

EXPLORING THE MEANING OF
COMMUNITY, SERVICE, AND LEARNING
IN THE WORK OF ELSIE RIPLEY CLAPP AND JOHN DEWEY

by

BRYAN PATRICK SOROHAN

(Under the Direction of P. Elizabeth Pate)

ABSTRACT

This study represents a contribution to the process of clarifying the philosophical and theoretical foundations of community service learning. The three main concepts of community, service, and learning were explored in order to help clarify their meaning. This examination focused on the philosophical work of John Dewey because Dewey's ideas are widely identified in the community service learning literature as a foundation for the approach. In order to provide further clarification of Dewey's ideas on the three concepts and test their meanings in practice, a historical case study was undertaken of the work of Elsie Ripley Clapp in two rural school systems during the 1920's and 1930's.

Dewey's ideas on community, service, and learning emphasize the interrelated nature of the concepts and highlight the importance of communication, relationships, ethics, and guided experience, among other considerations. In particular, Dewey's concept of cooperative social inquiry seems to provide a useful and structured way of thinking about community service learning. The study of Clapp's work provided insights into the practical implications of Dewey's concepts, and revealed areas of convergence and divergence with Dewey's ideas as Clapp applied them in the real-world situations she faced.

The results of the study were used to develop new definitions of the concepts of community, service, and learning as they relate to the overall approach of community service learning. Some implications of these new ways of thinking about community, service, and learning for present-day community service learning practice are described. The implications of the cooperative social inquiry model are discussed as well.

INDEX WORDS: Community Service Learning, Philosophy, Inquiry, John Dewey, Elsie Ripley Clapp

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2003

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the help of many people. For their help in my research of the Elsie Ripley Clapp Manuscript Collection I would like to thank the staff at the Special Collections Research Center of Morris Library at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois. I would also like to thank the staff of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library at Hyde Park, New York for their help with the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Collection. Jennifer Bonnette, Executive Director of Arthurdale Heritage, Inc. gave valuable help and advice on the historical collections at Arthurdale, West Virginia. The professors of my dissertation committee, Dr. Laurie Hart, Dr. Francis Hensley, Dr. George Stanic, and Dr. William Wraga, were a source of support, advice, and inspiration throughout the project.

Three incredible people were always there to talk to me, give advice, point me in the right direction, and carry me when I needed it. My dissertation committee chairperson, Dr. Elizabeth Pate, was a kindred soul whose knowledge, experience, encouragement, and friendship provided a motivating force for my work. My parents, Larry and Sallie Sorohan, were with me through the darkest nights and the brightest dawns. It is to these three exceptional human beings that I dedicate this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970's the concept of linking educational objectives with community service activities has become increasingly popular (Conrad, 1991; Furco & Billig, 2002; Kielsmeyer, 2000; National Commission on Service-Learning, 2001; Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). As public schools in America are increasingly subjected to centralized state governmental control under programs of accountability through high-stakes testing and through increasingly prescriptive curricula, some educators are seeking ways to incorporate goals beyond traditional, factual subject-matter recall. The idea of combining academic and personal learning objectives with authentic community service has become for many a way to creatively approach academics while also incorporating goals of personal development, moral and character development, and citizenship (Billig, 2000). Learning from service has been advocated in national reports such as the Carnegie Corporation's *Turning Points 2000* (Jackson & Davis, 2000). The goal of promoting community service has been embodied in law as the National and Community Service Act of 1990, with quasi-governmental entities such as the Corporation for National Service being established to further service in schools and communities across the country. The practice has been strongly endorsed by a national blue-ribbon commission chaired by former Senator John Glenn (National Commission on Service-Learning, 2001). Many colleges and universities, as well as other post-secondary educational institutions, have offices and programs to promote community service by faculty and

students both on their own and as part of academic classes. The idea has filtered down into primary and secondary schools as well, or more accurately has developed there contemporaneously with the governmental and higher education efforts (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1999).

Service learning is the subject of books, journals, research programs, national professional meetings, and whole academic classes at universities. At the same time, many educators from university level all the way to kindergarten have designed lessons, units, and whole curricula to incorporate community service integrated with academic and personal objectives in their teaching. National service-learning associations such as the Corporation for National Service have been established and have developed guidelines and research agendas for service learning.

The results of programs combining community service and educational goals have been generally positive (Billig, 2000; Conrad & Hedin, 1991; Eyler & Giles, 1999). Numerous anecdotal accounts of community service learning projects attest to positive effects related to character, civic involvement, moral development, and other types of personal development goals (Johnson & Notah, 1999; Schine, 1997). The evidence on community service learning's academic effects remains inconclusive, however (Alt, 1997; Johnson & Notah, 1999), but the practice does not seem to yield inferior academic learning.

While all of this development has occurred there are areas of disagreement and confusion among researchers and practitioners of service learning on some fundamental questions. For example, there is a wide variety of definitions for the term service learning (Billig, 2000; Kendall, 1990), and the definition used seems to depend largely on the

researcher or practitioner asked. While most definitions contain common elements, there is no widespread agreement as to the meaning of such concepts as community, service, or learning. Many essential components and best practices of service learning have been identified, such as structured time for reflection and alignment with specific academic objectives (Alliance for Service Learning in Educational Reform, 1997; Conrad, 1991; Kinsley, 1993; Shumer, 1997), but once again, there is little agreement as to what these components specifically entail. Even the concept of service is controversial, with disagreement as to whether the term implies absence of monetary compensation, whether service has a connotation of paternalism, and on many other types of issues.

These fundamental confusions and disagreements may be considered a normal byproduct of a field that is still finding its way within the educational community. However, the lack of a common understanding of these concepts of community, service, and learning that is clearly understood by researchers and practitioners alike may contribute to problems, as exemplified by the conclusion that so much evidence for the effects of service learning is anecdotal or inconclusive (Alt, 1997, Billig, 2000). Without a commonly accepted conceptual framework for understanding and explaining what occurs during service learning, a wide diversity of program characteristics may make it difficult, for example, to attribute any outcome to any specific program characteristic. Likewise, the ultimate goals of service learning, while seemingly obvious to some, are fundamentally unclear (Kraft, 1996). Is service learning intended to be a movement aimed at social reform, a pedagogy for academic learning, a form of civic education, or something else entirely? The common understanding needed to better understand and improve service learning knowledge is a clear philosophy and an explicit theory. Before

a philosophy and theory can be developed, however, a clearer understanding of basic concepts like community, service, and learning is necessary.

Most programs of learning through community service utilize a concept called, variously, “service-learning,” “academic community learning,” or other versions. In this study, such programs will be called community service learning (CSL) in recognition of the three basic components of the concept, those of community, service, and learning. Community service learning will be provisionally defined for the purposes of this study as a concept that combines service activities with curricular goals (such as citizenship, academics, or moral education). The use of this term is not intended to exclude programs called by other names that include substantially the same concepts, however. A considerable literature has grown up around this concept. Unless otherwise specified, any term including the words service and learning may be taken to indicate what I call community service learning.

Rationale and Purpose

This study is conceived as a contribution to a larger inquiry into the nature of CSL philosophy and theory by CSL advocates. I do not intend to try to develop such philosophical/theoretical frameworks in this dissertation, but rather to work within the ‘community’ of CSL, offering my conclusions to be further tested in the real world of CSL practice. My contribution will be to explore in depth the concepts of community, service, and learning, both individually and in combination, and to derive implications for present-day community service learning. I will base this examination on the philosophical thought of John Dewey, which is commonly identified in the literature as significant for CSL (Ehrlich, 1996). In keeping with the spirit of Pragmatic inquiry

characteristic of Dewey, I will refine and test my conclusions through a historical case study of the schools of Dr. Elsie Ripley Clapp, a student and colleague of Dewey's.

The work of developing an explicit philosophy and theory has been pursued by a number of community service learning advocates. The foundations of community service learning are most often traced to the Pragmatic philosophy developed by John Dewey (Giles, 1991; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Saltmarsh, 1996). Aspects of this philosophy that are relevant to community service learning include learning as experience, reflective thinking (Hatcher & Bringle, 1997), moral dimensions (Hatcher, 1997), and democratic education (Harkavy & Benson, 1998), to name a few. Other writers have explored philosophical concepts in community service learning related to the philosophies of communitarianism and liberalism (Barber, 1992; Varlotta, 1996) and to postmodern critical theories (Abowitz, 1999; Varlotta, 1997). Likewise, theoretical foundations for community service learning are being slowly developed from Dewey's theory of experience (Giles, 1991), Vygotsky's social learning theories (Wolfson & Willinsky, 1998), and the related ideas of experiential learning (Kolb, 1984; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997) and situated learning (Wolfson & Willinsky, 1998). Theoretical work still needs to progress beyond identifying concepts and relationships from other theoretical frameworks that may relate to community service learning. At the same time, a certain amount of resistance to the idea of developing explicit philosophical and theoretical foundations for community service learning can be detected in some of the literature (Korowski, 1991; Tucker, 1999). Some researchers and practitioners feel that an explicit set of foundational assumptions would be unnecessarily constricting to practice as well as impossible to verify (Tucker, 1999).

The desirability of making explicit the constituent concepts of community service learning with a view toward future development of an overall philosophy and theory will be explored in greater depth in this study. Ultimately, the philosophical foundations of community service learning will serve as a guide for developing goals and assessing the value of practices (Abowitz, 1999; Liu, 1995), while theory will serve as a tool for further development and improvement of community service learning practice (Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Sigmon, 1994). Given the numerous differences and even controversies that surround community service learning, it is desirable to further explore the fundamental concepts associated with CSL in more detail as a prelude to achieving some consensus, or at least a *modus vivendi*, among researchers and practitioners of community service learning.

While a case can be made for the desirability of philosophical/theoretical development in community service learning, this development cannot take place in a vacuum. As discussed above, many of the same terms are used by different practitioners of community service learning, but they often have somewhat different connotations according to who is using them (Kendall, 1991). Everyone may feel that they know what is meant by the term “service,” for example, but when it comes to actually defining the concept, some important differences may appear. These differences, if left unexamined, can lead to fundamental disagreements about community service learning practice. More importantly, a lack of common understandings can hinder the ability of researchers and practitioners to explain the effects of CSL and to produce innovations based on reflective practice rather than trial-and-error. Disagreements will still obviously exist among CSL advocates, but a common ground for evaluating arguments and testing

results can make such controversies productive rather than divisive. Common understandings about the meaning of fundamental concepts can and should be resolved through discourse and consensus among community service learning supporters, not by fiat or reference to authority. Cooperative inquiry among the advocates of CSL is a channel to building a common philosophical/theoretical framework. However, in order to further the dialogue about fundamental concepts, it is desirable to trace common roots of educator's understandings of those terms. In this way, community service learning advocates may work with a more explicit understanding of each other's assumptions.

