of the political system, teachers must be approved politically as well as academically. There are periodic purges of educators

themselves, if they do not fit the current definition of the word "patriotic." This happened in the 1960s in America, when many "radical" professors were fired on the basis of their beliefs, which were anti- the current patriotic concept of the universities. The issue is alive today.

Nationalistic educational curriculum and patriotism are emphasized in the schools, and vocational education is stressed because the rank and file of the people must be made occupationally efficient for the good of the state. Equally important is physical education, for often there is a need for readiness in both work and possible warfare.

At this time practically all major governments maintain tax-supported schools. They are considered essential to public policy.

In the late 18th century, the psychology movement began to affect education. It was in opposition to the common practice of imposing adult standards in education on children and led to the development of a study of childhood. This, at a later time, brought about a better understanding of the learning processes, and the development of new methods for the training of teachers. It sprang from antagonism to the naturalistic movement, which had proved too negative and was largely by trial and error, and the hoped-for stimulation of the child's capacities via desirable activities did not work well.

The following educational movement emerged as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the technological advances of the 19th century. German educators pioneered introducing experimental science into the curriculum. In 1852 in Germany, the "Realschulen" started to teach chemistry, mineralogy, physical geography, and physics. Also, in addition to astronomy, schools taught drawing, geography, mechanics, and natural history. Scientific education popularized fact-finding and statistical, experimental techniques. Measuring devices for intelligence, achievements, vocational aptitudes, survey techniques, were evolved. There was also much work done to aid the handicapped in destroying prejudice and superstition by substituting fact for fiction.

Scientific education was followed by progressive education, which emphasized recognition of individual differences among students. Progressive educators taught by doing, rather than by abstract reasoning, and taught that learning proceeds from outside the classroom to abstract knowledge. The classroom itself was perceived as a laboratory for democracy, thus social goals and the ability to think critically became important.

John Dewey (1859-1952) was an important proponent of this education, and by 1910, Dewey's books began to be widely used in the educational field. Around 1912, the progressive movement became an educational movement that sought to create

a school environment in which the needs of the student were held to be more important than those of the institution, and the teacher was viewed as a sympathetic guide rather than a taskmaster. The movement aroused much bitter controversy, but had a strong effect on educational practices in the United States. Progressive education took as its aims: the physical, mental, and emotional growth of the child, a respect for the pupil's personality, an attempt to identify the curriculum with the proper level of the student's own maturity, and the creation of democratic school administration practices.

There were, however, dissidents, who then organized an educational movement called essentialistic education (Atkinson and Malecka, 1962).

This was a movement begun in America by William Chandler Bagley (1874-1946) of Teachers College, Columbia University. He advocated teaching students about their social heritage. He took this as the primary function of the school and thought that the educational content should focus on what is essential to all. He dissented because he felt that progressive education sacrificed social heritage. His conclusions were that there was a lack of discipline in progressive education, and a failure to grasp the fundamentals of culture--the social heritage of every student. He wanted curriculum stress to be placed on discipline, systematic work, and the mastery of fundamentals. The movement advocated

orderliness and strict obedience. They believed that mass education resulted in a lowering of educational standards, that incidental learning had been given a major role, with the result that logical, chronological, and causal relationships had been ignored. They advocated teaching reading, writing, and mathematics, industrial arts, and health. They declared accuracy, thoroughness, persistence, and teacher responsibility to be of major importance. This dispute is still with us!

Today, education is concerned with the problems of human relations in an industrial world, and this education is called socialized education (Atkinson and Malecka, 1962).

A new interpretation of the teachings of John Dewey was made, for in 1899 Dewey had declared a revolt against 19th century school aims of purely information and discipline. Dewey felt that the modern school must prepare pupils for the contemporary environment which included industry, manufacturing, transportation, and communication. The classroom needs to relate to the social environment outside, with each child able to formulate rules for their own education.

However, the idea that the classroom should necessarily take the outside world as its main concern is today, in late 20th century America, a major issue, engendering conflicting conceptions of the proper concerns of higher education.

The structure of the American university today with its diversified functions, its complexity, and its crisis of definition is an offshoot of the situation in the U.S. at the time of the Civil War. In the United States after 1870, the percent of Americans of college age attending college rose only from 4.01 to 4.84 in the years 1900-1910.

However, the nature of higher education was being transformed, for it had begun to grow in complexity, and the academic profession came into being at this time.

Americans had a competitive motive in forming a university to equal European standards, and to remain independent from European influence in their social structures. Since capital was being made newly available in America in the 19th century, innovation and the creation of the university--a more complex structure than the college then in existence--was made possible (Veysey, 1965).

Earlier, there had been attempts to create the university in America, but money was not available, effectively ending the innovative efforts. However, thereafter, private donors and taxpayers did provide the money for the creation of the university, and thus the university in America has always been dependent upon funding from its inception.

The conditions of reform in higher education began with certain component parts of American life, which we still see reflected in the university today.

The beginning of the American university around 1900 required that education be considered a priority, and an important value be placed on books. The perceptions and philosophical orientation of the donor himself was an important factor in reform or innovation in higher education for often, in the 1900s, the donors were from the clergy (many being Quaker ministers), and there was a strong humanitarian strain in their orientation. They donated to a cause which they felt had both humanistic value, and respectability.

The college had already established the respectability of the academic endeavor, and the university seemed a way of extending this, becoming involved in a humanitarian effort, and bringing the donor into the framework of respectability and prestige that the higher educational framework had established.

Since many prominent donors were Quakers (Ezra Cornell and John Hopkins), academic reform and innovation held out the promise of an integration of both mission and secular goals like success and respectability.

Donors and higher education became linked very quickly and identified together with wealth and success. So it was that the mission and patronage aspect of the university was joined during the 19th century in America.

However, the conditions of reform also require a crisis --a dissatisfaction with the present state of higher education, and often college enrollments are an indication of the state of the college in relation to the society surrounding it.

In the 1880s, enrollments were low in comparison to rising population ratios. This was due to public perceptions of what college was all about--its essential purpose.

In the past, classical training had reflected one's status in society, and the classical educational endeavor simply reinforced one's social status.

However, in 1890, business and the professions were also able to provide status awards, for the growth of cities allowed business to provide new opportunities for youths from the rural villages--who were also prospective students in the university.

Because the situation in the universities was fairly static, business and city life held out more of an attraction to village youths. In urban, materialistic society, university pay seemed low, classical training held out no promise of material wealth and was separated from vocationalism, especially at the prominent colleges like Yale and Harvard.

The older college presidents, who were traditionalists, were insisting on the maintenance of the status quo, piety, mental discipline, and strength of character, as a major emphasis of curriculum.

However, around 1865, younger administrative figures appeared on the scene, who believed more in a priority of aspiration and experimentation. This was in a period of increasing wealth in American life, however, declining college enrollments (for classical training and business life did not mix).

When the traditionalists and the clergymen vacated their presidencies of major universities, the reformers--new administrators and younger men--were able to make gains.

Academic life already had prestige standing in America, even though classical tradition was not a part of the mercantile urban contemporary scene. This prominence in American life helped to attract people with ideas of reform, and even the mainstream administrators (who were 1/3 clerical) preferred the risk of experimentation to the static loss of enrollments.

At this point, a polarization began to form in the universities, for past administrations were viewed as being identified with religious piety, and innovation and reform with new influences, both intellectual and secular.

A shift of interest arose in the concern of college trustees--a concern for secular education over religious problems. The secular emphasis was a reform which attracted more students to the university--otherwise, those who did not follow suit often suffered loss of training, prestige, or status.

Thus, either fear or intellectual desire might be one condition of change.

The fear was that the expansion of knowledge and curriculums must keep up with what is happening in the society, for competition with Europe and new intellectual standards demanded change.

Between 1865-1890, there were three concepts of the university which had been taken from Western European conceptual imagery.

These concepts were centered on aims:

1. Practical public service (a service aim);
2. Abstract research (a research aim); and,
3. The diffusion of high standards of cultivated taste (a cultural aim).

But the main urge was to create "The University" in a general sense. The colleges have been closely tied to American religion, and the formation of the university was related to the desire to meet European standards, for the university was steeped in the disciplines of the Western European tradition.

However, fusing with Western European conceptions of higher education were the ideas of Americans like Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, who advocated practical service. Thus, practical service was linked with research, to be applied to practical problems.

This reforming ideal of relating higher education more closely to everyday needs, and moving curriculum away from classical learning and piety training still related to the enlightenment and European ideas. For emphasis on research had come to America from Germany, and secular disciplines had been derived from British and Renaissance societies.

America had chosen to imitate what she needed from her roots--Europe--for the American population, at the time, was largely uneducated.

Industry and its leaders were mainly utilitarian in philosophy and believed higher education to be useless for work.

Furthermore, business administrators thought that higher education's knowledge was not applicable to this everyday work world, and saw itself needing experience, action, and virility in its employees--these were the desired personal attributes viewed as necessary for the business world. Physical weakness was paired in people's minds with bookishness, and so there was a gap between the student and the business world of experience. The new non-clerical atmosphere of the university often produced suspicion on the part of the public about the benefits of higher education.

However, educational promoters would often lead the public from its hostility by promotional methods and entrepreneurial activities.

In 1862 a change came about, for these promotional tactics and favorable political circumstances supported the Morrel Act of 1862. The federal government offered aid to states so that they might support colleges for trade instruction, and academic reformers and promoters secured control of funds for innovation in higher education. Control was also secured at state legislatures and used to gain support for new programs. There were many motives for change. The states had as a motive the receipt of federal funding. (Alumni of state universities were often seated in state legislatures, and often voted to help.) Competition with other states also spurred a "yes" vote for new programs.

But there were still problems for the educational promoters to deal with--groups of organized religious, political, and agricultural societies like the Granges who fought for new programs. The religious leaders disliked the secularization trend inherent in the new programs, the grangers wanted agriculture taught, rather than literature. Thus, sectarian hostility made reform difficult, and as a result the state would often interfere with academic programs. Relations between the university and the public were often difficult and public relations was a major issue.

The consequence of this situation was that academic leaders attempted to span the gap between the public and their own academic community. They were forced to improvise,

promote, and in this way, they built the university and popularized it for they were forced to explain it to the people who were taxpayers and interested in funding issues.

There emerged from this public identity of the university two distinct types of academic leaders. An aloof man, who abstracted academic life and wanted the university to be separate from the hurly-burly of the market, and the promoter type of leader, who was a popularizer in need of public approval--who saw the university as the public domain. Under cover of the debate over the academic purpose, these two different types were attracted to the university.

Therefore, questions remained about the distinction between the abstract ideas (with the university founded on conceptions) or an academic world where the university takes an active role in the society, relates to real life, and is obedient to a practical-minded environment around it. (Veysey, 1965).

However, after 1890, the basic pattern of the university emerged as a success-oriented enterprise whose leading spokesmen wanted the approval of the public. The issues at hand were related to societal issues--numbers of enrollments, influence in the community, respectability, patriotism, democracy, and non-classical education. Requirements became less rigid, and by 1910 there was no demand that the university

limit itself to those whose main goal for education was science or letters.

Since success in America is a concept of conformity-- university was seen as a vocational advancement institution, a social service identity characteristic of its surroundings. It was supposed to be open to all, to reward ambition, to stress urban, middle-class goals, helping people to compete in public life against those like onself. Professional requirements were held at a middle level--were high enough to give pride to those gaining professional status, and not too demanding so that they were deemed exclusionary (Veysey, 1965).

The most widely expected academic function was as custodian of popular values, thereby becoming an agency for social control. Degrees were the emblems of social and economic arrival, for one needed knowledge for practical welfare, and to further a business enterprise.

The private function of the university was to produce scholarly and scientific research. At the same time, the university took on its present diverse, incoherent character, for it included within its walls its own critics and remained a non-domesticated entity (Veysey, 1965).

In the early 20th century, the American university was composed of administrators who were often promoters, and along with trustees, undergraduates, and alumni, spoke for the goals

of moral soundness, and fidelity to the group, enhanced by social position. The external face of the campus mirrored this. However, a few sought a more idealistic orientation, and these faculty found themselves in an ambiguous intermediate pattern of behavior, between business career and exile--for the university is neither monastery or counting house, but a combination of the two.

However, there is still a belief in the social mission of the university, and social service is used as the American legitimizing mechanism emerging victorious among conflicting demands by promoters and academics.

Whether or not this emergence of social service as the main rhetoric of the university is viewed as good or bad, it produced a uniformity of rhetoric, which made possible continued flexibility of the institution.

Still, the questions remained, Which fundamental direction will the university take? What is the relation between university and American society? The university emerged from these conflicts encumbered by a dual role, and a general suspicion of it--which is still prevalent in the present-day structure of the university.

Chapter 4THE FLUID MODEL OF EDUCATION -
THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

In support of my theory of a fluid model of education, I have made the assumption that education in a legitimized social order is inexorably interwoven with the problems a person faces in trying to live on an honored social level. I assume that a function of a social order is to discover talented people, to set viable norms of achievement for them, and to legitimize achieved normative endeavors regardless of the social origin of those who achieve.