As one initial step for building and explicating the foundations of service learning, it therefore seems necessary to incorporate a concept used in community service learning itself, the practice of critical reflection. Understanding the development of conceptions of basic components of the community service learning approach requires that educators look back into our common history to learn how our ideas first appeared, how they were put into practice, and how they have changed over time. Locating key concepts from community service learning in a historical context can give us psychological and emotional distance from the urgency of current practice and the controversies of current debates. By examining concepts in their past contexts, both philosophical/theoretical and in practice, we can better assess and interpret how these concepts operate in present contexts. At the same time it is important to continually reassess history in order to shed light on unstated assumptions created by older historical accounts (Kliebard, 1995). Most fundamentally, however, our present ideas about community service learning must be understood as products of a developmental process over time, incorporating earlier concepts, theories, and goals from past educational

thought and individual experiences of educators (Durkheim, 1977). The practical use of past experience by considering it in light of present goals and experience is the essence of critical reflection (Dewey, 1976a; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997). Such reflection is a crucial component of all learning, especially the kind of learning desired by advocates of community service learning (Alliance for Service Learning in Education Reform, 1999; Billig, 2000; Conrad & Hedin, 1991; Dewey, 1976a; Eyler & Giles, 1998).

The choice of a historical context in which to study concepts of community service learning can be clearly derived from some of the literature on that concept. The Progressive Era of American Education, which lasted roughly from 1890 to 1950 (Cremin, 1961) is often alluded to by modern researchers as a seminal period in educational history for community service learning. Works that explore the philosophical/theoretical roots of community service learning most often make reference to the work of John Dewey, the preeminent educational thinker of the early twentieth century (Giles, 1991; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Harkavy & Benson, 1998; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Siegel & Rockwood, 1993). Dewey's work was to a large extent an attempt to imbue the process of education with an intentional emphasis on democracy, community, and social problem-solving (e.g. Dewey, 1980a). While Dewey was not the only Progressive Era writer who discussed such concepts, his work provided an overarching theme for the educational thought of that era (Kliebard, 1988). Many current writers (e.g. Ehrlich, 1996) also consider his work to be fundamental to present-day service learning. Therefore, the discussion of Progressive Era philosophy and theory relating to community, service, and learning will focus on Dewey's work in this study.

In addition to the rationale above, other reasons exist for choosing the progressive Era as the context for this study. Some researchers have made a case for the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century as the period of origin for the concept of community service in American society (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997). Finally, this period in American educational history contains many examples of practitioners who made conscious attempts to align their educational practice with their democratic communitarian philosophy. While modern community service learning research has been criticized for its overwhelming emphasis on higher education practice (Switzer, et al., 1995), the history of the Progressive Era contains many examples of attempts to apply its philosophy and theory of community and service to secondary and elementary education. The Progressive Era thus seems to be a fertile ground for the exploration of community service learning concepts.

The purposes of this study, then, are twofold. First, I will examine the three fundamental concepts from community service learning, community, service, and learning, as they were conceived in the educational philosophy and theory of John Dewey and the practices of two schools influenced by his work. Two historical cases of Progressive Era educational practice will be identified, and the meaning of the selected community service learning concepts will be explored in relation to these cases. Second, the insights gained will then be applied to present-day thinking about community service learning. This will help to explain the origins of modern ideas and better understand concepts in the present-day literature.

Definitions

The concepts of community, service, and learning, and the combined concept of community service learning already signify a multitude of meanings both in their common usage and in educational literature. Due to the possibility of confusion for both myself and the reader as I use these terms in an analytical way, it will be necessary to begin with a provisionally understood meaning for these concepts, which I expect to change as the study progresses. Because this is to a large extent a historical study, using such provisional definitions will also serve as a check on potential *presentism*, the erroneous interpretation of concepts used in the past according to present-day understandings. The following provisional definitions are derived from the modern literature (1970's-present) on community service learning, which will be reviewed in the next section. It should be noted that the definition of learning is intended to focus attention on certain aspects of the learning process that are important for this particular study, and does not encompass all possible aspects of learning.

Community: any group of people who live together or share some common undertaking(s); the physical locus of a group.

Service: activities whose primary benefits are directed towards others as well as onself.

Learning: the educational or curricular purposes or goals, intentional or otherwise, associated with service activities, and the ways in which those goals are accomplished.

Community Service Learning: a concept that combines service activities and curricular goals.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore in depth the concepts of community, service, learning, and community service learning, and to derive implications from these concepts for present-day community service learning. Therefore, the following research questions will guide this study:

- I. How were the concepts of community, service, and learning, both individually and in combination, conceptualized in John Dewey's theory and philosophy?
- II. How were the concepts of community, service, and learning, both individually and in combination, conceptualized in the practice of Elsie Ripley Clapp's community schools during the Progressive Era?
- III. How can the Progressive Era conceptions of these terms inform present-day community service learning?

Chapter Two will describe the methodology of this study. Chapter Three of this dissertation will provide a review of the relevant present-day literature on the concepts of community, service, and learning in community service learning and a review of literature that connects John Dewey's ideas with present-day community service learning. In Chapter four I will examine the concepts of community, service, and learning in the writings of John Dewey. In Chapter Five I will provide a short history of the work of Dr. Clapp at her two community schools, the Rogers Clark Ballard Memorial School in Jefferson County, Kentucky (1929-1933) and the Arthurdale, West Virginia Schools (1934-1936), and discuss some of the critiques of her approach in contemporary and modern literature. In Chapter Six, I will describe the themes of community, service, and learning in Clapp's practice at her two schools, then compare Clapp's practice to

Dewey's ideas. Chapter Seven will then derive implications from Dewey's thought and Clapp's practice for modern community service learning.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

The Nature of Truth and the Role of the Researcher

This study utilized a modified form of qualitative case study analysis with historical data. The spirit in which this study is undertaken is Pragmatic in the Deweyan sense. My aim is not to attempt to discover some objective truth about the past that will apply universally to the present. Rather, I am undertaking a portion of an inquiry into fundamental ideas about learning through community service that will help to provide the foundation for further inquiry into the philosophical/theoretical framework of that approach by myself and others.

In order to clarify what I mean by a Pragmatic approach to research, I will summarize the Pragmatic conception of truth and knowledge. This discussion is based on Campbell's (1995) discussion of Dewey's philosophy. However, Chapter 5 will include a more detailed discussion of the concept of social inquiry to be briefly outlined here.

Knowledge, in the pragmatic sense, is fundamentally social. It arises within the agreement of members of a social group about the nature of things, but must be continually tested against practical consequences that ensue from its application. Truth in this pragmatic sense does not result from alignment with some transcendental principle apart from nature, but neither is it a result of a majority opinion among a social group. Knowledge and truth are continually reconsidered and reconstructed within the arena of real-world action. In this sense knowledge and action are a continuum of experience.

The process of developing knowledge according to the pragmatist view is called social inquiry. This process is not termed 'social' as a recommendation for best action, but rather as a recognition that no knowledge can be purely individual, as it depends on a social context and set of assumptions commonly held by members of a group. Social inquiry proceeds through the communication of members of a community, or social group, resulting in commonly held ideas placed into action by that group.

In the case of my study, the inquiry being undertaken concerns the nature of Progressive Era conceptions of community, service, and learning as they were manifested in the philosophical and theoretical work of John Dewey and the practice at the community schools of Elsie Ripley Clapp. I attempted to formulate ideas about those conceptions from Dewey's writings which would then be tested, modified, and further developed by applying them to cases of practice during that era. These ideas may then be applied to modern CSL thought and practice and be tested, modified, further developed, or thrown out, depending on their consequences-in- action in the real, contemporary world. The latter process will be an extension of this study over time rather than a part of it now, and will hopefully be carried out by many others as well as myself. Ideally, as that process of cooperative, social inquiry takes place, agreed-upon and tested principles of CSL philosophy and theory will develop. The process I describe here is not so very different from the familiar academic research and development process, but does include a specific emphasis on common ideas and testing-in-action. It should include not only those who think of themselves primarily as researchers, but also of necessity those who are primarily practitioners. Exclusion of either set of members would cripple and

essentially negate the ‘community’ of service learning advocates. In simple terms, I view this study as part of my contribution to the larger social inquiry on CSL.

Description of Study

The specific phenomena studied consisted of the operations of two schools as they reflected the ideas of community, service, and learning goals. In addition to these cases of Progressive educational practice, the philosophical and theoretical writings of John Dewey were analyzed with respect to the three concepts listed. A detailed synthesis of Dewey’s educational thought with regard to these concepts was developed. This synthesis provides the philosophical/theoretical context within which the schools studied operated as well as in clarifying the Progressive Era understandings of the three concepts for the purposes of analysis.

As a detailed analysis of a particular phenomenon, I feel that it is justifiable to term this study modified case study research (Merriam, 1988; 1998; Winegarden, n.d.). Merriam (1998) provided three criteria for qualitative case studies, characterizing them as “particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic” (p. 29). This study is particularistic in that it examines a bounded phenomenon, the community schools of Elsie Clapp. It is descriptive in that it will attempt to describe the practice at the schools in relation to ideas about community, service, and learning. It is heuristic in that it illuminates my understanding of that phenomenon, as well as the ideas of John Dewey, in connection with the three concepts being examined. I will attempt to gain an understanding of the meanings connected to the concepts of community, service, and learning in the contexts of the cases studied. There are some critical differences with the concept of case study research that is described by Merriam (1998) and other practitioners.

I have termed my approach a modified case study for two reasons. First, the data used consisted of only one of the types commonly recommended for case study research, documents and archival sources (Merriam, 1988, 1998). For the cases in question, there exist primary historical sources (produced by the participants themselves) as well as secondary historical sources (produced by someone other than the participants). Both types of data were used. Because I did not personally collect the documentary data, I followed the standards of evidence commonly used for historical research (Kaestle, 1992). Sources were critiqued according to the ‘genealogy’ or provenience of the document, how and why it was generated, and the authority or ‘believability’ of the author, including that author’s competence and trustworthiness (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Issues of archival sedimentation, defined as the process by which archival materials come to be deposited, culled, and reordered within archival collections (Hill, 1993) were considered. Although it may not be possible to assess the full history of storage, archivist decisions, and use of a collection, sedimentation may account for major gaps in documentation, for example. It is important not to ascribe such gaps to the actual history of a given case rather than the history of the archival collection.

Not only was I unable to control the directions of my data through a questioning strategy such as an interview protocol or questionnaire, I also was unable to use any of the commonly used triangulation techniques available to researchers of contemporary cases to check my interpretations with my participants. For this reason I began with provisional definitions of those categories. These provisional definitions were developed from the review of the present-day literature on CSL, and were deliberately constructed to be broad in order to encompass as much relevant phenomena as possible. The use of

these provisional definitions allowed me to continually check my interpretations of the data against the initial purposes of the study as I constantly returned to the present understandings of the concepts I was studying. In this way I was able to maintain a focus on the present-day utility of my findings without losing myself in interesting but irrelevant historical issues. Using provisional definitions also helped to guard against presentism in my analysis. Presentism is the tendency to interpret past phenomena in light of present-day beliefs and assumptions (W. Wraga, personal communication, October 20, 2001). Because the provisional definitions provided explicit clarification of present-day assumptions about CSL concepts, I could compare the historical understandings of those concepts with my own assumptions without mistakenly conflating the two.

A second reason for using the term modified case study is that this study has combined aspects of hermeneutics in the examination of John Dewey's philosophy and theory with historical analysis of Elsie Clapp's work at her schools during the 1920's and 1930's. Unlike traditional case study research, in which present phenomena are analyzed and interpreted according to the researcher's theoretical background, this study will be developing a deeper understanding of theoretical concepts through detailed analysis of philosophical/theoretical writing and historical application. The study was, in a sense, deductive, because it applied conceptual categories that were formulated prior to the analysis to the data, namely community, service, and learning. No claim is made that these are categories that exist objectively and naturally in the phenomena, rather they are shared social ideas, developed from my experience and that of the community of CSL advocates. There was also an inductive component as the analysis attempted to uncover

themes that united aspects of the data. The final stage was a comparison that attempted to unify the philosophical/theoretical understanding of community, service, and learning found in John Dewey's work with the practical experiences of the students, parents, and teachers in Elsie Clapp's community schools. The ultimate purpose of the study was not an understanding of the specific phenomena under study but rather a deeper and richer understanding of the meanings of the concepts of community, service, and learning.

The Cases

The cases to be studied consist of the Ballard and Arthurdale schools of Elsie Ripley Clapp. Elsie Ripley Clapp was a student and later a colleague of John Dewey. She was the head of the Roger Clark Ballard Memorial School in Jefferson County, Kentucky (1929 – 1934) and the schools at Arthurdale, West Virginia (1934 – 1936). Clapp attempted to put Progressive educational theory and philosophy into action in the practice at her schools. These two schools represented her attempt to bring together the life of the community and the school by incorporating community resources into the school curriculum and making the school a center for community social life (Clapp, 1939). In Chapter Five I will provide a short history of Clapp's schools, and in Chapter Six I will discuss the themes of community, service, and learning in her work.

Sources of Data

Several sources of data were used for this study. Published works by John Dewey and Elsie Clapp, both in book form and in journals, as well as published secondary sources were acquired at the libraries of the University of Georgia and Ohio State University. The Elsie Ripley Clapp Manuscript Collection at Morris Library of Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Illinois, contained numerous primary documents

relating to Clapp's work at Ballard School and Arthurdale. The Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Collection at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library provided copies of Roosevelt's correspondence with Elsie Clapp from 1934 to 1936. Inquiries to the Jefferson County, Kentucky School District did not turn up any materials from the period in question at the Ballard School. I was informed that the educational materials archived at Arthurdale Heritage, Incorporated in Arthurdale, WV were restricted from public use, but early in 2003 I was made aware of a limited number of transcribed oral histories recorded by journalism students at West Virginia University, as well as an article using the interviews (Wuenstel, 2002). Arthurdale Heritage was kind enough to provide me with copies of relevant interview transcripts to include in my analysis.

Data Gathering Protocols

The data used for this study consisted of documents ranging from published accounts of the cases being studied by the participants (e.g. Clapp, 1939; 1952) through studies of various aspects of the cases done during or after the periods of time under examination (e.g. Moyer, 2000; Perlstein, 1996) to primary archival source materials such as letters and instructional materials. Many of the sources, such as published accounts in the form of books and journal articles were available in regular library collections.

Criteria for Examination of Archival Documents

Where available, contents lists and other finding aids were used as primary decision-making tools to decide broadly which classes and groups of materials will be examined. In the absence of prior indications of relevance (such as citations in published sources or personal communications) the following criteria were used to decide which boxes of

documents to examine. The numbering of the criteria reflects the sequence of their importance.

- 1) Direct mention of the particular school or some known theme relating to the case:

(e.g. Arthurdale, W.P.A., etc.). AND/OR

Involve participants, others known to be associated with the case, or persons who have produced careful study of the case. A name index was kept to organize these known references (Appendix A).

- 2) Were produced during a specified period of primary interest for the case:

For the schools directed by Elsie Clapp, the years 1928 – 1932 (for the Ballard School) and 1932-38 (for the Arthurdale School) plus primary follow-up documents were used, such as Clapp, 1952. These dates reflect the periods of Dr. Clapp's tenure at these schools.

No specific dates for secondary sources were used, although the secondary source should naturally concern some aspect of the time periods under study at the schools.

- 3) Reflection of some aspect of or related to one or more of the primary concepts of this study, i.e. Community (classroom, school, neighborhood, city, etc.), Service (activity on behalf of others), or Learning Goals and Mechanisms (reciprocity, reflection). The appropriateness of the documents to these concepts was assessed, at least initially, through the provisional definitions provided in the prospectus.

Criteria for Choosing Documents to Copy at Facilities

For obvious reasons, all documents at a given facility cannot be copied. Likewise, it may not be necessary to closely analyze all documents because information may be marginal or very brief. Therefore, an 'acquisition protocol' was developed to rank documents

examined for further study. A contents list describing all documents in each folder examined was kept for future reference and, if necessary, reexamination of the data.

The following numerical classification was developed:

1. primary source, direct bearing on study concepts
2. primary source, indirect bearing on study concepts
3. primary source, background information
4. secondary source, direct bearing, not otherwise available (e.g. unpublished)
5. secondary source, indirect bearing, not otherwise available
6. secondary source, background
7. interesting, no immediate bearing

The order of priority for document acquisition was, in general, 1, 4, 2, 5, although some exceptions were made. The process of analysis was necessarily iterative as knowledge about the cases was developed, so further documents were for later acquisition and analysis as the process proceeded.

Criticism of Primary Sources

Following the conventions of historical criticism, the following characteristics of each primary document were analyzed:

- 1) Provenance (source, location, generation (copy or orig.))
- 2) Purpose (why document was produced)
- 3) Author (authority on subject, relationship to case, motivation, known aspects of reliability)

Data Analysis Procedure

Each source was first critiqued according to the primary source protocol detailed above, when appropriate. Sources were then read with a focus on the provisionally defined concepts of community, service, and learning. Relevant passages or instances of mention were marked with Post-It® notes along the adjacent edge of the page where they occurred, labeled with a brief word or phrase describing which concept was mentioned and roughly where and how extensive the relevant passage was. This procedure was followed because many sources came from library collections. After a given source was read, the passages marked with Post-It® notes were transcribed onto a computer analysis form (Appendix B), along with analytical notes and observations. This procedure allowed later comparison of relevant quotes across sources.

Process of analysis

The analysis in this study proceeded in two steps. The first step was the formulation of a summative synthesis of John Dewey's philosophy and theory concerning the concepts of community, service, and learning. I began by developing provisional definitions of the three concepts based on the literature on community service learning. Developing such definitions helped me to guard against my own unstated assumptions about the nature of community, service, and learning, as well as helping to guard against "presentism," or the tendency to apply evolving present-day attitudes and beliefs to historical phenomena (W. Wraga, personal communication, October 20, 2001). These definitions were deliberately left as broad as possible in order not to exclude possibly pertinent information.

I felt that it was appropriate and necessary to confine my reading of Dewey's works to his published writings. My reasons for this were first, that my purpose was not to study how Dewey's thought developed, and second, that I would have no way of knowing what private documents would have been available to Clapp as she formulated her own philosophical and theoretical ideas. During my reading of Dewey's works, I marked specific passages that reflected the conceptual definitions. Once I had completed my reading of a given piece, I entered the marked passages onto a note form I developed (Appendix B), either in the form of summary notes or whole quotations. It was sometimes necessary to summarize long passages of text into shorter notes for the sake of time and space. These note forms helped me to organize the often complex and interconnected ideas Dewey proposed into a form more directed toward my research questions.

As I read Dewey's work, my ideas about his concepts of community, service and learning naturally began to alter and develop. This development proceeded in an iterative fashion, as my newest reading helped me to better interpret what I had read before even as my prior reading influenced how I viewed later readings. This process of interaction with the text of Dewey's writing involved reading, reflection, interpretation, further reading, and returning to prior texts in a reflective process that resembles the description of the hermeneutic circle in Bauman, 1978. My intent was to clarify and refine my understanding of Dewey's conceptions of community, service, and learning through a process of reading, writing, and reflection. I continued to return to my original provisional definitions, however, in order to maintain my focus on the original concepts and insure that ideas that might be tangential to my purpose did not overtake my analysis.

I began to write a summary and synthesis of Dewey's ideas on community, service and learning after reading *Democracy and education* (Dewey, 1980a), but I continued to read new articles and books that were relevant to my developing ideas about those concepts. When I began to perceive saturation as I read the same ideas in new sources, I gradually began to taper off my reading and focus on the synthesis developed in Chapter 5.

As my summative synthesis of Dewey's philosophy and theory began to approach final form, I began to read my sources on Clapp's schools. I utilized the same process for reading and recording data from these sources that I had used for Dewey's writing, marking passages and recording notes on the same form. Once again, I returned to my original provisional definitions to guide my reading, but inevitably my new understandings of community, service, and learning also influenced my choices of what to mark and how to classify it.

The use of an historical approach in this study provided both disadvantages and advantages. Because my study used one of the forms of data commonly utilized in case study research, i.e. documents and archival resources, it was impossible to assess the validity of interpretations by comparing across different types of data. This disadvantage was offset somewhat by the use of sources by different authors as well as by the use of both primary and secondary sources. Thus a form of triangulation was used to assess validity of interpretations. Cross-checking interpretations with participants was also clearly out of the question, but my understanding of the context of the phenomena in question was enhanced by examining outside sources on the history of the Progressive Era as well as biographical information on many of the key figures. As I read I carried on

a continual process of questioning myself based on the original definitions, the newer understandings of my concepts I was developing, and the differing versions and interpretations of the historical events I was reading about. I chose to read Clapp's own published accounts of her work first, but I deliberately interspersed reading secondary sources about her work, such as Perlstein and Stack (1999) in order to retain my perspective on what Clapp described.

The process of formulating the themes of community, service, and learning found in the literature on Clapp's work was both inductive and deductive. The process began as I read each source and identified places in the data that related to the primary concepts of community, service, and learning. This part of the analytical process was primarily deductive as I classified the data according to pre-existing categories. When I had completed my readings of my sources on Clapp's work, I began to examine the data as it was categorized into community, service, and learning, in order to develop themes that tied different data units together. This process was inductive in that I tried to develop themes that were reflected in the data itself, but it was inevitably influenced by my understanding of Dewey's ideas about community, service, and learning as well as my reading of other historical sources. I attempted to control for this interference by referring my provisional themes to multiple sources, using only those that I believed were reflected across several different sources at different times. For example, the theme of communication grew to a large extent out of my developing understanding of Dewey's community concept, in which communication played a central role. Yet, it was the common thread of the presence of communicative acts or study of communication in the data on Clapp's work that I felt tied instances together into the theme of communication.