I present a fluid concept of adult education to upgrade choice and achievement as a way of conferring legitimacy and to downgrade authority and tradition as the basis of the legitimizing mechanism. I would like to suggest the creation of a mobile vehicle for disseminating a fluid public resource--education. Education as a public resource needs to be considered a legitimate order.

What is a "legitimate order?" Max Weber (1968) has defined it as both an objective and subjective concept. Weber stated that actors involved in social action are oriented to a belief in the existence of a "legitimate order," and thereby act towards the validity of the order in question. An "order" connotes a set of maxims or rules to

which one is oriented, and these rules become a model (one which the actor seeks to emulate). This model is seen as permanent and therefore has legitimacy. The rules of the model act as norms of behavior, conformed to by social actors for various reasons.

It is possible for an actor to orient himself to two contradictory orders at the same time, producing conflict within himself. Often there is a gradual transition between two extremes, with the actor choosing the set to which he subjectively wishes to conform.

Usually, deviation from a particular order upheld by a group engenders social disapproval. Or, if convention is formalized into law, flouting it may cause coercive measures to be instituted by the group. At the other extreme is non-conforming behavior towards an informal convention, which often will lead to an informal boycott by the group towards the group member.

The power of the legitimizing order is such that the social actor who abides by it will penalize himself if he disobeys the conventions or laws of the order. The order can be enforced legally, by a clan, or by psychic coercion. Therefore, a legitimizing order is a system, including external and internal sanctions for disobedience to agreed-upon convention. These conventions might be ethical,

psychological, or legal.

The basis of an order may be legitimized by tradition; by attitudes of affection, by belief in its value, or by legal establishment. The important thing is that the legitimized order is maintained by a commitment to its norm, either authorized by legality or voluntary agreement. After an order is instituted, vested interests will seek to uphold the convention and norms, and deviants must be willing to accede to the wishes of the majority, otherwise the order will not be able to maintain itself intact. Therefore, an established order is imposed on minority members by the majority. Whether the basis of the order is tradition, legality, or voluntary agreement, it maintains itself by conformity to its conventions and belief in its validity by actor-members.

So it is that within a particular milieu, an actor is taught to conform to a set of values and standards of behavior, and is rewarded by being allowed to play a role (often an occupation, either ascribed or achieved) in the mainstream of that order. The rewards of mainstream achievement can be either economic or status-oriented. The commitment to the model or the social order embodies the person's feelings about the whole. In short, a particular set of behaviors, attitudes, positions, and feelings is given "legitimacy."

Consensus on these values is the basis for power in society (Russell, 1938).

It then becomes necessary for actors in the society to choose between conforming or not conforming to the set of norms. The norms may be allowed some change, but this depends largely upon the rigidity or flexibility of the society involved. It is mainly in flexible (or democratic) societies that there is variation allowed in creating or following norms.

Schermerhorn (1961) has defined a flexible power structure or society as one where there is:

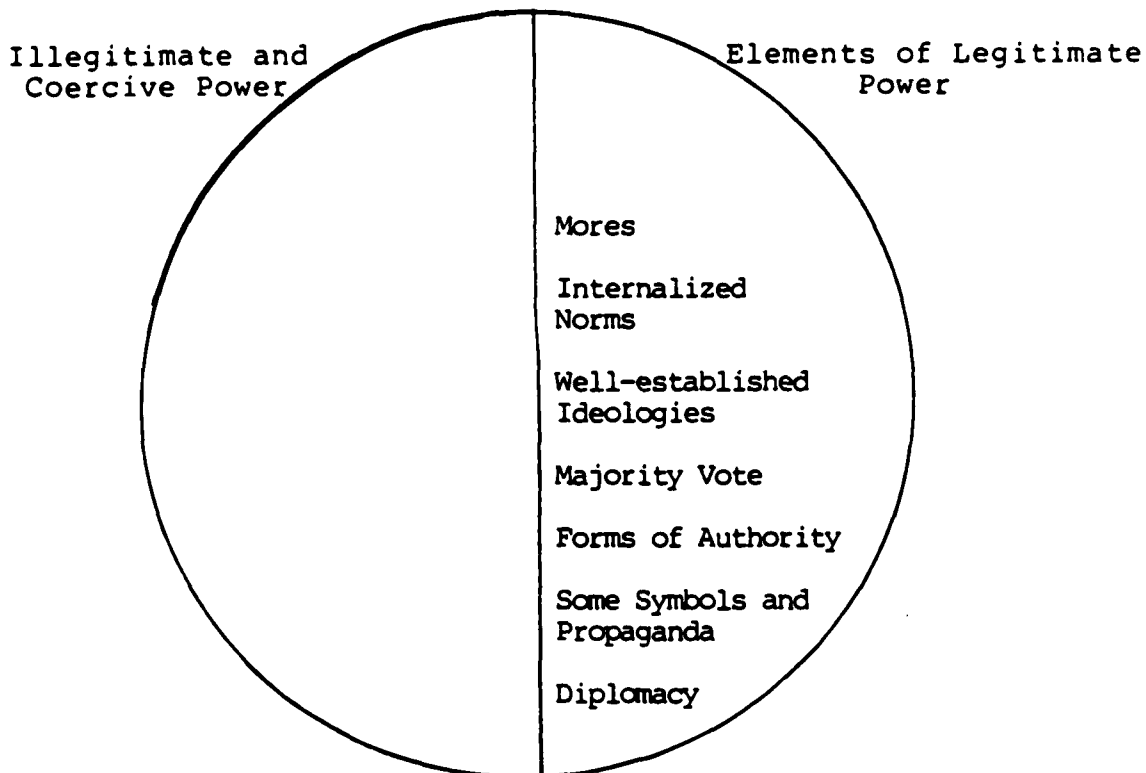
1. Separation or relative autonomy of the segmental power structure.
2. Permissiveness, allowing the formation of multiple voluntary associations.
3. Considerable mobility between or within occupational and class structures.

Such a flexible power structure is the kind that would allow for variations in the norms, with accompanying varying consensus, as new norms appear or mainstream norms and social attitudes are spread over a broader base of the population.

This is identified as a noncoercive society. The legitimized power in such a society is composed of elements

in Figure 1.

Figure 1. ELEMENTS OF LEGITIMIZED POWER IN
A NONCOERCIVE SOCIETY* (Source: Schermerhorn, 1961)



* The diagram is appropriate to a relatively stable society with fairly wide consensus of representational government. American society can be taken as a more recent representation of flexible organizations, although it is many-sided.

In a "flexible" (democratic) society such as ours, a legitimized order is adhered to by mainstream groups, thereby allowing them to reap the benefits of upholding the values agreed upon by that society.

What about groups that are not "mainstream?" Non-mainstream groups in the United States include most of the groups I have identified as "the underrepresented adult learner." They are: minorities, women, the poor, the culturally handicapped, adults who did not enter or complete college, paraprofessionals who lack higher education, and of course, the aged.

There is a social gap between "mainstream" society and these groups, despite the fact that these subgroups taken together encompass a large part of the society that discriminates against them. To be part of a doubly discriminated against category (i.e. women, and black), is to have a doubly embedded marginal position in relation to the whole.

This marginal position is, in fact, a disadvantaged one in relation to power and prestige. Since every society has criteria for conferring distinction on individuals, and power usually brings with it wealth, marginal groups experience underrepresentation in mainstream institutions like higher education, high-level government positions, and high-level positions in large corporations (Merton, 1968).

In the United States, in the South, "racism or the group-superiority motif is firmly embedded in folk beliefs as well as practices. In the North, the value system is

mixed and...humanitarian ideals and adherence to the Constitution furnish values of equal rights under the law, while racism is a pervasive force below the surface, until called into play by circumstances usually involving racial contact" (Merton, 1968).

Thus "marginality" is a social position that is fairly common, although it encompasses many subgroups in society. We have already identified one of the elements of marginality--underrepresentation in mainstream institutions.

Robert K. Merton has further analyzed the concept of marginality from the viewpoint of the actor in a social system. He has defined the marginal person as one whose reference groups (group from which he takes his norms) is different from the group of which he is a member. That is to say, he strives to be accepted by a group to which he is not yet, or is only peripherally, a member (Merton, 1968).

This creates a major problem for him. Since the institutional patterns of a culture are its guarantee of continuance, honored positions go to those who best fulfill significant dominant institutional roles. People who have had prolonged marginality often have not had the opportunity to perceive or learn these roles or to gain these honored positions. Yet, increasingly, there is rising aspiration for the benefits to be derived from the improved position.

Viewing marginality this way, it can be said to be present whenever an individual is abandoning the "mode of adaptation" that has prevailed in the subgroup of which he is a member and adapting to a new group. Internally, the marginal person may suffer from conflict of values and conflict of loyalties. However, his aspirations often lead him to role-relearning, in order to emulate the dominant mode of behavior in the hope of moving from marginal to mainstream status. Behaviors are evaluated as "good" or "bad," depending on the social origins of the actor--be it mainstream or marginal.

Merton described evaluation of behaviors as they relate to mainstream or peripheral social origin.

Did Lincoln work far into the night? This testifies that he was industrious, resolute, perseverant, and eager to realize his capacities to the full. Do the out-group Jews or Japanese keep these same hours? This only bears witness to their sweatshop mentality, their ruthless undercutting of American standards, their unfair competitive practices. Is the in-group hero frugal, thrifty, and sparing? Then the out-group villain is stingy, miserly and penny-pinching. All honor is due the in-group Abe for his having been smart, shrewd and intelligent and, by the same token, all contempt is owing the out-group Abes for their being sharp, cunning, crafty, and too clever by far (Merton, 1968, p. 428).

Therefore, more than behavior will have to be changed. If one attempts role relearning for the purpose of social mobility, it involves "getting the degree"--participating

in the credentialing mechanisms of a society. Why? The credential, the B.A., the "piece of paper" says that a mainstream institution of the society officially recognizes the worth of the individual, and past evaluations of social behaviors based on social origin (Designation of marginality) is not the (discredited) identity of the individual.

The belief often is that a status gain can be made this way, for when men define situations as real--they are then real in their consequences. For did not W.I. Thomas point out that men respond to the meaning a situation has for them, as well as its objective reality? Once meaning has been assigned to a situation, it not only structures behavior, but the consequences of that behavior (Thomas, 1931). Thus, defining a situation is important, and if a situation is not defined as satisfactory by the actor, he will seek to change it by role-relearning, in order to create a new definition. A marginal member of society, seeking distinction or power must become defined as legitimate by the mainstream in order to be included in the legitimized order of positions and social status. The institution of higher learning in American society is often not only mainstream, but takes itself as a legitimacy conferring institution, through its use of the degree (symbolic mainstream power) and often displays this power via ritualistic

practices. The practices are visible proof of the legitimacy of the participants in these practices:

Even today, there are such things in the usage of the learned community as the cap and gown, matriculation, initiation and graduation ceremonies, and the conferring of scholastic degrees, dignities, and prerogatives in a way which suggests some sort of a scholarly apostolic succession. The usage of the priestly orders is no doubt the proximate source of all these features of learned ritual, vestments, sacramental initiation, the transmission of peculiar dignities and virtues by the imposition of hands, and the like...

These ritualistic features of the educational system of the present and recent past...have their place primarily in the higher, liberal and classic institutions and grades of learning, rather than in the lower, technological or practical grades and branches of the system...

With the lower and practical schools and scholars, the adoption and cultivation of these usages is a case of mimicry--due to a desire to conform as far as may be to the standards of scholastic reputability maintained by the upper grades and classes, who have come by these accessory features legitimately, by the right of lineal devolution (Veblen, 1953, pp. 238-39).

The social gap has serious implications for those on the bottom of the strata, and often group members will seek to adapt to mainstream group norms to gain the credentialing certificates that go with mainstream membership, and they will seek to relearn their roles and become socially mobile, to move to a more central social location in society.

It is my theory that only structurally marginal institutions (a nonlegitimized offspring of a credentialed,

legitimate parent structure) will be flexible enough in time, space, and content to offer exit requirements that allow the student real choice and achievement in study. Only this type of fluid model allows adults to cope with the conflict of loyalties that taking on a new role often entails. This program can accept and support new modes of adaptation to the dominant norms of the society, while coping with the old modes of adaptation and the old norms--a path the students must take. The underrepresented student must be allowed a second chance at self-development.

If we can allow even one more person a second chance to develop himself, we have closed the social gap just a bit more. The purpose of fluid education and flexible structure of the Mobile School is to enable the society to embrace the adult immigrants to the shore of higher education and to enable the individuals who are marginal to be labelled "legitimate"--both by themselves, and by mainstream society.

I believe education is a public resource, and that the basis of its legitimacy is "right" and not "authority." Thus it must be open and fluid to encompass the immigrants from the community who want, through motivation and choice, to achieve its stated norms. I define a fluid education as an education that is legitimized by "right", the right of the student to study, to develop, and to receive all of the

benefits a society might have to offer. It is the right to a "second chance." It is the right of the university to freely innovate, to take as its major task the needs of its students, and it is a major societal function to offer access to the university as a public resource rather than as an elitist one.