The development of each of the themes followed this process of combining my unfolding understanding of Dewey's thought with my analysis of the historical data

As I identified a theme I developed a definition for it based on what I had so far. Often the process of developing this definition solidified aspects of the data that had not been clear previously, so that I sometimes revisited my prior classifications and perceived new aspects of the data I was currently examining. In some instances I changed my original classification of data, deciding for example that a given piece fit better into a theme based in service rather than learning. For example, I had originally included a theme of community roles under the themes of community in Clapp's work. As I arranged data into other themes and developed definitions for those themes, I began to believe that many of the instances I had included in that theme fit better under the theme of relationships because they related more strongly to interpersonal considerations. Later, I reclassified more of the instances of community roles into the service roles theme because I believed they related to action and social benefits. This process went on until I had so little data to support the community roles theme that I believed it should not be included. In the end, I threw out three themes as I decided that the data that composed them actually fit better under other themes. When I felt that no more useful themes could be supported by my data and that further instances within the data did not shed new light on the nature of the themes, I judged that I had reached data saturation (Merriam, 1998) and my analysis was complete.

Conclusion

This analysis was of necessity an iterative process, with some steps proceeding simultaneously. My primary purpose was to develop a richer understanding of the

concepts of community, service, and learning, rather than to try to explain the development of those concepts or the causes of the historical phenomena. Relating the themes from Clapp's practice with the ideas in Dewey's theory and philosophy can provide that richer understanding of the concepts of community, service, and learning than might be gathered by studying either in isolation. The next chapter helps to set the context for this study by reviewing the modern literature on CSL and the potentials use of Dewey's philosophy and theory for strengthening our understanding of how CSL works.

CHAPTER 3

PRESENT-DAY COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING LITERATURE

The body of literature on community service learning has grown in the past decade. When Conrad and Hedin (1991) reviewed literature on the theory, practice, and effects of community service learning in the early 1990's, there were already a number of studies that provided narrative descriptions of programs, some methodological guides, and some structured research on CSL outcomes. The literature on CSL theory was still thin, yet some outlines of the current questions and debates were already forming (witness Kendall's (1991) difficulty in narrowing down a definition for service-learning, for example). In the late 1990's literature on philosophy and theory in CSL began to develop. The terms used in the CSL literature are still subject to continuous reinterpretation both in the theoretical literature and through practice (Furco & Billig, 2002; Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). This constant reevaluation and reworking of concepts is natural and healthy, but it requires periodic systematic reflection and analysis of concepts-in-use in order to be useful in improving the theoretical and philosophical basis of CSL in present times.

For the purposes of this study, the most important literature to review will be that which considers the fundamental concepts of modern community service learning. The body of literature on methodology and effects of CSL, while important, will be set aside in order to focus primarily on areas where there seem to be differences of opinion and lack of clarity in the conceptual basis of CSL. This review will focus on the three major

CSL concepts, those of *community*, *service*, and *learning*. Each of the three constituent concepts will be considered separately. The present-day CSL literature that draws directly from the work of John Dewey will then be reviewed in a separate section in order to clearly show the areas where Dewey's thought has had the most influence on present-day CSL.

Community

Rarely if ever in the community service learning literature is the concept of community critically examined (Furco & Billig, 2002). The term is generally used to refer to the physical locality surrounding the school (e.g. Jackson & Davis, 2000) and the people who live there (Hall, 1991; Weah, Simmons, & Hall, 2000), although it may be considered as a scale as small as the school or even the classroom (Alliance for Service-Learning in Reform, 1997). There are numerous questions within the CSL literature that are embedded in the concept of community, both in the usage discussed above and in a larger sense.

Local Community and Society

The physical locus of service naturally implies ideas about the proximity and scale of the community. Yet, also implied in many discussions of CSL is the idea that service in the community has larger ramifications. Barber (1992) spoke of service to "neighborhood and nation" (p. 246). Giles and Eyler (1998) also drew linkages between community and society. Kielsmeyer (2000) evoked the international 'community' as the real locus of service. The usage of the term community in the sense offered by these authors carries connotations of a larger societal purpose. The local community is also the place in which students carry on their lives outside the school walls (Beane, 1997).

Arguably the greatest strength of community service learning is the connection it is believed to make between learning in class and life out of class (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Mendel-Reyes, 1998). In this sense, the term community also includes the student's conception about his own place and efficacy. One question immediately apparent is how to limit the scope of action in a CSL project to something that is doable and helpful to real people, yet still make linkages to the larger world outside of the project's immediate scope (Boyte, 1991). The concept of community as a place or context should receive more careful analysis because it contains so many possible connotations.

Community Members as Service Recipients

Questions concerning the nature and role of service recipients and other community collaborators depend on how one thinks about community. A decision about whom is to be served and why is central to thinking about CSL. One immediate consideration is diversity (Kielsmeyer, 2000; Kraft, 1996; Weah, Simmons, & Hall, 2000). Some authors have pointed out that a "missionary" ideology (Weah, Simmons, & Hall, 2000, p. 673) has developed in the minds of many practitioners of service learning, in which the recipients of service are considered to be less fortunate 'others,' often the poor or needy. In this view, those who serve are primarily advantaged whites, while those who are served are primarily 'other' people of color, an outlook reflected in practice according to Kraft's review of community service learning programs (1996). Barber (1992) asserted that "community is not just the disadvantaged and needy" (p. 248). He prefers a focus on the community as a body of people living together democratically, a view echoed by Rosario (2000). If recipients of service are not necessarily considered to be those in need, however, this raises legitimate questions as to

how service activities can be properly chosen. If CSL projects should address real community needs (Alliance for Service-Learning in Reform, 1997), how does one identify the best possible recipients of service?

The role of service recipients in CSL is also an area of concern. Sigmon (1979) developed three principles for service learning, two of which concern the role of service recipients. He asserted that “those being served [should] control the service(s) provided” and “those being served [should] become better able to serve and be served by their own actions” (cited in Kendall, 1991, p. 57). Weah, Simmons, & Hall (2000) discussed the need to pay attention to the voices of those to be served, valuing differences in outlook and beliefs. Kraft (1996), citing statistics that showed little structured discourse between students and recipients in many projects, warned against “service learning becom[ing] one-sided, focusing on the isolated views and perceptions of the student without true understanding of each individual’s perspective” (1996, p. 139). Rosario (2000), however, expressed cautions about the tendency toward particularism in cultural outlooks. His communitarian philosophy advocates uncovering similarities among groups. In this view, the valuing of difference is tempered by the need to focus on common goals and needs. Boyle-Baise (2002) expressed concern about the ability of CSL programs to foster critical thinking about issues of inequality and inequity when service providers do not fully share the experiences and goals of service recipients in culturally diverse settings. She proposed a concept of shared control for CSL that “embodies a commitment to work *with*, not *for*, culturally diverse and low income communities as an alliance of interests” (p. 13). Understanding the role of service recipients requires an understanding of how the

strengths of differing cultural outlooks can be combined to produce positive effects for the service providers and recipients alike.

Political Issues

The concept of community also encompasses many political questions and issues. One of the most heated debates concerns the idea of community service as obligation versus choice (Bhaerman, Cordell, & Gomez, 1998). Some observers view community service as an option, but see mandatory service or service required as part of a class or curriculum as coercive (Garber & Heet, 2000). While not opposed to service learning *per se*, they criticize the idea of ‘required volunteering.’ They are adamantly opposed to any potential politicization of schooling, viewing advocacy as coercion. Those who see community service as an obligation view the community as the manifestation of the ‘body politic’ (Mendel-Reyes, 1998). Community service is seen as a requirement of community membership, or more broadly, democratic citizenship (Barber, 1992; Boyte, 1991; Foos, 1998; Kennedy, 1991; Mendel-Reyes, 1998; Palmer, 1990). According to Barber, “The point where democracy and education intersect is the point we call community” (1992, p. 225). At the core of this debate lies a difference in the conception of the individual’s place in the community (Kahn, 1996) as well as the nature of learning (Palmer, 1990) and the purposes of schooling (Barber, 1992).

Along with critiques from the right of the political spectrum, voices from the left have also raised debates about the political ramifications of CSL. Some critical theorists, such as Abowitz (1999) and Varlotta (1997) have critiqued the communitarian/liberal philosophy that characterizes much of the CSL literature. They advocate that CSL, to be truly effective and liberating, must fundamentally challenge the existing power structures.

They criticize the communitarian outlook, with its related emphasis on citizenship, as embedded within an inherently unequal social structure.

Related to this question are concerns over the potential effects of community service activities on the community itself (Maybach, 1996). Weah, Simmons, and Hall noted that the possible effects of service upon recipients are rarely studied. Illich (1990) made the powerful point that a paternalistic attitude on the part of servers has an insidious effect on the psyche of those receiving the service. According to Illich, service that naively challenges existing power structures can often be literally deadly in contexts where antidemocratic forces control society. Service that advocates or implies such challenges must take into account possible unintended yet serious effects. While not every situation will be equally fraught with peril, the long-term consequences of CSL projects must be considered.

Summary

The concept of community, seemingly so obvious in its common usage, contains many questions when applied to service learning. The relationship of the individual to his social environment, the nature of the common good, and the best ways to achieve that good are at the core of the community concept. The community concept also brings up questions about the relationships among citizens in a democracy and the right of individuals to self-determination in a milieu of associated life. An examination of the concept of community developed by Progressive Era educators may not answer all of the questions, but it can shed light on how the idea developed in the history of education and how our current ideas have come into being.

Service

The question of what actually constitutes service seems not to be controversial on first examination, but thornier questions have arisen about the fundamental purpose of the service provided in CSL, whether it is to encourage charity, promote altruism, or develop some different kinds of relationships between server and recipient. Understanding the nature and purpose of service is important not only for the practical development of programs, but for understanding the goals for an education that includes community service learning and understanding how and why CSL works.

Characterizing Service Activities

The difference between service learning and community service is an important distinction made by many authors. The term community service already suffers from a negative stigma in today's society because of the judiciary use of service hours as an alternative sentence for many misdemeanors (Burns, 1998; Kraft, 1996). Outside of that vernacular usage of the term, however, the important difference is that community service learning is "a structured learning process" (Burns, 1998, p. 38) characterized by intentional educational objectives. In CSL, the service component receives equal emphasis with the learning objectives (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Furco, 1996), and the benefits of the activity accrue equally to the service recipient and the service provider or student, a concept called reciprocity in the CSL literature. In community service, the emphasis is on the service recipient, and the activity is structured to provide maximum benefit to recipients. Reciprocity may or may not be present, but in any case the benefit to the server may not be a specific educational goal. Furco (1996) noted that many activities purported to be service learning might be better characterized as volunteerism

or community service. The distinction is important mainly because the benefits claimed for CSL will be diminished or absent if activities do not place the proper emphasis on educational goals for the service provider.

Service activities can be characterized by the degree to which face-to-face interaction occurs between provider and beneficiary (Bhaerman, Cordell, & Gomez, 1998). Activities in which there is more direct contact are called *direct service*. An example of direct service might be students enriching their own mathematical knowledge as they tutored younger children in math. Activities in which students do not come into contact with service recipients are called *indirect service*. This type of service might include a project to purchase books for refugee children overseas in which the servers learn about literature, foreign languages, geography, etc. A third type of service, variously called *advocacy* or *civic action* involves students in activities where a community or societal issue is studied, then students disseminate information to the public and engage in lobbying governmental agencies about the issue (Fertman, White, & White, 1996). Little work has been done to discover the effects of service type on CSL outcomes.

Purposes of Service

Decisions about the ultimate purpose of service in the context of CSL have broad implications for the philosophy and theory of the service learning field. The kinds of purposes proposed for using service activities to achieve educational objectives can be broadly characterized by three major orientations: charity/altruism, social change and justice, and civic participation (Battistoni, 1997; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996). Frequently goals of CSL programs may combine aspects of two or more of these

orientations, but the emphasis placed on any given category has a major effect on what is learned in a CSL project.

The orientation of service activities toward altruism and charity is most apparent in descriptive studies of particular programs (McPherson, 1991; Parsons, 1991) rather than theoretical literature. This situation may result from a disconnection between those who actually put CSL into action and those who write about the ideological issues related to CSL. Clearly, programs that reflect a charity outlook are not necessarily trying to foster an unequal relationship between server and service recipient. This view seeks to encourage an orientation of caring (Foos, 1998) in students. Many service learning advocates have criticized this orientation, however, as a symptom of a ‘missionary’ attitude and a product of an individualistic view of learning and society (e.g. Barber, 1992; Palmer, 1990; Weah, Simmons, & Hall, 2000). Battistoni (1997) characterizes the view, perhaps more accurately, as an encouragement to philanthropy. These authors question among other things the attitudes formed by students toward service recipients when there is a perception of the wealthy serving the “needy.”

Other authors advocate an orientation toward service as a vehicle for social justice and change (Abowitz, 1999; Maybach, 1996; Moore, 1990; Rhoads, 1998; Varlotta, 1997). The term social justice is open to varying interpretations, depending upon the outlook of the writer. In the context of CSL, the term usually refers to the critical study of issues of political, social, and economic inequality, and the development of actions to address the problems perceived to be related to such inequalities. These advocates see service as a challenge to social injustices, advocating that students be encouraged to question and challenge existing power structures in society that create inequity and

oppression. They criticize the charity orientation as classist or paternalistic and the civic participation orientation as unwilling to address the roots of social problems in the power structure of society.

The civic participation orientation views CSL as the development of citizenship skills needed for living in a democratic community (Battistoni, 1997; Kinsley, 1993; Mendel-Reyes, 1998; Saltmarsh, 1996; Siegel & Rockwood, 1993; Westheimer & Kahne, 1999). Service in this view is a fundamental obligation of democratic living, a road to truly participatory democracy. This view seeks to embed social change within the democratic system already in existence, working from within to promote ideas of social justice. The idea of community, seen as people living together and sharing common goals, pervades this orientation (Barber, 1992; Rosario, 2000). Clearly in this instance the questions about the nature of community will have an effect on how CSL works.

Summary

It should be obvious that these three purposes for service in CSL, charity, social justice, and civic participation, are not mutually exclusive, but they do have many points at which their goals can be seen to conflict. The view toward service in CSL is affected by the conception of community, the individual, and how learning takes place. In turn, it affects the attitudes developed (or kept in place) by student and community member and other outcomes of the CSL project. Reflection on Progressive Era thought and practice about service may shed light on questions such as the relationship between charity and social responsibility or the ways that social justice ideas can inform democratic participation. It can also serve to help CSL advocates critically examine their assumptions about fundamental goals.

Learning

The third major component of community service learning to be considered is the meaning of the term learning itself. In this instance, the intent is not to examine the psychology and psychobiology of learning within CSL, although those areas are important topics for future research. This consideration of learning rather will examine the nature of the ultimate learning goals in CSL.

Research on CSL Effects

While Kraft (1996) asserted that advocates do not view the community service learning movement as a “panacea” (p. 135) for all school problems, the wide variety of effects and benefits claimed in the literature raises questions about the ability of a pedagogy to accomplish so much. In the CSL literature advocates have claimed positive effects in the areas of critical thinking, personal and social development (Eyler & Giles, 1999), psychological development (Duffy, 1998), moral development (Foos, 1998; Hatcher, 1997), ethics (Boss, 1995; Saltmarsh, 1997), citizenship (Barber, 1992; Battistoni, 1997; Mendel-Reyes, 1998; Siegel & Rockwood, 1993), self esteem (Miller & Neese, 1997; Siegel & Rockwood, 1993), as well as academic knowledge (Alt, 1997; Billig, 2000; Conrad & Hedin, 1991; Melchior, 1999; Zlotkowski, 1995). Conrad and Hedin (1982, 1991) reviewed quantitative and qualitative research on the effects of community service learning. They found that, while qualitative studies tended to show generally positive results, evidence from quantitative studies on specific CSL outcomes was scarce and inconclusive. A review by Alt (1997) reported more support for effects on psychological and social development, but little evidence that CSL was effective for particular academic objectives. Schine (1997) found the relationship between community

service learning and academic achievement still unclear. A decade after the Conrad and Hedin studies, Johnson and Notah (1999) and Billig (2000) reported that there was still a lack of structured experimental studies and longitudinal examinations of CSL effects. They also found that the bulk of qualitative evidence came from either program evaluations or studies relying on student self-reporting of effects (e.g. Eyler & Giles, 1999; Johnson, 1996; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993; Melchior, 1999). One large-scale study does exist, a nation-wide program evaluation of Learn and Serve programs (Melchior, 1999). This study did report significant positive academic effects in math and science for middle and high schools with well-structured Learn and Serve programs. Marginally significant results (.10 level) in several other subjects were also found. Interestingly, the positive academic effects of Learn and Serve programs were found to be stronger for minority and lower SES students. These results are compelling, but Melchior was unable to offer substantial explanations for the effects observed. Without a conceptual framework for understanding the causes for such results, the wide variety of program structures studied makes it difficult to draw more general conclusions about service learning effects.

Do these unclear results mean that community service learning is an ineffective educational approach? Not necessarily, according to some of the reviewers cited. The limitations of current research may have obscured the actual learning accomplished in CSL projects (Alt, 1997; Billig, 2000; Kraft, 1996). Billig complained that “the field is clearly a messy one, and far more and better research is needed” (2000, p. 660). Some of the problem lies with program and research design, according to Alt, because programs are not always specifically designed to meet the same educational goals or because

researchers are looking for outcomes that were not necessarily designed to be met in a given project.

On a more fundamental level, however, Kraft (1996, p. 143) pointed out that, “One of the major difficulties in evaluating or researching service-learning programs is the lack of agreement on what is meant by the term service learning and exactly what it is meant to accomplish.” This statement illustrates the need for better understanding of the nature of learning goals in CSL, both at a program level and for the field as a whole. Shumer (1997) listed the establishment of clear goals and purposes at the program level and advocated that programs should be designed to meet specific outcomes, a position echoed by Alt (1997). To establish such goals requires more agreement about overarching learning goals at the level of the entire field. Kinsley (1993) took an even stronger position, stating that service experiences must be chosen to meet specific curricular goals. The establishment of explicit goals may be difficult, however, because there are differing views about the purposes on which to base goals. Contrary to Kinsley’s position, Sigmon strongly asserted that, “*learning objectives are formed in the context of what needs to be done to serve others*” (1979, p. 59, italics in original). Other authors seem to shy away from prior intentional goals altogether (Tucker, 1999, seems to take this position) because of the danger of artificially constricting both learning and innovative practice. There is certainly no agreement on the nature or even the need for explicit prior learning goals in community service learning.

Reflection and Reciprocity

Two principles associated with learning in CSL are more universally accepted, but their exact nature and how they function seems less clear. Those principles are

reflection and reciprocity. These concepts provide mechanisms by which the learning in community service learning is accomplished. Reflection and reciprocity may be considered subcategories under learning in CSL, because these two concepts are so closely tied to the learning functions in CSL (Eyler & Giles, 1999).

Reflection has been called the single most necessary component of CSL (Conrad & Hedin, 1982). It is through reflection that the learning objectives of a CSL project are connected with experiences before, during, and after the service activities (Hatcher & Bringle, 1997). Many different forms of reflection are used in CSL, from written journals to free writing exercises to class seminars and informal conversations (Alt, 1997; deAcosta, 1995; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Kendall, 1991; Mabry, 1998).

Numerous studies have underscored the vital importance of reflection as a component of CSL projects. Shumer (1997) found that reflection at all levels of a project was a success factor for programs. Mabry, in a rare quantitative study, concluded that reflection factors produced significant differences in learning outcomes, and that reflection should be ongoing (1998). Eyler and Giles (1999) concluded that well-structured reflection was a significant factor in the attainment of many learning outcomes by the students they interviewed.

For all of its importance in community service learning, the functioning of reflection is not well understood. The most commonly cited model for reflection in the literature is Kolb (1984), a model from experiential education (Bringle & Hatcher, 1997). Kolb's model, which is closely based on Dewey's (1933) concept of reflective thinking, is an iterative process in which individuals continuously apply mental structures based on past experiences to new situations. These new experiences in turn serve to modify the

individuals existing mental structures and are applied in turn to future experience. Kolb's model has been criticized as a manifestation of a positivist, structuralist view of knowledge based on traditional individualistic models of thinking and learning (Moore, 1990). Questions about how reflection works and how it is best encouraged in different contexts are important for CSL theory. Therefore, it will be important to examine the concept more closely in its Progressive Era context.

Reciprocity refers to the CSL principle that those providing the service and those receiving the service should benefit equally from the activity (Furco, 1996). The concept of reciprocity is the main principle that sets community service learning apart from volunteerism and simple community service (Alt, 1997; Kendall, 1990). The idea of reciprocity contains implications not widely considered in much of the present day literature and practice. One issue is that of student empowerment and the cooperative development of projects by students as well as teachers and community partners. Several authors have included the idea of student collaboration in program development in their lists of principles for good service learning practice (Shumer, 1997; Sigmon, 1979). Battistoni noted that, "when program leaders make the experience of democratic community a part of the organization of the [service learning] class . . . students get a better sense of the meaning of group responsibility, reciprocity, interdependence, and cooperation (or conflict)" (1997, p. 154). Not all community service learning projects are developed according to this principle, however (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996).

A second issue surrounding the idea of reciprocity is the actual interaction between service providers and recipients. As previously noted, projects often ignore the voices of service recipients, and do not always structure interactions between students

and other community members in order to take advantage of all viewpoints. This isolation of different players in the service scenario can lead to situations where stereotypes are reinforced rather than challenged (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996) and attitudes reflecting class division among participants (Weah, Simmons, & Hall, 2000).

Summary

The goals and principles of learning in community service learning provide the rationale for the inclusion of the community and the idea of service in the school curriculum. The idea of learning is both the cement that ties school and community together, and the rationale for including community service as a school function. The importance of clear goals and a clear understanding of how learning is best accomplished cannot be understated. Like so many other concepts in CSL, these ideas need the perspective of reflection and careful analysis to support dialogue in the field as to their fundamental nature.

Community, Service, and Learning: Summary

The preceding discussion outlined some of the problematic issues in the modern literature on community service learning. The three components discussed, community, service, and learning, are mutually dependent and must be considered in conjunction in any philosophical or theoretical thinking. The purpose of an analytical separation of the concepts, however, is to bring clarity and define assumptions behind modern thought about community service learning.