This education is 'fluid' because it identifies its purposes and goals as the steady answering of the needs of people who want to develop intellectually. To do this, it must constantly restructure its walls, sites of learning, teaching roles, student relationships, and certification criteria according to the definition of the particular public situation. Thus the Mobile School defines itself according to the needs of a particular situation, and restructures itself to be a carrier of education to all. It becomes a public resource, and serves its appropriate role in society. Its fixed major source of support is a parent mainstream institution.

I suggest that a fluid model of education would benefit both university and student, and would like to offer an example of a fluid structure in operation now--the Mobile School.

Chapter 5
THE MOBILE SCHOOL

How can we structure a college to educate all of these special groups without breaking it both financially and administratively?

We can let education out into the open--into the regions where people live and away from the fixed plant, the expensive campus with its lounges, cafeterias, manicured grounds, faculty offices, which are all extraneous to the process of learning.¹

We remove the often negative privilege of educational structures, rising like mansions on a hill overlooking people's lives, and use our resources to address the main business--educating people in their own environments.

If we dispense with these inessentials, we can obtain more of the essentials--students. We can add students to each unit of the Mobile School depending on their accessibility to a site of learning. We can use a traveling educational administrator and a mobile faculty.

The administrator can be responsible for a region and a faculty. In a model like this, students will probably involve themselves in liaison activities between administration, faculty, and other students.

If successful, we place administrators and faculty in a position to educate over a wide geographic area.

The Mobile School is a Regional Educational College Network. This network of neighborhood college sites uses existing institutions as a school center, and further, uses the service-apparatus of a parent college.

It makes formal connections to the intellectual resources of the region, such as libraries, museums, or another community center.

The Mobile School teaches the "special groups" for whom the colleges-on-the-hill have little patience. It schools them without the amenities of genteel college life, but with essentials: exit-stressed requirements, based on students' personal motivation and choice of study, and learning methods that stress peer relations between teacher and students.

Its educational content is, in step progression, remedial, introductory, and specialized. This is done in stages. It will prepare underrepresented groups for intellectual development and self-choice.

It is a bastard child of a legitimate college and as such, it is largely unseen and unheralded, but kicking and full of vitality.

The Mobile School seeks to restore and affirm two "rights:"

1. To the student: the right to study.
2. To the University: the right to innovate
as a part of its own social system-function.

It seeks to reverse priorities in educational settings; from emphasis on buildings, cafeterias, and lounges, to emphasis on students, self-help groups, and learning. Finally, it seeks to institute a vehicle for the reversal of priorities suggested--a regional network of educational possibilities.

The typology of fluid education is one that encompasses an array of educational energies--as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. TYPOLOGY OF FLUID EDUCATION

A)	<u>Creates</u>	accessible education (education is seen as a public resource--open to all when and where needed).
B)	<u>Travels</u>	to people wherever they are as needed.
C)	<u>Organizes</u>	itself around regional sites--creates neighborhood-based learning networks.
D)	<u>Uses</u>	a moving administrator and faculty in combination with fixed local personnel and intellectual resources.
E)	<u>Activates</u>	when the motivation/choice of students demonstrate the educational need.
F)	<u>Assumes</u>	exit requirements, remedial work, and relevant curriculum, and human potential as a given.

How is this regional school network formed? The Mobile School goes to people rather than having people come to it. To begin with, a site is selected, This may be a daycare center, where there are mothers who are trained in caring for children; or a corporation where there are clerical employees, training for jobs in banking, insurance, or law. Thus adults are often found in paraprofessional settings doing semi-skilled work.

The student population at the site is self-selected. The educational program is explained to all the employees, mothers, nurses, etc. Cooperation is gained from the administration at the place of work, to bring the continuing educational opportunity to their employees with the understanding that further education benefits both the administrators and the workers. Because it benefits all, administration may grant employees release time to attend classes.

From the entire worker population, the student population is selected. Actually, it is a self-selection process, for it is the employee with the highest motivation to shift time and energy priorities who finally emerges as the Mobile School student. Employees will need to volunteer to take a few hours, once a week, at their place of work, to take a class. Administrators will need to

cooperate by allowing and encouraging their employees to do this, with the understanding that this is actually upgrading their employees' potential.

A convenient time is set up for 12 to 20 students who will make up the first group. A place to work is selected. It is necessary to have seats and a blackboard. A subject that will act as a seedbed for interest in other subjects is chosen. An expert instructor is provided by the stationary college, which is the base for the educational resources that are needed by the satellite site.

The group is asked to start with two types of subjects. One content subject (i.e. psychology, sociology) and one college skills subject (i.e. writing). Since the purpose of the Mobile School is to help the adult to gather, select, and articulate information and solutions to problems, writing a paper for each course is accepted practice.

The adult will start, then, with two classes. One basic subject seminar, (or seedbed class) to introduce him to a subject and to stimulate further interest in a domain of knowledge, and one skills class.

Since we are actually dealing with two sites, one on the job and one a college base (a fixed plant), our model can be projected two ways.

One might introduce one class during the daytime, during working hours in an employee lounge, cafeteria, etc. (This requires the cooperation of the administration, to allow the employee the release time to go to school on the site. The second class might be held on the same evening of the day class, immediately after work on site.

Another possibility is that the second class can be held at the fixed base, the parent college, and students can be transported to it on a bus.

Transportation

A mini-bus can be used to bring the student from the on-site school to the fixed plant school. The bus can make the round of site, picking up students who have completed their work for the day. After the pick-ups, they can enter classes at the parent school, enabling them to participate in many more seminars, and interact with many more diverse students than on site.

Communication

Communication between site classes and the parent school can be maintained with the help of a telephone "hot line." A number is designated at which a school counselor is positioned, and this number is called in any emergency that the on-site personnel or student may have. At the parent school, there are more resources, and problem solving can begin immediately.

There should be an administrator-counselor visiting the site classes once or twice a week. Individual questions can be answered from students, and faculty problems that cannot be solved by the "hot line" telephone service can be dealt with. The visit would help the student to understand more fully the resources to be gathered at the parent school and which of the resources can be made available to the site school. At the beginning of the term, registration can be in a group at the on-site school. At the end of the term, grading can be discussed and evaluation of work explored with both the teacher and the administrator.

Curriculum

On-site classes should be relevant to the major interest of the student as it relates to his or her work (especially if he or she is doing paraprofessional work).

Classes in childcare, mental health, communications, finance, etc., will generate the most interest in the worker already involved in these areas. However, the liberal arts subject should be taught rather than the vocational course. That is, accounting should not be taught for the B.A. degree--economics or labor studies should be the subject given to students who are interested in money matters.

The goal is to broaden the students' horizons, and

to broaden their concept of their own potential and self-identity, so that they seek subjects that deal more with all the diverse material the liberal arts degree has to offer.

One example of this is the nurse who eventually became interested in philosophy and in the function of medical and social care by the social system to the person.

Thus, curriculum has a goal:

1. Building informational skills.
2. Increasing awareness of the social location of the person in his/her society.
3. Encouraging analysis of the spectrum of work and the whole person in interdependence.
4. Integrating work, home, and education in the students' lives.

A curriculum should be planned for small groups at the start, and progress to more individual planning as the students become more competent.

As the students continue, they find new needs emerging. Students who are off campus are cut off from campus affairs and require a good deal of attention, so that they will not become isolated psychologically and intellectually from the parent campus.

They arrive at class twice a week at a site which is actually designed as a work place. Their classroom equipment is comparatively makeshift (blackboards, seats, tables, audio-visual equipment, books, etc.) and thus they need mobile support units to visit each site once a week.

Some of the needs of these students are academic. An example of academic needs would be: career planning and counselling, academic advising, transcript evaluation. The format for off-campus sites should ideally include:

1. Student orientation meetings at the start of seminar.
2. Faculty meetings for integration of work done with students on site.
3. Financial aid counselling on a regular basis.
4. Comprehensive counseling, including transcript evaluation, career guidance, and academic advisement.
5. An end-of-term evaluation of the faculty and course quality and content.
6. Field trips and audio-visual aids, for enrichment of the program, which is necessarily sparse.

7. An end-of-term get together, so that the people at the various sites can connect in feeling to the larger campus and to other students and faculty in their common endeavor.

When the basic program is a solid component of the regional college network, then we might recruit residents of the surrounding community into the classes, increase the number of classes held at each center, and use community resources for classes. By providing a needed service in a local territory (like community forums on local issues), we can provide an enriched program for our students, recruit new students to the campus, and help the center to maintain its good relationship with the surrounding community.

Each local site, then, has the potential of becoming a mini-campus with courses, innovations and forums serving people both at their place of work and in a local neighborhood.

Some of the courses of study at these centers can revolve around community problems and the solving of these problems through the analysis of problems of society, and suggestions on social policy by local residents for regional areas.

Equipment and Plant

Since classes are being held at permanent sites that are used for other purposes, it is unnecessary to provide building space for classes. However, blackboards, books, seats, childcare service, audio-visual aids, and a plethora of learning materials will help to enrich the learning process.

A minibus might be used to carry equipment to centers on a scheduled basis. The bus might carry and loan books, audio-visual equipment, etc., to sites.

The minibus might also be used to take people to museums, theatre, concerts, etc., and as part of a field-work component of the program. The bus can also be used as a mobile library.

Thus we are suggesting an "exchange of services" model. The school-on-the-hill provides mobile services and personnel--the site agency provides the learning, setting, and bureaucratic support for community efforts.

Positions Needed for Support Services

1. Director. The director of the school would plan for maintenance of high academic program, direct the staff hired to serve the sites, and direct the various student coordinators at the sites.

The directors would also plan the development of the site-campuses, coordinate and plan courses, hire faculty, represent the college to the community, recruit further centers, and act as public relations representative of the larger college and the site campus in conjunction with the agency administration and the college administration.

2. Administrative Assistant. An accomplished person is needed to work exclusively with the off-campus program director and campus director. The administrative assistant would help the director to carry out all of the duties necessary to maintain and develop the program.

3. Student Coordinators. Student coordinators should be chosen at each center to be the liaison person between the director, the campus, and the center. Relaying messages, problems, contacting students, and keeping local records will be part of the student coordinator's job. Student-aid money might be found to pay for this position.

4. Secretary/Registrar. These might be used in common with the parent college and agency.

Curriculum Progression

Step 1. This is a remedial curriculum designed to bring students up to par in reading, writing, and articulation of ideas.

Step 2. Introductory courses in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. These are considered as necessary for further curriculum development. Each seminar is interdisciplinary in nature, a forum for the common exploration of areas of concern. These seminars include such courses as The Family and Society, Bureaucracy--The Natural Environment, etc.

Step 3: The Major. The major is the student's own development of her/his own interests and their relation to the college curriculum. The student can at this point enter the "parent" college and attend classes at the fixed plant. Since the course offerings are more varied, the student can, at this point, choose course offerings that are geared to special interests or vocations.

Traditionally, the conferring of a liberal arts degree has been determined by certain temporal and spatial considerations. The Mobile School model seeks to acclimatize the adult learner to the university, and to accommodate the university to the adult learner. Thus, in "step progression" learning, the student will go to classes near work or home while also learning to become a student.

The Socialization Process

The student will involve himself in skills and introductory material, while learning that he can and wants to

commit himself to the larger role of college student. After the successful completion of the introductory material (the first and second step), he can attend the fixed plant as a committed student, secure in the knowledge that he has both the academic tools and the personal understanding and commitment that will enable him to take on the full undergraduate student role.

Added to the three academic "steps" in becoming a college student is a fairly new academic credit earning apparatus. This is the awarding of credits for experiences and expertise gained in life that relate to college material. Credits are awarded if experience or work gained in community work, travel, child care, etc., can be shown to produce knowledge in that area comparable to knowledge gained in college courses. Thus, if a person has done paraprofessional work in child care, certain credits may be given under the area of child development. If a person has engaged in community work and has learned much about the workings of local political structures, academic credit may be given for work in community studies.

In this way, there is recognition given to the concept that learning can be both experiential and theoretical. Certain skills and understandings are considered

"creditable." This process recognizes that education does not occur in a vacuum, but is related to the "real" work world, and that personal experience does not occur in a vacuum and is related to the world of higher education.

These credits are called "life experience credits" and are a special aid to the adult in completing their college work. Thus, once again, we lay the stress on exit requirements, rather than entrance requirements.

Seminars

What is a "typical" Mobile School/Seminar like? Mobile School students meet once a week for three hours and are expected to complete approximately eight to ten hours of assigned reading and/or research per session. A seminar consists of approximately 12 to 20 persons of varying social backgrounds.

The rationale for these procedures is that attendance on a once-a-week basis frees adults from unnecessary travel and frees them to do more work independently at home. The small-group approach entails a new approach to subject matter and learning methods. Responsibility for the learning session is shared by each member of the group: the level of preparation in terms of reading assignments, preparation of oral reports, and drafting of

research papers constitutes the positive contribution of the student to the meeting.

The instructor is the specialist and resource person; he provides information, clarifies issues, and keeps the group moving toward its goal. The students exchange information and opinions, and offer support and necessary constructive criticism to each other.