Numerous authors have underscored the need to use explicit and accepted concepts in connection with community service learning in order to produce better research and practice. While there is something to be said for the argument that a too-

restrictive framework might actually harm the ability of CSL practitioners to innovate in their programs and meet the diverse needs of students, the preceding discussion illustrates issues which can cause more harm than good if left unexplored and unclear. In addition, innovation and flexibility are more easily accomplished and more likely to succeed when informed by a clear, accepted conceptual framework. Such a framework will require careful examination of fundamental concepts such as those in this study. Many of the debates that seem to concern merely technical issues, such as whether service learning participants can be paid, how to structure reflective activities, and how to decide what service to perform, are really questions about the fundamental purposes and workings of the community service learning idea. There is an obvious need for discourse and consensus-building on issues such as the meaning of community, the roles of every participant in CSL programs, the nature and purpose of service, the kinds of learning to be desired and the ways that learning takes place. The answers to these questions lie in the 'community' of CSL practitioners and researchers, not in books already written. However, before that community can effectively meet in the world of academic discourse and evaluation of practice, a time for reflection, reexamination of past thought, and perhaps a reconceptualization of current thought based on what we know of education's past. Many CSL advocates have begun this reflective process by examining the works of John Dewey, the educational philosopher credited by some with originating the idea of learning through service to the community. The next section will review present-day literature linking Dewey's ideas to CSL. In Chapter Four, Dewey's concepts of community, service, and learning will be analyzed.

John Dewey and Present-day Community Service Learning Literature

Most service-learning advocates would not question Thomas Ehrlich's assertion that "the basic theory of service-learning is [John] Dewey's" (1996, p.xi). The literature on CSL over the past dozen years or so contains some thoughtful discussions of how some of Dewey's ideas relate to some of the components or desired outcomes of community service learning. For the most part, however, considerations of the connections between Dewey's theory and philosophy and service learning have essentially chosen specific concepts already established as related to service learning and attempted to match these concepts with relevant aspects of Dewey's work. Two exceptions are the work of Goodwin Liu (1995) and John Saltmarsh (1996), both of which attempt to apply Dewey's philosophy to service learning on a more holistic and integrated level. Four major areas of connection are highlighted in this literature: the ideas of learning through experience and reflective thinking, and the goals of teaching ethics and citizenship. The work of Liu and Saltmarsh will be discussed in a separate section.

Service Learning and Dewey's Concept of Experience

The idea that learning and experience are in essence identical concepts is one of the most important, if not the central, ideas of John Dewey's educational philosophy (Giles, 1991). The experiential nature of service learning is one of its defining characteristics to many advocates. Consider, for example, Carol Kinsley's explanation of the power of service learning.

Service learning provides a vehicle to bring a balance between learning and living, and an understanding of the fullness of participation in a democratic

society by actively engaging our young people in activities that bring them meaning and purpose (1997, p. 3).

The active, participatory, living character of the service learning experience is clearly emphasized. Service learning is often identified with experiential education (Carver, 1997; Giles, 1991; Smyth, 1990). Smyth noted the explicit connection between the experience gained in service learning and experience as the active component of learning for Dewey. Giles (1991) used Dewey's concept of experience to argue that service learning was "a philosophy of experiential education" (p. 89) rather than simply another experiential education practice. He noted "with its understanding that experience is ultimately social and communal and that education is interactive and reciprocal" (p. 89). Dewey's theory of experience allowed service learning to "suggest methods and practices that should inform *all* programs" (p. 89, emphasis mine).

The idea of experience, as developed by Dewey, has allowed some authors to develop theoretical frameworks useful for aspects of service learning. Kolb's theory of learning in experiential education (1984), which was derived in part from Dewey's ideas, has been used by some authors as a model for thinking in service learning (e.g. Hatcher and Bringle, 1997). Carver (1997) used Deweyan concepts of experience to develop a conceptual framework for the learning environment in experiential education and service learning, in which student experience is defined by the three facets of student agency, belonging, and competence. Her model, intended to help in planning and policy making for service learning, shows how program characteristics and characteristics of the setting interact with student experience to produce outcomes. The framework is intended to be

evaluative more than explanatory, but accords experience a central role in program structure.

Dewey's ideas about experience have also influenced how some authors view the concepts of service and learning. Using the idea that service and learning are both dimensions of experience, Giles (1991) suggested that a dialectical model of interaction between the two was more useful for service learning than a dualistic view of the two concepts, which might sometimes place them in opposition. Giles and Eyler (1994) as well as Carver (1997) have used Dewey's criteria of continuity and interaction in experience as a model for evaluating the types of service learning experiences provided. Continuity refers to "the idea that experiences build on previous ones and they need to be directed to the ends of growth and development" (Giles and Eyler, 1994, p. 79) while interaction refers to the balance between subjective or personal elements and objective or environmental elements in a given situation (Giles, 1991). Using interaction, the educator "interprets the educational value of an experience by considering both elements...and demanding that there be a goodness of fit, or a "transaction" between the two." (Giles, 1991, p. 88). Giles and Eyler urge a general application of these concepts as criteria for learning experiences in service learning. Carver takes the application a step further by incorporating them as processes acting with her model of service learning environments. Carver uses the idea of experience as an acting continuum to develop the idea that both processes and outcomes are kinds of student experiences within service learning and need to be evaluated in an integrated fashion. These applications of Dewey's concept of experience to service learning are intended to help practitioners

better identify service opportunities and structure them so that students receive maximum learning benefit from them.

Reflective Thinking

Service learning theorists have also identified Dewey's ideas about reflective thinking as relevant to service learning. As discussed in a prior section, the provision of opportunities for reflection is considered to be one of the essential practices of service learning. It is through reflection that students, teachers, and other participants gain the learning benefits from their service activities. Like Dewey, most service-learning writers use the terms reflection and reflective thinking interchangeably to denote the same process. Therefore, these terms will both be used in this discussion.

Giles and Eyler (1994) applied the idea of the continuum of thought and action to the processing of the experience gained in service, and linked Dewey's phases of reflective thought (discussed below) to the service learning approach. Hatcher and Bringle (1997) further developed this connection, combining Dewey's reflective thinking ideas with Kolb's (1984) experiential learning model to produce a set of recommendations for structuring reflection activities in service learning projects. Dewey's influence can be seen in their recommendations to specifically "link experience to learning objectives" and to "allow for clarification of values" (Hatcher & Bringle 1997, p. 157). Hatcher and Bringle noted that "reflection describes both a cognitive process . . . and a structured learning activity" (p. 153), a combination that may produce confusion unless one understands the fundamental continuity of reflection in the learning process described by Dewey.

Harkavy and Benson (1998) located Dewey's ideas on reflective thinking within a larger concept of "instrumental intelligence" (p. 15). This concept represented for Harkavy and Benson a democratization of the educative process, bringing the goals of schooling out of a foundation in an aristocratic social order where authority and precedent ruled to an orientation towards equipping all citizens to make informed political and social decisions. In this view, reflective thinking is the process that develops intelligent conduct through action and experience.

Ethics and Morality

While the previous discussion focused on how some of Dewey's fundamental learning concepts relate to the process of learning through service, other authors have linked some of Dewey's ideas to the goals and purposes of service learning. One goal related to Dewey's work is the teaching of ethics and morality. For Dewey, the idea of community service is embedded in an ethical understanding that considers the relationships between people as paramount (Campbell, 1995). Morton and Saltmarsh (1997) trace the community service concept itself to the work of Dewey, along with Jane Addams and Dorothy Day, around the beginning of the twentieth century. Before that period, the dominant orientation toward community improvement was charity. This orientation, according to Morton and Saltmarsh, was characterized by a tendency to attribute social ills to moral weakness, dividing communities into classes based not only upon economics but also upon a person's adherence to a Protestant, middle-class ideal. The relationship between the classes produced by this charity orientation was paternalistic and prescriptive on the part of the "upper" class. Ethics and morality in this view were best accomplished through setting a good example (based on the dominant

ideal) and demonstrating to the “lower” class the error of their ways while rewarding outward conformity. (This orientation toward social problems has by no means vanished today).

Morton and Saltmarsh noted Dewey’s criticism of this ethical orientation as undemocratic and divisive. Dewey attempted to address this negative influence by redefining “ethics as . . . the foundation of community relations and democratic progress” (Morton & Saltmarsh 1997, p. 141). The focus of ethics was thus shifted from individual personal behavior to social relationships. Community service was a critical educational concept for Dewey because “direct experience of cultural contradictions [i.e. social problems], and their subsequent resolution became the process linking education, democracy, and community” (Morton & Saltmarsh 1997, p. 147). For Morton and Saltmarsh, Dewey’s ethical ideas thus help to define a social justice function for schooling and by extension, for service learning.

Dewey’s ethical concepts have also been used to derive some principles of practice for service learning directed towards ethical or moral education. Boss (1995) connected Dewey’s idea of continuity of experience (aligning in- and out-of-school experiences) and democratic participation with research that shows that community-based programs provide effective moral education. Hatcher (1997) derived three moral dimensions of Dewey’s philosophy, development of individual capacities, citizen engagement with one another, and promotion of humane conditions Hatcher used these dimensions to develop principles for undergraduate education. She proposed that good education should have the following characteristics: 1) integration of personal experience with academic learning, 2) structured opportunities for reflection, 3) be inquiry-based, 4)

facilitate communication, 5) connect to the community. The same principles could clearly be applied to elementary and secondary education as well. Hatcher saw service learning as an ideal practice to combine these principles for the goal of promoting ethical development.

Service Learning and Democratic Citizenship

The goals of ethical education and citizenship education are closely intertwined in the minds of many service learning advocates. Boss (1995) stated that, “the primary purpose of community service learning is to prepare students to become enlightened citizens who can participate in society with dignity, sensitivity, and wisdom. These are also goals of ethics education” (p. 20). According to Battistoni (1997), “service learning should be valued as a method of developing in students an other-regarding ethic appropriate to democratic citizenship” (p. 150). John Dewey’s ideas about the meaning and development of citizenship, with all of its ethical implications, have received careful attention among service learning proponents.

The connections drawn between Dewey’s concept of education for citizenship and modern service learning revolve around three concepts: community, participatory democracy, and social inquiry. These concepts are closely interrelated in that each implies and effectively requires the others in Dewey’s philosophy (Saltmarsh, 1996). Traditional didactic citizenship education largely fails to achieve its purpose because it operates according to an individualistic model of knowledge and learning coupled with an authority-based top-down pedagogy (Battistoni, 1997). Service learning proponents see their alternative pedagogy as more ideally suited to achieve the combination of Dewey’s citizenship concepts in a school setting.

At the heart of Dewey's concept of citizenship is the idea of community. Giles and Eyler (1994) noted that in Dewey's philosophy, "it was the communal association that gave rise to the moral, intellectual, and emotional aspects of life as well as the foundation of democracy" (p. 81). Community for Dewey was locally oriented (Cummings, 2000), revolving around direct interaction between community members over issues of mutual concern.

The fundamental unity of experience and education in Dewey's philosophy meant that effective citizenship education must allow students to participate in the kinds of activities citizens engaged in (Seigel & Rockwood, 1993). Dewey felt that actual participation in citizenship experiences required that the school itself should be organized as a community, both in its administrative functions and in its educational model (Battistoni, 1997; Varlotta, 1996). The educational community was created through the participation of students in social inquiry directed at solving social problems (Cummings, 2000; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Harkavy & Benson, 1998). Citizenship, according to this model, was considered to be a "mutual enterprise that addressed social ills" (Giles & Eyler, 1994, p. 82). Inquiry, or studying and acting upon community problems or needs, is the very process that creates and sustains community, and the entire enterprise constitutes citizenship (Cummings, 2000).

The idea of community service learning as citizenship education grows out of the combination of these three fundamental factors in citizenship (community, participation, and inquiry) considered so important by Dewey. Saltmarsh defined the necessary conditions: "For service learning to be an education for citizenship, it should be based upon a foundation of unifying thought and action; it should engage students in a direct

and intimate way so that they are *of* a community and not merely in it” (1996, p. 20, emphasis mine). Harkavy and Benson discussed a citizenship education model consisting of inquiry in the form of “strategic, academically-based community scholarship and service” (1997, p. 17) that would liberate the potential of all students to participate effectively in the activities of citizenship. Cummings (2000) discussed five dimensions of Dewey’s idea of democracy, namely association/communication, empowerment, reflection/experimentalism, overcoming social divisions, and transcending the dualism between individual and society, that should inform the community-building function of service learning. He used these dimensions as a way to describe and evaluate a particular program, but these ideas can be applied to many other types of programs for citizenship education as well.

As an integrated, holistic philosophy (Saltmarsh, 1996), Dewey’s concept of citizenship seems to hold promise as a foundation for community service learning. The literature considered above has pointed out important connections between Dewey’s ideas and the citizenship goals held by many for service learning. The connections between citizenship, ethics, and service that become clear when considered from Dewey’s philosophical standpoint are particularly interesting for anyone seeking a more integrated strategy for teaching these sometimes elusive concepts. Still, this comprehensive review of literature connecting Dewey with service learning, while admittedly not complete, does not reveal fundamental discussions on how Dewey’s work might help to provide the kind of theoretical basis that would provide a “systematic way of generating and organizing our knowledge” (Giles & Eyler, 1994, p. 78), which many

seek for service learning. That kind of consideration can be found, albeit in an embryonic form, in several articles to be discussed below.

Dewey's Pragmatic Philosophy and Service Learning

While many articles contain good discussions of how one component or goal from Dewey's philosophy connects or relates to service learning, I believe that the need now is to begin to consider more deeply and holistically how a clearer philosophical and theoretical foundation for service learning can be developed from the body of Dewey's work. How such an undertaking would actually play out will only be revealed as the dialogue develops among the larger body of service learning proponents, both practitioners and theorists. However, the works of Giles and Eyler (1994), Saltmarsh (1996), and Liu (1995) (with respondents Richman, 1996, and Tucker, 1999) seem to show a continuum of thought that may provide a picture of a process of taking Dewey's work as a whole and creating a framework with which service learning can be better understood. Although I consider some of the approaches in this continuum more basic than others, I do not see the overall theory-building process as a set of steps or stages, nor do I believe that such a process should necessarily be a linear progression. I simply seek to illustrate relative differences in the types of activities that will likely be needed to construct a service learning theory.

Giles and Eyler (1994) illustrate what I believe to be a necessary beginning search for connections in constructing a philosophical foundation for service learning. Their conclusion that, "It is apparent to us that Dewey's educational and social philosophy . . . is a very good fit with the general understandings and claims of service-learning and with its potential to contribute to a theory of service-learning" (p. 82) shows this purpose in

the article. Their primary goal was to illustrate the need for theoretical development in service learning and identify some possible avenues of study. They sought to find areas of similarity between Dewey's concepts and their own current understandings about service learning in order to point out the connections between the two sets of ideas. They identified two major ideas, reflective thinking and citizenship, then derived some themes for future study in theory development.

Saltmarsh (1996) took this process further by analyzing several specific concepts addressed in Dewey's work that he believed had contributed to ideas about service learning, then offering a short critique of those concepts in light of our current goals. He identified five major concepts from Dewey's philosophy:

- 1) linking education to experience
- 2) democratic community
- 3) social service
- 4) reflective inquiry, and
- 5) education for social transformation (p.13).

Saltmarsh's approach is more evolutionary in the sense of tracing the roots of current thought on service learning to Dewey, then showing the relationships between Dewey's early thought and that of more recent theorists such as Paolo Friere and Jane Rowland Martin. He then examined the limitations of Dewey's ideas in relation to the goal of a more radical social transformation process that Dewey may have envisioned, drawing on the work of Cornel West and others.

In a 1995 article, Liu attempted to begin a dialog on the philosophical foundation for service learning by proposing a pragmatist epistemology, or theory of knowledge, as

the best fit for current understandings of service learning. His argument provoked two responses that critiqued and expanded upon Liu's original theme (Richman, 1996, Tucker, 1999). This exchange, which impresses me as more of a conversation than a debate in character, represents to a large extent what I believe is part of a process of clarifying philosophy and theory that would greatly benefit the field of service learning as a whole.

Liu noted the continuing difficulty in developing even a commonly accepted definition for service learning, and blamed conceptual confusion for the perception in some academic quarters that service learning as a pedagogy lacks rigor. He critiqued what he felt were the dominant intellectual orientations of foundationalism and dualism, which he believed produced a view of knowledge that was static, hierarchical, and based in a view of mind as separate from the external world. A foundationalist view requires that all knowledge be based on a privileged core of "permanently established knowledge" (1995, p. 9), and all concepts had to accurately mirror objects that exist in a 'real', objective world. Liu found these orientations untenable for service learning, which he felt was based on a socially constructed view of knowledge, and a rejection of the dualism between the subjective and objective.

Liu argued for an alternative, pragmatist epistemology based on the idea that knowledge is communally created, contextual, and provisional. He credited Dewey as a pioneer of pragmatism, but based his discussion primarily on the work of Richard Rorty, whose ideas differ from Dewey's in some key ways. Liu felt that a conception of knowledge in service learning must rely on accepted "standards of justification" (1995, p. 9), to be developed among the community of service learning advocates. He suggested

three pedagogical principles that he believed would support a pragmatist view of knowledge, community, diversity, and engagement. These principles were to provide a “bulwark” (p. 14) against the drawbacks of foundationalism and dualism by ensuring broad participation and agreement on the knowledge development process.

In a 1996 response to Liu, Kenneth Richman did not try to refute a pragmatist epistemological foundation for service learning, but pointed out some inconsistencies and implications of adopting that view of knowledge. Richman stated his intention to “contribut[e] to Liu’s goal of identifying an epistemology which can undergird the service-learning pedagogy” (p.5), making it clear that his intent was to continue the conversation, not to refute Liu’s original thesis. Richman first critiqued Liu’s interpretation of the nature of knowledge in Rorty’s form of pragmatism, noting that in using propositions as the “proper objects of knowledge” (p. 8) Liu perpetuated a thought/action dualism that was not appropriate to service learning. Richman also critiqued Liu’s understanding of communities of knowledge as invariably democratic in nature, asserting that there is a difference “between the ‘lay’ community and the community of scientists” (p. 9), for example, in which the expert (scientific) community has knowledge that is not open to universal dialog on its veracity.

Based on this understanding of differences between expert knowledge and commonly held knowledge, Richman argued that the types of learning that service learning was capable of supporting were limited to those in which the communities served were experts or those types for which no experts exist. He used as an example a fictitious service learning course in developmental psychology in which students performed service in a center for developmentally disabled adults. Richman felt that this

topic was not appropriate for service learning because the community served, identified by Richman as the disabled, could not discuss the nature of their disability, while if students asked staff at the center, they would not be learning from the community being served. Thus, such a course could not be supported by a pragmatist epistemology because “it does not provide opportunities for knowledge-making dialogue with the community on the subject of the course because members of the community being served are not sufficiently expert on the subject” (Richman, 1996, p. 11). Richman concluded that Liu’s proposal needed modification, but could help to justify service learning to academic administrators and clarify the goals of service learning.

The potential limitation of the kinds of learning that might be accomplished by service learning seemed to provide the main impulse behind Robert Tucker’s 1999 response to Liu and Richman. Tucker’s stance was more along the lines of a refutation of the need for an epistemology for service learning altogether than a modification of the existing proposals. Tucker objected to the notion that service learning needed a systematic philosophy, asserting that “such an epistemology could accomplish little more than the construction of a procrustean bed in which our practice must painfully lie” (1999, p. 5). Interestingly, Tucker did not reject a pragmatic philosophical stance, but rather offered another interpretation of the pragmatic view of knowledge, that the rejection of dualism and foundationalism should not imply a ‘replacement’ epistemology. Tucker argued that “pragmatism [is] a way of abandoning epistemology altogether” (p. 8). Tucker proposed instead an eclectic acceptance of whatever seemed to work, basing the justification of knowledge and the service learning pedagogy both on real-world consequences of actual programs. Tucker suggested that a pragmatic outlook, rather than

a systematic pragmatic philosophical foundation, was best for service learning. Such an outlook would include principles of respect for diversity, encouragement for innovation, and enthusiasm for progressive thought and action.

I believe that, as a group, these three articles may represent a small part of a theory-building dialog for service learning. Such a dialog would take place both in the theoretical and practical realm as advocates and other interested parties discuss (and argue) concepts and try them out in practice, refining and changing their ideas as they are tested. The process I envision is pragmatic in nature, taking place within a continuum of knowledge and action carried on as a form of social inquiry among a community of people with an interest in the concept of learning through service. The Liu-Richman-Tucker exchange shows how differing interpretations of essentially the same philosophical ideas can lead to important thinking about service learning when aired as a public conversation. Some very old questions can be detected in this exchange, such as the nature of knowledge and the tension between thought and action, theory and practice, etc. The conversation between the three is clearly just that: a professional discussion between researchers who disagree but know how to structure their arguments within accepted standards of academic debate. Service learning can only benefit from this kind of work.

At the same time, each of the three articles contained areas of ambiguity that seem to drive some of the disagreements between the authors. Liu, while acknowledging that his treatment of the subject of service learning philosophy is in many ways “over-broad” (1995, p. 16), did not adequately address the question of how service as action enters into his epistemological model, or how such an approach integrates the learning goals his

epistemology seemed to imply. Tucker's emphasis was in some ways a mirror image of Liu's, focusing solely on the action component and the real-world programmatic concerns of service learning while specifically rejecting the importance of clarifying the meanings of such vital concepts as community, service, and learning. In both cases the authors disagreement seemed to arise from differing philosophical interpretations and lack of conceptual clarity.

The need for conceptual clarification was best illustrated in the example given by Richman, outlined above, involving a service learning project at a center for disabled adults. Richman offered restricted definition of community as including only those served, and assumed that the service only benefited the disabled, as opposed to students and others involved. He implicitly assumed that the professionals working with the disabled adults, or the families of those adults, or any other stakeholders in the process should not be included in the definition of community. His concept of service was ambiguous, seeming to involve only some sort of face-to-face interaction with the disabled clients by themselves. Finally, his conception of the learning goals of such a project seemed to be comprised solely of technical factual information and academic theoretical models of the type he seems to consider 'expert knowledge.' If we assume that the community served and the service offered is exclusively of the character Richman seemed to imply, then of course no learning of the sort he assumes would be possible. None of the vital components were defined, much less correlated to each other.