The aim of such seminars is to develop an information bank and to increase student competence, the ability to probe and organize a topic, to present it thoughtfully to fellow students, and to become actively involved in responding to the presentations and issues raised by the other members of the group.

Seminars require independent research for each session and the submission of a research paper during the term; second, they involve contact hours which require the exchange of information and feedback for further research.

In sum, the focus of learning is the individual student as he pursues his studies and independently widens his learning experience in active encounter with his co-learners and in his society--both local and cosmopolitan.

Since this program takes as prime importance the needs of its students, it encourages them to take courses

at other institutions. Such credits are transferable toward the degree, provided that the institution is accredited and a grade of C or better is earned.

Independent Study

Another credit-earning apparatus is independent study. A student may elect to undertake independent study if he or she has a special interest in a subject. Projects which involve the actual work situations of students are encouraged. A student interested in probing a specific area or developing a specific competence proposes his study to the academician who is responsible for independent work. This administrator helps the student formulate the project and suggests a supervisor who will work with the student. The student may use this teacher or work with someone of his own choosing. The supervisor is responsible for setting up the tutorial and evaluating the project. Students may take one independent study tutorial each term.

Education Is A Relationship

A basic assumption here is that adult education should be characterized by peer-group interaction in the presence of a sympathetic and expert teacher. The faculty act mainly as spurs, mentors, and critics to the learning enterprise. Intense interaction is usually generated

in these seminars, and students are critiqued by their peers and by the faculty supervisor. In this way, the students can gain the benefit from the experience and technical knowledge of the faculty person without developing a student-teacher dependence. Since faculty are hired for the purpose of a specific seminar only, this dependence can be avoided. Faculty can be recruited from a wide area of regions and schools. Therefore, the basic relationship between student and school is provided by the Mobile Administrator and the counselling staff.

In counselling, individual consultation on academic matters often revolves around assessment of transcripts from other institutions and information on requirements for teacher certification.

The Mobile School program can educate a broad range of students, especially people active in organizations or working in government agencies, community residents, housewives, and men seeking to change careers. Students are welcomed from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds.

Although many aid programs discriminate against adults--especially low-income adults--the advantages of adult education, both for the student and the university, is a compelling reason for giving the student as much

financial aid as possible. Lifelong learning is as important for a society's well being as it is for the well being of the individual.

Why is this fluid structure for learning called The Mobile School? The Mobile School is one that is truly fluid, and constantly moving out to wherever the students are located in the community, rather than remaining a fixed and rigid structure (usually represented by a massive building) to which students must go in order to learn. It is embodied in the peer faculty - student relationship rather than in an impressive plant. It is mobile in being open to its surrounding region--to various subgroups in society--open temporally, spatially, and pedagogically (a Fluid Model).

The Adult Learner

My first assumption is that the structures appropriate to the education of young people for participation in the life of the community are not suited to those already engaged in that process. Thus, academic institutions must adapt their resources to the strengths and needs of the adult learner. If this is taken seriously, it becomes apparent that academic institutions do not have all the human resources necessary for this task.

Academic institutions must come to perceive themselves not merely as educating the community, but as part of it, and therefore must more closely match their educational resources with the specific needs of surrounding communities.

This implies that an institution that undertakes to educate adults cannot define its educational resources only in terms of traditional academic departments and disciplines. Furthermore, permanent faculty, and thus rank and tenure, even the envied campus itself, are not prerequisite to learning. In the Mobile School, faculty are recruited from all other schools, for a specific purpose, and a campus is created wherever students gather to learn.

The Site--Assumptions

Within this general framework, each site of the Mobile School can be thought of as part of a specific community. Each site demonstrates the ability of formal, fixed academic institutions to serve under a variety of local circumstances. The community centers, day care centers, and work places which house the school represent the college as a learning center for economically disadvantaged and racially diverse students. Students are provided with an educational center close to work or home to

deal with their particular needs and problems within the liberal arts tradition. Finally, the school site provides a forum for exploring some of the questions that have arisen out of the issues of survival, growth, and transformation within the life of their neighborhoods.

Thus, the partnerships between local community institutions and the larger college provide a model for liberal arts colleges to develop nontraditional relationships with external institutions.

In the Mobile School, admission policy stresses exit rather than entrance requirements. There is an assumption that positioning of admissions policy is not the issue--final outcomes are. The development of talent and human potential.

The Mobile School approach to curriculum is based on the assumption that adults have learned a great deal through their experience on the job, at home, and in the community. Thus, the program awards academic credit for educationally valid life experiences which the student has reflected upon and can articulate. It encourages independent study options by which students can strengthen connections between education and experience. The program in reality depends in large part upon step-progression learning.

Step-Progression Learning

What is Step-Progression Learning? Remedial work is the first step in acquiring the basic college skills, with courses such as Reading Comprehension, College Writing, Critical Analysis of Literature, and Basic Scientific Concepts with a stress on either Social Science or Natural Science.

A second step involves acquainting the student with the introductory courses of the liberal arts, which will give him a basis in the culture of his society.

Finally, the program offers a student-based curriculum development which recognizes the maturity of adults as well as their needs and interests. In these and other ways, a student can acquire the credits necessary for a Bachelor of Arts degree in four years of fulltime study without jeopardizing family or job responsibilities and while affirming the commitment to take on the role of college student.

The Philosophy of the Mobile School

The Bachelor of Arts degree is considered by the Mobile School as the appropriate certificate for its students. It is an academic institution's most obvious symbol of commitment to the education of adults within its own tradition. Of equal importance is the fact that the

B.A. degree symbolizes an unpatronizing approach toward the adult learner. "Special" degrees offered in many adult programs in institutions which also offer the B.A. to their traditional graduates implies an inferiority.

The liberal arts represent an approach to the understanding and solution of human problems which uses our diverse cultural and community resources. By emphasizing a philosophical perspective and the understanding of behavior, the liberal arts approach promotes expanding and humanizing perceptions which develop the student's ability to participate within his or her total environment.

This is particularly important for adults since many have been, for various reasons, denied that conscious understanding of themselves and their institutions.

None of this precludes the possibility of seminars or other modes of learning whose focus is vocational, as long as such study is compatible with a liberal arts education and that the acquired learning can be shared with others and "makes sense."

Finally, the Mobile School model attempts to reinforce the principles of a participatory democracy. First, it makes itself accessible to all members of the community who seek its use in terms of both admissions and financial aid policies. Second, the model does not require specific

modes of instruction. Instead, after an appropriate college skills and introductory course sequence of seminars, it obligates its students to develop their intellectual powers autonomously.

The Mobile School assumes that:

1. Adult programs can be designed to overcome the fear of formal education that hampers many adult learners.
2. Institutional barriers must be removed.
3. Inconveniences and threats to individual esteem can be removed from higher education.

Groups of adult learners provide mutual support, share experiences, and stimulate a reexamination of issues and life purposes that leads to improved reasoning and participation in society.

I believe that through this type of program, colleges can enhance their understandings of how communities and cultures work and can greatly increase their interactions with the institutions of the community and can narrow the gap through providing skills, competencies, and "legitimacy."

The learning in step-progression--from basic college skills to individually planned liberal arts programs--is geared to effect structural changes in adult attitudes

manifested towards the self and society's institutions. More research is needed on this, especially if we are to enter the era of commitment to life-long learning.

I would hope, however, that such a program will be shown to be associated with increased life satisfaction and job mobility.

The encouragement of life-long learning as social policy is relatively new. America has long held the assumptions that education is beneficial to the young and contributes to the common good; now the same assumptions are being extended to older people and the majority of the population.

Though public policy toward a life-long education is still in a seminal stage, millions of adult Americans are currently pursuing some form of learning. An increasing number of these seek higher education, primarily because they believe a degree promises enhanced income but also in the hope that education will equip them to deal with life and their roles within it more effectively.

These adults, however, are frequently handicapped by internal conflicts and by the inability of higher educational institutions to revise policies and procedures which were devised for much younger students.

There is evidence that adults can be a major clientele of institutions of higher education (especially women students), and thus the future of higher education may very well depend on how institutions respond to their needs.

I believe, too, that there is a strong relationship between humanistic, liberal arts education and the well-being of our democratic society.

¹Operational Definition: This section is a case history of the Mobile School (a code name for a real program in operation in the Greater Metropolitan area of New York), which I conceived, developed, and administered.

All of the descriptions, results, and operations are from the demonstration project serving 125 adult students, hitherto under-represented in higher education.

Chapter 6

MARGINALITY, LEGITIMACY, AND THE

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE: MINORITY WOMEN ON THE MOVE

Sex, class, and race issues like equal work and access to educational opportunity, can be clearly identified as issues relating to social mobility and self-development possibilities for minority groups in our society. Labor and higher education participation, when increased, often brings with it an increase in societal status through achievement. These systems are interdependent entities. Therefore, in order to arrive at a high status for 'marginal' women, these issues must be addressed. In addition, the effects of the interplay between sex, economics, and race can be seen by examining participation in the occupational structure and the position of all women in it. Attention must also be paid to the important place educational training or lack of it plays in positioning one in the occupational structure.

The number of working women has increased greatly in our society (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1974), yet, in the minds of policy makers, they are not pursuing careers.

Social Constraints--Sex and Class

In fact, women have moved in and out of the work force, but for reasons other than those generally assumed. Women have been tracked into menial, low-paying, tedious jobs, and at the same time coerced into going back home by social pressures which tell them that they are unfeminine when out in the job market for a major portion of their time.

This has greatly added to their economic woes for according to a report by Juanita Kreps (1973), if married women in all age and educational groups who were engaged in non-market activities had been employed in paying jobs, their total earnings would have been roughly 10.5 billion dollars.²

Instead of being paid cash, the woman who gives much of her time at home is reimbursed by being labeled virtuous. This "convenient social virtue" in the words of John Kenneth Galbraith (1973) applies as well to draftees, hospital workers, and others whose reward for service is counted in social approval rather than dollars. It is a lower class position which serves the managerial class well, for although the employer may not be aware of it, he receives not only the services of the male head of household, but also the services of the employee's wife and children gratis, enabling both employer and employee

to operate in the workplace. This label of virtuousness is convenient and cheap for a society that does not recognize the housewife's labor and considers her unemployed when in the home (Galbraith, 1973).

This invisibility in the ability to demand societal recognition of her needs is confirmed by the U.S. Department of Labor Statistics (1974).

Minorities and women suffer deeply from this condition, for more than one-third of the poverty-level households have women as their sole heads (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971b).³ More than half of all black families earned below what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls a lower budget for a four-person family with black women heading many of these families (Ehrlich, 1960a).

In a society that measures individual importance by how much money or power a person possesses, it becomes clear that women are not equal participants in the status structure of our society.

The women's movement has not changed this situation substantially. More than ten years after the rebirth of the women's movement, the income of women remains one-third less than that of men, with the gap widening rather than closing (Ehrlich, 1960b). Even within the same job categories, women earn less than men. Occupational

segregation is greater for women now than at the turn of the century. In fact, 68 percent of one sex would have to change jobs to equalize the distribution of the sexes in occupation (Ehrlich, 1960b). This is the major reason for the wage differentials between males and females. Women hold the majority of the low-status, low-paying jobs. Vocations such as secretaries, clerical workers, household workers, telephone operators, stenographers, practical nurses, typists, sewers and stitchers are filled 90 percent or more by women (Ehrlich, 1960b). Although it is true that women in general are not as highly educated as men (they are less likely to attend and finish college), the odds are great that even a female college graduate will earn less money than a male high school graduate (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971a).⁴

Major Barriers to Social Mobility Through Achievement

In spite of continuing discrimination, more and more women are entering the work force every year. As population control gains support and improved means of birth control become widely available, women seek new roles and responsibilities. They have been living longer, are being divorced and widowed in greater numbers, and are, by necessity, supporting themselves and their children. Still, it is difficult to make women's needs apparent, and the barriers to social mobility still exist.

Having been placed in a position where women's labor is either unpaid, as in housework, or underpaid, they become bogged down in the business of making each day livable, unable to raise themselves above what Simone de Beauvoir expressed as "prisoners of dailiness," constantly survival bound, unable to look beyond the dust that they sweep away today, which will be there again tomorrow.

Institutional and Logistical Barriers To Achievement

Lack of institutional support services such as day care, professionalization of housework, new types of architecture, flexible work schedules, regional development of industry, good public transportation, and educational opportunities are some of the barriers to women in achieving upward mobility and equality in our society.

Day care is needed on a massive scale so that women are afforded the time and opportunity to continue their education, to work and to establish careers. The axiom "woman's place is in the home" is based on the notion that children need an omnipresent mother. It has never been proven that a single socializer is better for a child. It may very well be that an individual who must eventually live in a multi-relationship world is hampered if initially trained to relate fully to only one person. Independence is the hallmark of the mentally healthy child (Joffe, 1972).

The greatest time and energy consumer for women is housework. If housework were professionalized along the lines of civil service jobs and accorded the trappings of a profession (equitable wages, status, and title), it would create jobs for some women and men and allow others the time and freedom to choose other occupations.

Radical departures in architecture are needed now to accommodate working and school-going parents. The old concept of isolated family apartments and homes should be augmented by planned housing complexes with built-in services. In Sweden, where such complexes already exist, parents are able to leave their children in day care centers or elementary schools within the buildings on their way to work, pick them up at the end of the day, and either return to their apartments for dinner or eat in the building cafeterias. As it exists now, architecture is for profit only; people-oriented architecture must become a reality.

Flexible work and school scheduling is another innovation that is demanded by the increase of women in the job market. There have already been successful and encouraging experiments with staggered work hours and four-day weeks, including experimental adult education which allows greater freedom in the division of household and childrearing tasks. Part-time and job sharing

arrangements for women are other possibilities which have allowed mothers the freedom to work and to care for their children. More such flexibility is needed; the idea that all people must work the same 9 to 5 hours is often counter-productive.

Most women are less geographically mobile than men since they are usually family-bound. For this reason, women are often passed over when it comes time for transfer promotions. Regional development of industry, a kind of min-headquarters system in cities throughout the country, would facilitate the participation and upgrading of women. It would, as well, enable men to climb the ladder without the constant unsettling threat of having to pull up stakes and move every few years. There would also be a wider range of job choices for both men and women in such a system.

Good, cheap, efficient, and safe public transportation is a necessity, as we are beginning to realize from an ecological standpoint. This is also true from the point of view of the woman who works, for she must be able to get to and from her place of business safely. The safety factor is a particularly important consideration for women who are the most vulnerable members of a violent society. In the past it was assumed that a woman's safety was her

problem, and that the solution was simple--she should stay home.

Women are not staying home any longer, they want to work, and educate themselves, and society's obligation is to enable them to do so. There is no reason why the transportation system of a society should serve as a block to the achievement aspirations of any group based on either sex, class, or race.

Last, but most importantly, continuing education and training over a lifetime are needed to insure women's full participation in public life, thereby allowing them a chance for upward mobility. Because women are biologically the ones who give birth and sociologically the ones who care for children in their early years, women's education and training is often interrupted. Fully accredited educational facilities, which would allow continuing education and training for people of all ages, with exit requirements would help insure the full utilization of women in the public arena. Educational credits should be given for life experience, such as child-rearing, as well as for on-the-job training.

Opportunities for careers for women in the future will be related to women's own skills, training, and experience, and to a great extent upon the conditions of the labor market. Forecasts by the Bureau of Labor

Statistics and projections made by the U.S. Department of Labor indicate that the economy is moving from a production-based to a service-based mode. The need for professional and technical workers will increase by 39 percent between 1970 and 1980, followed by a 35 percent increase in need for service workers, bringing high earnings and chances for advancement for the incoming workers. The Labor Department believes that continued enforcement of sex discrimination laws is changing social customs and will aid women in their advancement. They remind us that the professional occupations will require at least a college education. New opportunities will be available in many areas, among them technical fields (particularly in health), environmental protection areas, engineering (especially medicine), biology, law, special areas of education, managerial and administrative fields. These careers will be open to women, and all will require at least a college education.

The Labor Department concludes that between 1970 and 1980, with better education, career planning and counseling, women will be able to have an equal opportunity to enter these occupations as men have now. They advise women not to "settle" for second-class jobs and to find new ways of combining their private and public roles. When legal sanctions against sex discrimination are pressed,

with training and career programs used effectively, the myths which employers have used to bar women from better positions will be dispelled. Indeed, the restrictions barring men from stereotypically "women's" jobs are now opening up. As women are entering the fields of law and administration, so too are men now entering the field of nursing (U.S. Dept. of Labor 1971a).

Thus, education is inexorably interwoven with the contingencies of the market place. Since 39 million women are already working, it is safe to assume that many of them will seek increased upgrading of their job responsibilities, promotion to higher status positions, and new career opportunities outside of their present field. The black woman finds work imperative; her income is often not supplemental to that of another full-time wage earner. She is highly motivated, however, to seek work that is more pleasant, prestigious, and financially rewarding than her present employment. It follows that if minority women were to have equal access to higher education, they would seek equal access to higher level jobs, giving increased access to social mobility. In America social mobility and legitimacy are practically synonymous with education and employment mobility.

Identity, status, and personal self-esteem are often based on job positioning, and this is often gained through

training in the educational system. Thus we believe that educational stratification and/or employment stratification equals social stratification in our society.

When an entire group of people is discriminated against triply, due to sex, race, and class, they find themselves excluded from the resources of society and from recognition through achievement--thus, they evidence low achievement goals, preferring instead to build a parallel culture or leave the system entirely. We need them, instead, to participate fully in our society.

Adaptation to New Norms and Social Mobility

Changes in the role of all women will not occur in a social vacuum but will be nourished by developments in the wider society--in work, family, education, community and leisure. The shape of the economy and that of the educational system are of key significance for alternative roles for women in every culture (Degler, 1964).

Women of all races must have access to many kinds of opportunities in the marketplace and not merely work at the least desirable and lowest paying jobs. Under full employment conditions women as well as men must be afforded work which is suitable, fair, fulfilling, nonexploitive, and peaceful (Model and Hareven, 1973). They should share equally with men in all occupational fields and at all levels within each field. Racial stereotyping and gender-based selection and job assignments can be abolished. Furthermore, they must be rewarded with equal pay and professional

advancement. This means that women will be properly trained in expanding fields. Women predominate in fields which are not expected to expand--teaching, nursing, nutrition, and library work. Their interest and training must shift to growth fields such as medicine, dentistry, engineering, and science.

For men and women of all cultures to be able to participate equally in our society, they must want to do so. Adult attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and self-images are formed and hardened during childhood by the entire set of early experiences. Today the socialization of black and white, of boys and girls to accept the traditional sex-stereotyped roles begins in infancy and is reinforced throughout childhood and adolescence both at home and in school. For a new ideology to govern, the socialization of children must be reworked to reflect the new and desired equality between the sexes.

The educational system could serve as an important catalyst for change toward sex and ethnic equality. The schools could reduce sex/race stereotypes of appropriate attributes and activities by broadening the spectrum of occupations youngsters may consider for themselves, irrespective of present sex-linked notions of man's work and woman's work, and by providing boys as well as girls with training in the tasks they will have as parents and spouses (Bell, 1973).

Ideally, this type of proper early socialization would result in ideological and attitudinal changes in the female and male roles, the black and white roles. If men and women believe in shared responsibilities and equal roles in marriage and in racial equality, then neither has a choice of whether or not to enter the labor force--the family must be supported, and this responsibility must be shared. But now both men and women would have occupational choice. Women would no longer suffer from a lack of occupational choice because of the narrowness of their own attitudes and those of their employers or because of the absence of long-range career plans. Men as well as women, black as well as white, would share in the upbringing of their children and in the home responsibilities. Routine housework would be divided rather than being in the woman's sole domain. Arrangements for child care facilities, flexibility of working hours, and sharing of jobs will enable all women and men to share in all aspects of life-work, family, and leisure.

Presently, such a society with total equality of the sexes exists only in the minds of some of us. If such a society became a reality during the next several generations, full employment would mean providing work for the vast part of the adult population, or that part which is "able and willing to work for pay." It would not, however,

mean 40 hours work for everyone. With a larger force of husbands and wives sharing home and market responsibilities, each could work a shorter week and at a more flexible schedule. Everyone would share in more leisure time, too. Such a society would have achieved genuine equality of opportunity--if educational opportunity can be found for all who have been heretofore underrepresented in schools of higher education. It is a "dream deferred." A dream of marginal people in a mainstream structure.

At this juncture we will hear from marginal students in a fluid education program (the adult minority woman) who have, in the past, associated mainly with their group of social origin (i.e. women, black, Latin American). According to Merton (1968) and Weber (1968), marginal people also live in a legitimate order, one which appears permanent to them, one that they consider valid, and they conform to the norms of behavior in that order. However, we are told that it is possible for an actor to orient himself to two different orders, with a gradual transition between the two extremes (subgroup, and mainstream orders)--eventually, the actor chooses the set of norms he wishes to conform to.

This is the model of behavior that we found in our interviews with the women of the Mobile School. We were able to trace a process of role-relearning in order to attain a new definition of their own situation. Using the

Mobile School, the women sought to remove themselves from subordinate positioning in society, and increase their legitimacy. In their search for a new social location, they displayed rising aspirations, and ambiguous feelings of self-worth. As they moved to a new concept of themselves and their vision of a new future, they expressed a commitment to becoming a college student as a way of gaining a more honored social location in the legitimate order. They took on new reference group norms, those of college student, and hoped for a better future for themselves and their children. They adapted to a more future-oriented value system. The adaptation process is summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. THE ROLE RELEARNING PROCESS

Direction	MODE OF ADAPTATION	TYPE OF NORMS	SOCIAL POSITIONING
of the Process 	Old Adaptation	Subordinate Behaviors Acceptance of Positioning Negatively Oriented Views	Marginality
	Rising Aspirations	New Motivations Search for Social Mobility	Marginality with Vision of Legitimacy
	Conflicting Roles (Old and New Adapta- tions)	Straddling of Norms Ambiguous Feelings about Old/New Norms	Straddling Marginality/ Legitimacy
	New Adaptations and Acquisition of New Role (College Student)	Achievement and Choice Norms Nonacceptance of Subordinate Behaviors - Future-Oriented Views	Imminent Legitimacy Self-Actualization

The interviews were done in the Mobile School, a program now in operation, serving 125 students and administered from a small private institution. Its student body is almost wholly composed of mature minority working women, black and white who are working on a paraprofessional level and would like to professionalize their work. The women work in semi-skilled, traditionally female occupations, in poverty centers, day care centers, and business offices. Many are urban workers who also have full-time responsibilities within the home. Most are highly motivated, extremely responsible, and intelligent.

Their vocational aspirations are close to their daily experiences, interests centering on the human services. The students at the Mobile School have been admitted to the program on virtually a complete "open admissions" policy. The only criterion was age, a minimum of 21 years was established. A High School diploma or its equivalent was desired, however, not required, and the student was given an opportunity to "make up" the remedial work at the college. This approach was consistent with the goal of an egalitarian entry policy and a meritocratic exit policy. For an "exit policy" to be successful, it is imperative that staff and faculty have good communications with students, so that the working and learning between entrance and exit (the "slow walk into higher education") is both

functional and qualitatively high.

The students in this program are for the most part mature, motivated, and from underrepresented groups in higher education. A sampling from each learning center, which encompassed between 12-18 students, was taken. About five women in each center were interviewed. The "talk" given in the text at the end of this paper is drawn from interviews done in small groups, in the field. The interviewer has been relying on methods of participant-observation and open-ended interviewing. The participant-observation has been conducted during 18 months of daily involvement with the students, and the interviewing was conducted at the completion of five semesters of "the program."

The focus of the interviews was mainly with the question of motivation for education, and the possible use of it once the education was completed. In other words, what is the relationship between the program and the student and the society?

The goal structure of the student and the goal structure of the university are different but overlapping. The university seeks to socialize the student into the mainstream culture. The student wants this, too, but does not want to lose his original ethnic/social identity. Thus they seek to integrate an entirely new identity--that of

college student and legitimized worker.

I interviewed 20 women out of about 100 women who are in the total program. Their age range is from 25 to 65 years. All live in New York City, in areas that hover between urban blight and respectability. They live with children and extended families, are black and Hispanic, and have incomes ranging from welfare to \$10,000 per year. (This income serves a family of 5 or 6 people.) They are "marginal people" in marginal jobs (semi-trained or para-professionals) who seek legitimacy for themselves and their families.

Their "talk" has been put down here without any "touch-up," and it therefore speaks for itself. During the interviews, I asked a question, and then allowed the talk to go its own way, focusing on subjective school experience. The discussions were open and free, for the women felt at home both in the center and with me. After returning home and listening to the tapes, I realized that a meta-message was being reiterated. My direct questions were answered with indirect stories, comments, asides, etc. (The underlying answers resided in the totality of the comments rather than in individual answers.) Finally, I heard the overall message, and verified it by doing a content analysis of the transcripts of the tapes.

Relearning the Roles--From Marginality to Legitimacy

After completing their education, the Mobile School students changed their self-image from a subordinate one, marginal to the mainstream of activity, to a self-definition of mainstream participation. The new roles that they viewed as viable and possible were stated as feelings. They had more self-confidence, felt more in contact with their community, that they had acquired more respect from their children, and were able to attempt new roles in life. Value-orientation changed from negative expressions of disgust and disgruntlement and pessimistic predictions of failure to hopeful, self-confident projections of plans for future work. Often, the women projected that they would be able to help their community members to gain political "rights," or a more dignified life. They projected plans that indicated a desire to build a future that was assimilated into mainstream American society, and there seemed to be a sense that there would be more ready acceptance into mainstream social life. They displayed a more autonomous thinking pattern.

The Mobile School's emphasis on exit requirements, rather than admission barriers (exercised by stiff entrance requirements) was the linch-pin of the Fluid Model of education that allowed these women the opportunity for intellectual self-development. It gave them time to develop,

to resocialize themselves to a future orientation. With the self-development came a more positive desire to take part in a society where they might, indeed, be able to play a 'real' role.

Then, their definition of the situation of their own life-chances in the marketplace and in social life changed, for has not Thomas (1931) defined this very process?

Preliminary to any self-determined act of behavior, there is always a state of examination and deliberation which we may call the definition of the situation. And actually not only concrete acts are dependent on the definition of the situation, but gradually a whole life-policy and the personality of the individual follow from a series of such definitions.

The students of the Mobile School were engaged as actors in a drama of identity. They used the vehicle of a fluid educational system to redefine themselves through a process that could be termed "Who Can I Be?"

The Drama

The drama is going on everyday in institutions of higher learning. It is a game of high stakes, played out on the stage of higher education.

Higher education becomes a proving ground for the marginal person, who is tottering on a narrow ledge between legitimacy and pariah status. There, he can either prove or disprove his "worthiness" to be identified as legitimate both to himself and to the community. The person pits

himself against the bureaucracy to "prove" that he can understand the books, take the tests, and get the grades upon which society will judge him. He will grade himself. In this game, there can be only two outcomes.

1. A grade of acceptable (legitimate) to society and oneself.
2. A grade of unacceptable (pariah), where the person is pushed out of the mainstream of relations with others, and pushed out of the respect he would otherwise have earned.

The name of the game is "Prove Your Worth", or, adapt to our norms.

What Roles Are Taken in This Drama?

1. The Student. The marginal person is on a narrow ledge between legitimacy and stigma. He can be "pushed" either way, up to higher status and acceptance, or down to "out" status. The student needs a vehicle for movement towards legitimate status in society and uses education for this purpose.

2. Education. This becomes a vehicle for defining a person's potential for acceptability in mainstream society. The evaluation system administered by the teacher is the feedback the student is able to receive.

3. The Teacher. The teacher finds himself the judge, representing the larger society and the power of

that society to place a label of identity on the student. The teacher can expect the student to play a role that is acceptable to the norms of a white middle-class life style.

4. The Colleges. The colleges themselves represent mainstream society, white, middle-class life style, and power in the abstract.

The regional site is a vehicle for identity setting that lands literally in one's lap. Thus, this program brought to the communities represents the closing off of personal escape clauses in not attempting to define one's status in society. It is an offer to remove oneself from the narrow ledge of marginality to the broad plateau of legitimacy.

The Happy Ending Is Being Sought

The question, What will you do with your education? becomes problematic, and on the tapes and transcripts, one sees sheer avoidance of this question--changing the subject, answering questions of motivation instead of utilization, etc. The new role has not yet been properly learned, but a new orientation has definitely taken hold and is highly valued. The future is identified as the children, and the hope that they will bring a more unambiguous identity to the group. They possibly can be in receipt of the new role as an inheritance from parents who have this to offer them rather than money.

Here is the way women expressed themselves regarding their feelings about their "imminent legitimacy," their new achievement norms, their nonacceptance of subordinate behavior, their acquisition of the new role of college student. We can trace the process of self-development via fluid education from the formerly defeated, marginal person, to a new role.

What I did get, it opened a lot of vistas for me, because, before when I had to speak to a group or speak, if there was more than one person, I would always tense up and words would stick in my throat, and I couldn't bring out what I had to say. But now, I feel more qualified to speak and know what I'm saying. Before, I could talk, but it was almost meaningless. Now, when I sit down to look at a television program and they're speaking, I had to guess at some of the things they're saying. I didn't know what they were talking about. If they used more than two syllables, at times, I didn't know. I really went to get education for myself. I'm age 65.

Another woman expressed herself in a different way.

I've got something now that no one can take away from me, and the best thing to do with learning now is to apply it, and if you can't apply it then you can get frustrated. I feel good now, I don't think I'm utilizing it all the way, but I think eventually, I will in daily life, everything that I've been taught so far. Every class helped me to understand the system of government, to understand people, to identify with what's going on with a person, a certain mood, but I didn't know what it was. Now there is a meaning for it, and I'm aware of it. It's a good feeling when you start going to school, because when you are not doing anything, you are standing still. It is also

good in the way that the community is getting educated and also since we are minorities, we should get educated in order to deal with the problems we are facing now.

Some of the women took on a new, autonomous attitude towards events in their lives. They refused any longer to submit to what they considered unfair practices that affected their fate.

One such woman protested what she felt was unfair treatment, and graphically describes her own reasoning process:

After we bought a book...and we did, I think, about four or eight chapters, he tells us that the book is too hard for us...the book wasn't hard at all, I mean it wasn't really for me...but he tells us, "I think the book is too hard for you," just by what two or three people might have said. YOU JUST DON'T SAY THINGS LIKE THAT... you know he would just challenge me and I would challenge him, you know, he would get me mad because he told me that I can't write a certain thing, and I really got annoyed and I told him that anything that I write, you just can't change and when he came out...that's when I had a negative attitude towards him anyhow. HE SHOULD'T TELL ME THAT I CAN'T WRITE. But you should learn from your mistakes, and that's the best part.

Another woman was equally offended by what she conceived of as a non-constructive attitude towards her. And some showed new perceptions about societal norms, a new awareness of their role in general.

The teachers have implied that they were surprised at some of the students that they knowledgeable about some things, like, it's a putdown, like you don't know anything.

They think minorities don't know anything. We are not feeling that it's a gift. What gift? We are not getting no gift. We are working for it. We are also paying for our education.

It is hard to think that they put so much importance to a paper, right? You might not go to college and yet have the same knowledge and everything and the experience, but yet the paper means something. Who puts importance to the B.A.? Well, society, people in general, and the job market, your family, your friends. It adds prestige, to your family, and friends, to you. I definitely want to use my education, that's why I'm here. I want to make something of myself...that's for sure, so I plan to use it...I would like to do many things, I really can't put it into words what I want to do, but there are so many things.

Finally, in the classic role of mother, a new self-definition allowed the women to communicate on a different basis with their children. They could show their children that a value orientation of delayed gratification, and preparing now for future work was a viable alternative.

One woman put it this way:

If by any chance you have a child that doesn't want to go to school, you can tell them, 'Well, look, don't do what I'm doing now, because I didn't finish, I have to go now. Do it while you're young.' I always say that to mine. I quit high school and I never finished. That was the worst thing I ever did. I don't know if it did any good. I got two into college. I have five of them, and my other daughter, the one in high school, she's talking about becoming a doctor!

Like Barbara says, my mother has four daughters, and she says 'You're going to be the only one with a college degree.' She's going on and

she tells her neighbors. Oh Boy! If I don't finish now! I must. I have no choice because I have one little boy and he refused to do anything in school. When he comes home from school, I sit right next to him and help him, and he's not retarded. I know this for a fact, and they keep saying that he's slow and this and that, and yet when he's home in my house he does all his work. It's just that he needs attention.

Other women agree on the importance of setting an example for their children.

I feel the children are, will eventually be the leaders, and you have to develop them early. I feel that most of the children are not getting the proper development and you need people who are dedicated and really interested in children in order to do this, and this is what I'd like to aim for. I want to go on and do advanced work. So I think that whoever did start is good, so that you have something to show the children, because with my own children, I feel kind of dumb sometimes. I need my credits to bring me to a higher position.

Some women stressed the communicative relationship with their children, and were proud of the improved quality of communication which they had attained. One woman expressed the process like this:

My children. . . they feel proud about it, even though they tease the mothers. They really feel proud that the mothers are going to college. The children like to see the marks, you know, when the marks come in. They look at it and say, 'Oh, you could have done better than that,' especially if you have children going to college, it makes them closer, because you start to communicate.

Education is going to help me with my children as far as being able to communicate with them. I feel that education is continuously changing in different ways, and I know as I get older and my children come up, it's going to be continuously changing and I want to be able to help them out and at the same time, they would be helping me. I think the children are happy when their parents go back to school, I think most children are very happy when they can feel proud and tell their friends, 'My mother is going to college'. They do feel very proud.

Finally, they take on a "future-orientation", and a reflection of the sociology of Karl Mannheim--who believed that new values are mainly created and expressed by individuals who confront established society as outsiders--members of oppressed groups, artists, poets, intellectuals--who he called "marginal men". Mannheim wanted the energies of a future-oriented population to be released, to produce a community-oriented democracy instead of a commercial, defensive democracy. He believed that a goal of society and education would be the creation of youthful personalities who can cooperate in groups to foster the common good without diminishing their judgement or independence, and that this depended in large part on educators, who must allow the realities of life to become part of the academic process for education must be for life (Mannheim, 1931).

The women, the former outsiders, expressed the wish to help new values to grow in their communities, and to

help people to live as full members in a democratic community. It was expressed this way to me in an interview on what women might want to do with their education:

I would like to help out more, especially the minorities, especially the Hispanics, well, about their minority rights, what they can do about their problems. If I can, I would like to do that. Here, with the community, you can inform them of their rights because there are so many of them that don't know where to go and what to do with themselves. We are going to form our own jobs here. To establish our own programs, write a proposal to get something started, something that would help, but more, something to inform the communities, to help them out.

Her friend agreed, and added:

Yes, we could help them upgrade themselves constantly, so they could be really knowledgeable, to keep up with the times, to broaden their mind and education. I feel especially the blacks and Hispanics are way behind in getting help, they don't know where to go, what to do. There are places that they could go, but most of them don't know. They don't even know where the places are and what services they are offering, what to do about it. If they have any problems they are afraid to speak out or to get any help because they feel, 'There's nothing I can do about it,' because they are not informed.

I WANT THEM TO BE AWARE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND WHERE THEY CAN SEEK THIS HELP. HOW TO GO ABOUT IT AND TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY DO GET IT. EDUCATION CAN HELP, ESPECIALLY IN GETTING THE PROPOSAL.

Or some ambitions are closer to home... and relate to "home" problems:

I would like (after my education) to work in a family help center as a social worker. I don't think now that they have a comprehensive family help center that answers the needs of the complete family. The reason is that I ran into a problem with my daughter; at 13 she was tall. She was embarrassed going to pediatrics. I feel that if they have a comprehensive family health center, there would be somebody there the child was familiar with, and this is my thing with the family health center.

My brother, he said to me, 'Rox, can you do me a favor and supervise our discussions over at the church?' So I go... 'Why me?' He says, 'If we got our parents, they're going to restrict what we say.' So I go in there and these young teenagers are discussing openly sex, life at home with their parents, everything. They can develop workshops with families, on the same basis. We can bring them together and say 'Well, look this is what was suggested and let's see what we can take off from this.'

I THINK IT WOULD BE GOOD FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

Once again educators must ask themselves, Why educate adults? Why advocate exit requirements, rather than entrance requirements--why advocate allowing people time to relearn their roles? We must, in order to meet the rising aspirations of people.

Hadley Cantril (1965) in exploring the pattern of human concerns tells us that the "Human Design" is such that we need survival, order, and certainty in life, and to enlarge and enrich our satisfactions. We want to make choices, to experience our own identity, and integrity to experience a sense of our own worthiness, and that we

will seek a value system to which we can commit ourselves. For we have aspirations to be filled, we must hope. The rising aspirations of the women in the Mobile School are eloquently expressed. Here are some examples, and here we can see their desire to relearn their roles--to adapt to a more "legitimate" order, and we can also see the new aspirations brought forth.

I've been out of school a long while now, and I just want to up and re-educate myself in certain things. Times have changed since I graduated from high school. The program is advancement for me . . . on the job, for my personal self. It gives you a different head, you know. It's like it builds more confidence to the point that I know that I could do this and I have this head on me, and I know what I can accomplish. I know how to talk to people, and it won't be on the level that I was before. Because there's a saying that no one can take from you what you know.

Others expressed their rising aspirations in relation to the content of their classes:

I learned how to write term papers properly, organization, also learned not to write long sentences, use my conjunctions properly and to know how to use them. Whole avenues open up to you, like you go out and research, read books, things that you . . . Alright, you may read books before, but they were different types of books that they make you read. Some are best-sellers. It just broadens your mind.

I couldn't be upgraded in a type of way unless I received more education. For work and in my own personal use. I want to better myself for later on. And I would like to take music, and set up choirs and things I like, that type of thing.

Finally, some honest assessments were made of self in relation to people in social environment--valid reasons for rising aspirations:

In this society, you really should be educated because everyone is educated practically. Only people that cannot afford to go to school don't go. So if you're offered the opportunity, you take it because it's important and it's like the society is structured. The whole thing is structured by education and your intellect. I want to be able to relate to intellectuals and be able to do what I want to do.

Also,

There is this thing with older people but even though I'm now close to 60, I would have liked to stay in the program because in the first place, I get out of the house. That's very important!

A classic expression of the rising aspirations of people in the Mobile School Program was the following:

I found that the program went very quickly, it went like that. I think everyone felt that way. Just the thought of coming to college threatened. You felt threatened. Once we got into the program I felt it wasn't that hard and I said to myself, I should have done this years ago!

However, the experience of the adult students was not always pleasant. There was much conflict as people moved from the role of marginal person (and acceptance of that role) to a commitment to relearning the role of college student and mainstream worker. For role is a set of expectations which a person experiences in a specific status, characterized by right, obligations, and duties.

In interaction with others, these expectations are known to the individual, and to others in the social environment with which the individual interacts. Although we may occupy different roles simultaneously, we use our knowledge of the present expectations upon us to give our lives a sense of stability. We know what, in general, is expected of us. We are able to make decisions about whether or not we will fulfill these expectations.

(Smooth interaction is mainly possible when mutual expectations of behavior are met in social intercourse.)

The conflict our adult students experienced as they moved from marginal status to college student is a classic experience of one in the process of enacting an achieved role. For our ascribed roles in life (like mother, father, son, daughter) are usually fairly clear to us. However, achieved roles are acquired after meeting particular requirements. The process of social mobility is one of meeting particular requirements, learning the social behaviors of a particular role (like teacher, nurse, administrator, etc.) and fashioning your inner and outer self to the mold of that role. Thus acquiring a role is both a subjective and objective activity, a difficult and arduous task.

These difficulties were not expressed easily by the women, however. The conflicting loyalties between the

roles of minority woman and mainstream college student were often apparent, for during role relearning, the individual is actually abandoning something--an identity, and a mode of adaption that has prevailed in the group of which he is a member. Thus, that person may suffer internally from conflict of values and loyalties--especially if there is the double burden of race or culture marginality.

A lot of girls needed a preliminary before coming into these courses. You know, a lot of us have been out of school for a while, and there are a lot of things that we need to brush up on. Right. Hey, look, I'm in a bind right now. I don't really know what's going on. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF US? I found that with a lot of girls it was the same problem. They just didn't know you know. Well, I stopped the teacher one day and I told her, I said, 'Look YOU DON'T KNOW NOTHING ABOUT ME, AND I DON'T KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THIS COURSE, BECAUSE I'M IN A BIND RIGHT NOW.' And I said, 'Now, explain to me something, start somewhere. Give me an explanation of this course.'

Sometimes the burden of the new adaption was felt at home. For the husbands of the women students were on occasion firmly against role relearning. There was fear on the part of some of the husbands that going to college would take women away from their homes and families.

(This was sometimes expressed by physical beatings of a woman. One woman registered in the program, went home to proudly tell her husband about this, and was physically beaten by him. He informed her that she did not have his permission to register in a college program, and if he

ever found her speaking to any of the women in the program, the beating would be administered once more.)

These men saw the introduction of an education into the role of housewife-mother as a threat to the prescribed duties/obligations of that role. It was expressed in an interview one day at the learning center.

Why is it that we can't get any men into this program? Instead of knocking us about at home, why don't they come in here with us? Most of the men take it as a threat, because she is getting closer to a degree and he's getting closer to the point where it works on their minds. I'm out here doing the best I can because I have to do what I'm doing now. I can't quit my job. I'm tired when I get home. It's a threat even though the women don't want them to feel that way.

Some of the women expressed these conflicts, but with sympathy for the viewpoint of the men.

You know, as the man or the breadwinner, or he's afraid that she might excel, she might learn something. Instead of being in a little mold where he put her and she's going to be there for the rest of her life. She might want to get a job, you know.

This one particular friend of mine, his wife went to college and he was all for it and he helped her through. Then, once she graduated, her caliber of people changed. You know, like he wasn't good enough for her. I don't know what the reason was, but she felt he wasn't good enough. They broke up. They're divorced. They divorced over her getting her degree. He's very hostile when he talks about it. 'Her, I helped her get a degree and then she got too smart for me. I'm not good enough for her.'

Her values changed. He wasn't good enough for her. Her values will have to change. When she goes to school . . . in that her eyes are being reopened and she's not just a housewife. She's an individual and not only that, look at what she can pass on, what she can give to her children and she couldn't do it before. So her values will change in that she will be looking for a better way of living. She had a higher DEGREE OF VALUES.

She got a raise. THEY MOVED HER UP, SHE GOT A PROMOTION. She got a beautiful apartment, and she doesn't live in the slums anymore. His attitude is still the same about her values, even though they did change. SHE DID BETTER HERSELF.

Another woman put it rather concisely:

My younger child and my husband, I had to deal with them first. I had to tell them I'm going out there for myself as well as for you. They felt like, hey Mon, stay home. You're an old hag. What are you doing out there? This was the reaction from my youngest. My husband pouted and carried on because, you know, he likes his meal on that table, and that's it!

The women often yearned for the stability of the old adaption. They wanted to know exactly what was expected of them for in the process of relearning the roles, they often felt too loosely moored--too far out in an unknown space. They asked for stated rules, more discipline, they wanted other students to rigidly conform to rules, and they wanted the teacher to take on a father image. This would give them a greater sense of security in an uncharted path of social mobility.

I feel that they should let us know what the requirements are and let everyone know where they

stand. I think everything should be put right forth to the students and they have to follow the rules. They must realize that they have these rules and regulations they have to follow, and if they can't do that, then they have to drop out.

You need the teacher and the students in a family-type room. It's more personal, in the beginning of time, family's the way you learn. You learn from the father and the mother . . . in the pioneer days they had no schools. So the teacher acted like the father, you know, and he disciplined the children and we did not have it. That's why we need more family type things like that. THE TEACHER SHOULD BE THE DISCIPLINARIAN, AND HE SHOULD HAVE ORDER AND DEMAND RESPECT FROM THE STUDENTS. HE ACTED LIKE THE FATHER, AND HE DISCIPLINED THE CHILDREN.

However, on the subject of the role of the teachers in a fluid educational program, most of the students understood and approved the equal-relation aspect of teaching. They knew that the program was based on interactional learning in a peer relationship with the teacher. They understood that they were being asked to create information as well as to absorb it. Their comments showed this understanding:

Teachers are like night and day. One teacher did his work with us, he would give us an idea about how he would do it, and he was like part of it, like a student.

You have to hire teachers too that can deal with minorities, blacks and Hispanics, because there are teachers that I had, honey, that they were afraid to come to this center, they were afraid to come. I MEAN WE'RE PEOPLE. YOU KNOW, WE'RE NOT GOING TO EAT ANYBODY.

In writing the teacher was sensitive enough to say you have talent and all you have to do is certain things and continue on and you can do well. Any other teacher would tell the kid he's pretty good, and that's it. There's no confidence there, you know, there's a lot of people lacking that. I saw the teacher last night, the new teacher, and he is very open, right away he made everybody feel like he was in his own living room talking to a bunch of women or friends. He really was very good. You don't feel threatened.

Finally, comments were made on the concept of a fluid education. The dictionary defines "fluid" as any matter which retains its identity while changing its shape, or a substance that's capable of flowing. Women seemed to have an understanding that the program was a new one, though it retained the formal identity of education, and changing situations and educational "shapes" were an integral part of the experiment. Karl Mannheim advocated group analysis as a method of education to deal with collective and individual adjustment which would facilitate reeducation and resocialization of people. The small group process was a part of the learning process in the Mobile School. All of the classes were held in small groups, in peer interaction with the teacher, who acted as a guide and resource for the group. The concept of "fluid" is a concept of education which is not rigidified--which is a flow of not only information but social and emotional understandings. It is a concept that implies that education is a public wealth that should be

movable--should move to people wherever they are, and should structure its curricula and body of knowledge around the needs of students--to make decisions about their lives, to help them to understand the significance of events in the society around them, and to help them participate fully in society.

Although the women did not utilize the term "fluid" in the interviews, their reflections on the effects of being given the opportunity to participate in the college outpost classes reveal the importance of a fluid educational model for adults--one that can jump the barriers usually set up by rigid school systems and reach people wherever they are:

The program is a wonderful thing for the simple reason there's so many people like myself. I would never have gone back to school if it wasn't for this program. Never even though I longed to go. For me, the program is very good--it's beautiful. Once I meet my child, I go right into the classroom, right here. But it's the travel part that I dread cause I was going to Lehman and for me it was a very big hassle to go there.

In ordinary college, I told Lorraine, 'I don't know how these kids are so fresh.' I couldn't because I was in my 40's and I just couldn't see how the heck these kids could go to school and be so fresh and bold. Whe I went to school, forget it. I had to adjust to it, and I felt so different. I was an adult, and I would always try and sit in the back of the classroom. That's where I belonged. YOU KNOW HOW YOU HAVE A LITTLE FENCE. YOU BELONG ON THAT SIDE AND NOT ON THIS SIDE. The kids were sitting in the front. Before the classes were over, I was already in the front.

In the center, the students are closer. They are more closely knit as a group, because over a period of 16 weeks, they have a better interaction with each other. They become concerned. They share parts of their family life and their school work with each other.

With this program, THERE'S NO MORE EXCUSE TO FORGET YOURSELF. Right, what more can you say? IT REACHES OUT. The program is a beautiful program, it really is, and I think it's all beneficial, because for me it's like preparing you for a college environment in case like for those who have not been to school for so many years and who would not be able to deal with the type of atmosphere in a REGULAR college, so this is like a small group who are trying to like say prepare themselves for the TYPE OF ENVIRONMENT, and we're doing it together and at the same time we are learning.

Like I said, I think it's beautiful 'cause I feel that when we do get to college, we will be able to do better, and this is good because a lot of students who want to go to college don't have the opportunity. It's just not in every district, the majority of us are working, plus all the traveling, and what's going on in this area, you know, you can't even go out at night.

A COLLEGE. IT'S JUST A ROOM AND PEOPLE AND TEACHERS, THAT'S ALL. I'VE BEEN TO A UNIVERSITY AND THAT'S ALL IT IS. THEY HAVE A BLACKBOARD AND THEY CAN SET UP THE SCENE. THEY CAN SET UP THE MOVIE. YOU DON'T NEED THAT TYPE OF ATMOSPHERE!

Although adult students may not "need that type of atmosphere," (an atmosphere of rigid rules, entrance requirements, time schedules, and a fixed plant that is far away from home), they do need its product--education.

For personal psychological health may depend on the ability and opportunity to develop oneself intellectually. The economic necessity for women to support or help families may be a fact of life, one must live in an industrial scientific age, making it imperative that the means of acquiring or continuing education must be made available to every adult at whatever point he or she broke off traditional formal school. All of this may not be possible, unless we are able to derigidify our present educational structures and educate adults in a system of fluid education (Maslow, 1962).

For a fluid educational system includes:

1. Exit requirements rather than entrance requirements.
2. Selection process by motivation rather than by testing.
3. Teaching from experience to abstractions of that experience.
4. Considering the character as well as knowledge of teachers.
5. Creating a support group in the classroom.
6. Using students to help administer the program.
7. Reducing the importance of time as a barrier to education.

8. Step-progression methods--starting with remedial work, and moving to introductory and specializations.
9. Considering lives and interests of the students in creation of the curriculum.
10. Establishing a peer relation between the teacher and student as a major part of the program.

¹Nearly 35 million women were in the labor force. This was 45 percent of all women 16 years of age or over. Women were 39 percent of the labor force.

²Kreps computes that if all 45- to 50-year-old married women who had college degrees and were engaged in non-market activities had been employed in paying jobs, their total earnings would have been more than \$5 billion. Similarly, if all 25- to 30-year-old non-working married women with up to 12 years of education had been engaged in market activity, their earnings would have been \$3 billion.

³Estimates for a four-person urban family budget in autumn 1971 was, on the average, \$7,214. The budget permits a food service at \$.45 per meal, per person.

⁴The educational backgrounds of a great many women are not being fully utilized in their jobs. A startling 7 percent of employed women who had completed 5 or more years of college were working as service workers (including

private household), sales workers, or clerical workers in March 1969. Nearly one-fifth of employed women with 4 years of college were working in these occupations, as were some two-thirds of those who had completed 1 to 3 years of college.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSIONS

Looking back upon the model of fluid education, the Mobile School, the school experience seems idyllic, for I have reported many accounts of deep satisfaction with the program from the women students.

What I sought to accomplish is to flesh out an abstract concept of education which can be used as an umbrella term to cover a central purpose for continuing education programs (education as a public resource). I have attempted, in addition, to clarify motivations and perceptions about school of a new age-grade undergraduate--the adult undergraduate, and to show the process of becoming a committed college student, from the student's vantage point. Basically, the women were extremely gratified to be a part of the higher education complex, and feel that the benefits far outweigh the costs of higher education. It was due to this basic student satisfaction that I was able to define the program as a success.

The Mobile School had a need for student involvement in both the daily life of the program and its administration. The student involvement in administrative problem-solving was the axis upon which the program turned.

Steady cooperation to solve program problems between student, faculty, and administration was the key to the model.

The model had been designed to correct three major contemporary problems--the shift of priorities away from the undergraduate in the university, the comparative insulation of administration from college boundary problems such as freedom of access, and the external problem of the rising expectations of a new student constituency--a constituency who may be older, of a minority group, or female.

This program solved some of these problems, but left others untouched.

The program was initiated as an answer to the initial difficulty students had in reaching the campus from home, and the problem the college had in attracting students to its campus.

The problem was seen as one of recruitment by the college. However, the campus was inaccessible to the students it hoped to attract. The adults in the surrounding area simply did not answer the call to register sent out in local papers and radio.

When the usual recruitment programs failed to yield any success, thoughts turned to the essence of the problem. Why did not students offer themselves at specified

registration times, and why did they not take advantage in numbers of the courses being offered at the college? The program has been especially designed for adults, offering courses twice a week, in a seeming attractive package.

One day, an answer to this dilemma came from an unexpected source. I received a telephone call from a field worker at the Agency for Child Development. She requested a meeting, and during that meeting posed a tantalizing request.

Would there be a possibility of working together to plan a program for paraprofessional women workers in the Agency--women who had already completed non-credit courses in child development? She felt that a "natural" next step would be credit work, however, had made the rounds of universities, and had been refused.

Since this request dovetailed with our present problem of student absence from registration, I agreed to set out a plan with her.

The program arose in an organic fashion. We solved problem one, thereafter, solved problem two. Our main concept was to stretch our educational arms out to the community, to make ourselves flexible enough so that people who wanted our educational programs, but could not find time to travel to rigid, specified places at

specified times, could participate.

I approached recruitment by going to the centers where the women worked and speaking to them personally about their needs for further education, their present skills or lack of them, the possibilities of taking time for schoolwork, and possibilities for funding and financial aid from state and federal sources.

Curriculum was explained, and many evenings of dialogue were held about the possibilities for beginning coursework and the necessity for remedial work before introductory college work could begin. Furthermore, discussions centered around whether or not adults had the "right" to take time away from family to attend school--a major issue for the older student.

There was much doubt and hesitation over finding the funds to go to school, finding the time to study, and the possible hostile reactions at home to the changes involved in becoming a student.

However, the women agreed that the venture was worth trying--they were paraprofessional workers, felt they could receive advancement if they upgraded themselves further educationally, and found support in each other.

With much trepidation, they participated as we arranged with them the time of classes, the place (at their own centers), and with their agreement, set out

the plan of remedial work.

We built the program one center at a time, and after one year, six centers were in operation, and we had on hand many requests from other child care agency centers, however, did not have the resources--personnel, material, and funding to branch out to meet all of the requests.

Working with a mobile faculty, who had been recruited from the surrounding campuses, we started our program. Faculty were chosen very carefully, more for flexibility and warm, expressive personalities, and nonprejudiced attitudes than for impressive curricula vitae.

The students were being schooled in their own place of work after hours, they did not have the opportunity to go to the larger college, and often the only person they saw from the university was me--for I was acting as a mobile administrator, visiting each center regularly to talk to students and teachers, and to solve problems that emerged.

The problems started almost immediately. The administration of the college itself did not approve of the concept of developing a program wrapped around the needs and perceptions of the students. The remedial question came up immediately, for students were stopped (though highly motivated) by their lack of reading comprehension,

and by a lack of writing and articulation skills.

It was necessary to back up, and delay offering substantive material until an evaluation was made of student skills, and remedial work given. However, to sweeten the pill, the remedial work (reading comprehension, writing, and speech) was intertwined with introductory coursework, and we set up teams of teachers who worked together. The teachers and I designed sequences of curriculum that would be both interesting in itself, and yet take students in a step progression towards independence and competence in college skills.

Another major problem was financial. Most of the students were hard put to pay the tuition, for the college was a small private religious institution, and tuition was high. However, we applied for federal and state financial aid.

The state and federal government at that time were overloaded with requests for financial aid--our requests for aid were often held up, with resultant panic and anxiety on the part of students. Sometimes, my answer to the panic was to ask college personnel from the financial aid office to give lectures and counselling on the process involved in the aid, and other times, we answered this anxiety by incorporating into our curriculum coursework on bureaucracy, asking faculty to explain the

connections between the everyday school experience of the student and our social structures. We attempted at every turn to wed theory and practice. However, I believe that we could only make a small start--it was very difficult to do.

The financial aid crisis continued throughout the program and was a major problem. However, costs were low due to the fact that the agency had offered the centers to us in return for our reaching out to them, and we worked with little material and personnel. We found that we had to encourage students to use local facilities, like libraries, museums, etc., in which to do their research, for we did not have the finances to set up small libraries at each center. At one point, I requested a blackboard for each center from the college, and was refused. The women were using children's blackboards which the daycare centers had available in the rooms.

The college was barely in agreement that we should continue the program. They were not happy about the financial aid problems, were receiving many calls from students, and felt overworked and uncertain about the entire venture.

As the program continued, however, the process of financial aid reached completion, and as student awards arrived, the anxiety level decreased.

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As studies progressed, the personal lives of the students changed, and they started to set aside time to do school work and to push aside other priorities. This often caused a conflict at home, with a ripple effect in the classroom. However, the close cooperation between students was a natural support system, for they worked together during the daytime, and had agreed to enter a new venture together in the evening.

Students became very close to each other and worked together at home on home assignments. They were personally concerned, as I was, as to the outcome of each class. If a faculty member was not felt to be personally concerned with their education, there were complaints, and the faculty member was not asked to return.

Faculty, too, had complaints. They often were upset by the wide range of skills of students. They found it hard to teach in a middle range where all could comprehend, and yet the bright student could remain interested. Sometimes there were personality clashes with students, for adult students would often demand a peer relationship with faculty, and not all faculty wanted to relate on this level to students.

There were administrative problems, for the program demanded a traveling schedule, late in the evening. Students entered classes after the centers closed--from 6

p.m. to 9 p.m. Each week, I would make the rounds of the classes, seeing students before each class, and sometimes after each class. I answered personal problems, problems of financial aid, teacher-student problems, and attempted to explain the program and its merits to the administration of the larger college. Administration was insulated not only from the problems, but from the students themselves, and could not find the time to visit the centers. Therefore, the students and I, along with sympathetic faculty, cooperated to make the program viable--for we all believed in its central value.

This situation was what made the cooperation of the students an imperative. They organized themselves into a liaison corps between the community site and administration. They set up a telephone chain to inform each other of dropped classes, teacher absences, etc.

The telephone chain also operated as a "hot line" to my office and home, and any problems which emerged on the site were quickly reported to me, and dealt with, so that the problems could not grow and fester, hardening to become unsolvable.

Finally, we formalized this aspect of the program. The students voted a liaison representative from each class. Student aid money was found to fund the work, and the formal duties of liaison were set out--mainly keeping

administration informed of class problems, and keeping students informed of college information like financial aid deadlines, faculty appointments, books that were needed, class closings, etc.

The student liaison position was one of the main facets of the program which helped the fledgling program maintain itself. Funds were short, college administration was involved in other matters and uncertain about the value of the program, faculty were not always there, however, the students maintained not only their presence in the program, but kept the lines between community site, traveling administrator, and college open and ready.

How to define the value of the program--despite all of the problems in its day-to-day operation? It helped both college and student.

It basically was advantageous to the college. Costs were very low, and an entire new college constituency had been tapped. Furthermore, the president of the college felt that the college had found a "mission."

This "mission" was to allow a new constituency to participate in mainstream higher education for in the past they could not find the proper vehicle to do so.

Thus, for the university, the low cost solved some of its competitive problems, and the "mission" enabled it to define its activities in spiritual terms. As it was a

Catholic college, this integration of mission and competition was valued. However, when the college involved itself in this program, it found itself at the mercy of the state and federal funding mechanism (which it had been largely exempt from before, receiving private funds from the students and their families). As a result, the college administrators remained with an ambiguous feeling about the program. They both valued it, and were disturbed by it.

However, for the student, the value of the program was much more definite. They found a sense of achievement, a new role, and many felt more self-confident and hopeful about the future after their experience.

Richard Hofstadter (1965) has defined a conception of development using organic analogies in Social Darwinism In American Thought. He reports that soon after the Civil War, America accepted the Darwinian precept of natural selection and evaluation. Although the prevailing mood in America was conservative (there was a desire for stabilization after the Civil War), people like Lester Ward disagreed with the conservatives who had used the social arguments of Darwinism to advocate individual competition and survival of the fittest in a deterministic, racialist sense. Ward was a pragmatist who disagreed with the problems raised by the conservatives, but did not

disagree that the ideas of evolution were in themselves important. He interpreted the consequences of the Darwinian propositions differently. He did not believe that the best competitors would win in the struggle for existence, that only the fittest were "fit" to survive. He did not agree that all sound development must be slow and unhurried.

If society was an organism with nature at the helm, no reform would be possible, no interference would be possible with the wisdom of nature. What happened, happened. Conservative thought, in this sense, defended the status quo.

However, not all evolutionary thought in America was conservative, for some like William Graham Sumner were secular and had no reverence for the state. They believed in development that is organic, natural in itself--believing this natural progress to be opposed to artificial controls like state control, and that progress should be allowed to take its own course. They tried to dispense with the old emotional ties to former status relations. They advocated a society not based on status, but on a contract of reason rather than custom. The rationale was that contract by reason was not a permanent arrangement, but only endured as long as the reason for it endures.

This basis of development, contract by reason, evolving without artificial external restraint by state, excluding fixed emotions of superordinate and subordinate relations is a paradigm for educational development that might work (Hofstadter, 1965).

William Graham Sumner, in an essay on "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other", advocated leaving former status sentiments behind, and making gains in going forward, not in going backward. He expected individual self-assertion and community self-assertion in an evolutionary process of going forward (Hofstadter, 1965).

Innovation in America has often come from unlikely places, for the role of Liberal and Conservative has often been reversed. Political conservatives were often headlong innovators and daring promoters. The tycoons took the lead in introducing new economic forms, new types of organization, new techniques.

Until the New Deal and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Social Darwinism in America included a vision of life that was hard, with no easy solution to human ills. It was a vision of man's relation to nature. A growing industrial society needed hard work. An economic ethic held sway. Economic adversity was thought to develop character, and shiftlessness and inefficiency was felt to be deserving of punishment.

Today, we demand leisure, we believe in spending, installment buying, and are a society of people who feel unmoored. The moral ethic of work is tottering. Our machines are powered by atomic energy.

We can look back to just a short time ago, when the work ethic held sway in America, and the promoters transformed the environment rapidly.

From our vantage point today, we can see that Social Darwinism as a developmental, evolutionary theory can support dual interpretations. It supports a vision of ruthless competition and personal assertion. The middle class in America were motivated by it, and the tycoons of America actually achieved it. A general acceptance of competition as a good in itself, justified by a survival philosophy, with no concern for what survives justified a concept of others as "unfit."

The underlying brutality of the concept of survival of the fittest was made clear when the concept of humans as "unfit" for survival was criticized. Critics showed that group cohesion and solidarity had a value to survival, and brutal competitive conflict is not the main social survival mechanism. The physical well-being of man is a result of social organization, the life of man in

society must be explained in cultural analysis, and moral sanctions can be applied for the common good. Social organization is cultural, not a biological process.

This program is an example of good social organization. It enabled the college to stretch out to a new constituency. However, the program would not have been able to survive without the humanist's concept that survival must be for a valuable purpose, that group cohesion and solidarity are necessary to maintain that survival, and that the life of man in society cannot be explained in deterministic terms.

Some contemporary administrators see the university as an institution in need of international interaction. They view it as a system in world crisis, and as an important part of the changes brought about by concurrent worldwide revolutions in science and technology, in economic and political affairs, and in demographic and social structures.

In Darwinian terms, they believe that educational systems have been slow to adapt, and it is this gap between swift environmental changes and the slow adaptation of educational structures, which is the cause of crisis in higher educational systems (Coombs, 1968).

Education is viewed as an instrument for national development, a human rights goal, a scholarly endeavor. It is described as an organism, and also described as a technology. Administrators talk about the monk's call of the educational process, and the need of developing countries for its technology.

They see the university determined mainly by the size and form of federal financial support--but the exploding form also creates an overburdened administration. They ponder the expectations of students, the demands of faculty who are now unionized, the demands of society for applied knowledge. Worries include money, buildings, government intrusion, rapid unguided growth, involvement with federal government and life in society (Coombs, 1968).

People like W. Allen Wallis (1968) describe "centripetal and centrifugal forces in university organization." They believe the university to be organized between centralization and decentralization. They see it encompassing academic freedom in a cloistered environment, but also advancing knowledge in the society--a dual function.

Christopher Jencks and David Riesman (1968) observe that: "one facet of the problem (is) how student's desire for social mobility fits together with educator's desire to build colleges."

And there, I believe, is the crux of this paper. The desire of students for social mobility and increased self-confidence is played out on the field of higher education and its extensions; the desire for educators to build colleges and advance knowledge is played out both inside the institution and at its boundaries--the community. A combination of the elements of mission and competition conspire to satisfy individual and institutional needs by the university, utilizing its main outputs--knowledge and influence.

Given these facts, can we be unresponsive to the need for higher education as a public resource--even though it carries with it the need for public funding, thereby public regulation?

Who will pay the price of our collegiate autonomy? The underrepresented student outside of the boundaries of educational plants?

We need ongoing forums about the direction being taken by the evolving university in a changing society, and a more fluid vehicle to carry education to a changing public.

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