This criticism is not intended to negate the value of the main points of Richman's article, which raised some vital questions about what service learning can accomplish under any philosophical scheme. Yet Richman's mistake was not simply a case of using

a poorly constructed example, either. The main point, and the idea is fraught with potential danger for the field of service learning, is that no conversation can take place about theory or practice without the kind of common language and understandings provided by an accepted philosophical and theoretical model.

Dewey and Present-day Literature: Summary

As a whole the articles reviewed in the above section illustrate that there do seem to be some common understandings about components of the service learning process and some of its goals, but none of those goals are explicitly analyzed or even well defined. Granted, these assumptions were made by authors who were discussing a common philosophical scheme based on the work of John Dewey. How can such assumptions be articulated to those who do not share the belief that Dewey's work *can* inform the service learning field? Strikingly, many of the authors reviewed above made it clear in their work that they believed service learning needed a common theoretical foundation, and were trying to provide such a foundation. To some extent they have succeeded in identifying many key areas of study. My feeling however, and the major thesis of this study, is that we have started at too complex a level in the process. If theory is understood as a framework of defined concepts and their relationships, it is necessary to analyze the meaning of those concepts.

Conclusion

The current CSL literature raises many questions about the nature of community, service, and learning. To answer questions such as what a community is, who should receive services, or what kinds of learning are desired, we first need to understand more clearly what we mean when we use basic terms. The foregoing review of CSL literature

shows that there is often confusion about the foundations of CSL even by those who agree in many ways. While some CSL advocates have turned to the philosophy of John Dewey to provide answers, their efforts are as yet incomplete. Questions are raised by differing uses of the same terms or by differing assumptions about how CSL works, and the result is an inability to clearly articulate both goals and outcomes for CSL. This study is intended to help provide conceptual clarity for CSL by exploring John Dewey's ideas about community, service, and learning, then testing that analysis through study of historical cases of school practice in settings where Dewey's thoughts were influential on participants. In the next chapter I will examine the concepts of community, service, and learning as they are conceptualized in John Dewey's philosophical and theoretical work.

CHAPTER 4

JOHN DEWEY'S CONCEPTS OF COMMUNITY, SERVICE, AND LEARNING

Introduction

In this study I chose to situate my exploration of the concepts of community, service, and learning within the work of John Dewey. Dewey's philosophy and theory seem to be among the most commonly cited foundational ideas for CSL in the present-day literature. Many respected CSL advocates have connected their ideas about the field to Dewey's thoughts on democracy, community, learning through experience, and many other themes. In fact, as this study will show, Dewey made an explicit attempt to integrate his concepts of community, service, and learning into a coherent philosophical and theoretical ideal of democratic life. While Dewey never explicitly used the term "community service learning," I would argue that a careful synthesis of his ideas on the human mind, social ethics, and education would yield a way of thinking about learning that is not only applicable but also quite similar to our present-day conceptualization of CSL. This assertion will be supported through an analysis of the practice of two Progressive Era schools that were strongly influenced by Dewey's ideas, showing that they incorporated practices that are for all practical purposes indistinguishable from present-day CSL practice. Numerous other examples of such practice at other Progressive Era schools could be added to the two studied here. My purpose is not by any means to deny the freshness or originality of our current concept of CSL, but rather

to introduce a whole body of thought and practice from the past that present-day advocates can draw upon and learn from.

I believe that the pragmatic approach to teaching and learning, as exemplified in the work of Dewey and those who were influenced by him, provides the most compelling and useful approach to education that is available today. Naturally, Dewey's thought must be continually reinterpreted and revised based upon new ideas and changing conditions, leavened with new philosophical concepts, informed by new theoretical work, and especially accounting for new scientific discoveries. Some authors criticize Dewey's ideas as unworkable in today's world, but Dewey's vision was always intended to be adapted to a changing, free-thinking, and mobile society. In this Chapter, I will examine Dewey's concepts of community, service, and learning, and propose a model of cooperative social inquiry that I believe connects those three concepts in Dewey's philosophy and theory.

Before turning to this discussion, I wish to acknowledge the debt I owe to Campbell's *Understanding John Dewey* (1995). As I undertook my reflective reading of Dewey's work, I decided that I would need a separate guide or touchstone with which I could cross-check my interpretations and clarify my thinking. I feel that Campbell's book provided a clear, well-written account that would allow me to compare my own understandings of what I was reading with the thoughts of another student of Dewey. The frequent citations of Campbell's book in this work reflect the respect and value I placed on his thought.

Community

At the very core of John Dewey's philosophy is the fundamental proposition that humans are by their very nature social beings. Our social nature is far more basic than even some primal instinct to gather and interact with others; it is as primary a component of our humanity as our cellular structure is to our bodies. Except in the most extreme and highly unusual situations, people live within a social milieu that produces not only the means of their physical survival but their very ability to think and communicate. To extend the physical metaphor, it is the socially produced ideas that in turn continually reproduce the structure of society over time, much as the DNA produced by the human body reproduces itself in the form of future human beings.

Communication

The leap from Dewey's contention that humans are fundamentally social to his idea of community is not a direct one. For Dewey's concept of community is developmental, and represents only one possible form of association. While all human development takes place within a social milieu (Dewey, 1980a), human beings are born merely in association with others, not as fully functioning members of a community (Dewey, 1984). Human young gradually develop into fully functioning human beings through the process of *communication*, as they come to interact with other members of their social group, developing their ability to use that group's characteristic social ideas

As a matter of fact every individual has grown up, and always must grow up, in a social medium. His responses grow intelligent, or gain meaning, simply because he lives and acts in a medium of accepted meanings and values. Through social intercourse, through sharing in the activities embodying beliefs, he gradually

acquires a mind of his own. The conception of mind as a purely isolated possession of the self is at the very antipodes of the truth. The self *achieves* mind in the degree in which knowledge of things is incarnate in the life about him; the self is not a separate mind building up knowledge anew on its own account (Dewey, 1980a , p. 304).

The means of transmission of social ideas to the developing members of the community is education. In other words, children must learn to be members of a community: “To learn to be human is to develop through the give-and-take of communication an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community; one who understands its beliefs, desires and methods, and who contributes to a further conversion of organic powers into human resources and values” (Dewey, 1984, p. 332).

The transmission of the body of ideas that defines a society takes place through communication between people, using the medium of language. Dewey (1981) argued that language creates meaning from the chaotic sensory input experienced by each human being. It does so by transforming phenomena, consisting of ephemeral temporal relationships, into symbols that the mind can manipulate. Language thus changes occurrences, which Dewey understood to include all “objects of knowledge” (1981, p. 115), into ideas that can be communicated, or shared meanings. These meanings are shared by virtue of the fact that, as structures of language, they are able to be communicated (whether the words are actually spoken or not).

Thus the individual is revealed as a social being even in the utmost isolation. Dewey asserted that, “even when a person is alone he thinks with language that is derived from association with others, and thinks about questions and issues that have been born in

intercourse” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 227). Language is part of the body of social ideas that Dewey spoke of, and is the medium through which the individual mind is created at the same time that the individual person becomes a member of a society.

Dewey’s emphasis on the social make-up of the human mind has been criticized by some as a negation of the importance of the individual in society (Campbell, 1995). To place the individual against the social would be to create a dualism of the sort Dewey intellectually deplored. He traced the origins of this dualism in Western thought to the early liberal philosophers who sought through their focus on the functions and rights of the individual to argue against the ideas of church and monarchical authority (Dewey, 1984). This conceptual separation between individual and society served a purpose in that context, according to Dewey, but was increasingly revealed as untenable for our modern, interdependent world. Rather, the individual and society constitute for Dewey an organic whole, logically inconceivable in separation: “[The individual] has no existence by himself. He lives in, for, and by society, just as society has no existence excepting in and through the individuals who constitute it” (Dewey, 1972, p. 55). In fact, Dewey assigns a high level of importance to the role of the individual as the seed for social change and progress. Every new idea has its ultimate source in some individual, and those new ideas form the new approaches that eventually result in societal change. Again, the metaphor of the physical world, specifically evolutionary biology, can illustrate the process of change Dewey envisioned (Campbell, 1995). Individual physical variation, produced as a result of genetic differences in groups, produces the changes that, if chosen through natural selection, produce physical changes over time in species. Similarly, new ideas may eventually produce societal change: “The intellectual variations

of the individual in observation, imagination, judgment, and invention are simply the agencies of social progress, just as conformity to habit is the agency of social conservation” (Dewey, 1980a, p. 306). The true relationship of the individual and society can thus be seen to be a reciprocal, mutually dependent one,

while singular beings in their singularity think, want and decide, *what* they think and strive for, the content of their beliefs and intentions is a subject-matter provided by association. Thus man is not merely *de facto* associated, but he *becomes* a social animal in the makeup of his ideas, sentiments and deliberate behavior. *What* he believes, hopes for and aims at is the outcome of association and intercourse (Dewey, 1984, p. 251, italics in original).

Social Nature of Intelligence and Knowledge

The concept of the single human mind operating without reference to any type of shared ideas is for Dewey a logical impossibility because such a mind would be devoid of ‘content’, in essence not really a mind at all. The ‘content’ provided by society consists of all of the meanings, including but not limited to what we call knowledge and skills, that has been developed over time by the human race (Dewey, 1976a). Dewey often referred to this storehouse of meaning in terms such as “inheritance of the race” (1976b, p. 69), a term that might cause eyebrows to be raised today. I believe that the most productive way to consider this idea, as well as the way most consistent with the body of Dewey’s work as I know it, is that Dewey was referring to the human race, not any particular human groups. The inheritance Dewey indicated is therefore human culture in its broadest sense: the total body of shared ideas that define human groups. The

important point is that Dewey considered the method of its inheritance, like the method of its development and transformation, to be social.

From the preceding discussion it should be clear that, because Dewey believed that the individual mind was socially created, it followed that intelligence and knowledge were also socially created. This concept, fundamental to nearly all aspects of Dewey's philosophy (Campbell, 1995), runs in direct opposition to the traditional conception of mind as a wholly individual creation and possession, completely separate from the physical environment in which it operates. The traditional individualistic idea of mind further yields a conception of learning as an individual process of acquiring factual information and isolated skills that are divorced, in Dewey's scheme, from their social and practical meaning. Dewey criticized this notion of learning: "The mere absorption of facts and truths is so exclusively individual an affair that it tends very naturally to pass into selfishness" (1976b, p. 10).

Human association with other human beings was for Dewey more than just a fact of life, it was a definitive characteristic of humanity itself. When the social is seen as such a crucial human characteristic, it is easier to understand the idea of individual and society as a continuum, a single extended concept instead of a duality. Neither is possible without the other. In the case of the individual, Dewey sums up the bond as follows:

As a matter of fact every individual has grown up, and always must grow up, in a social medium. His responses grow intelligent, or gain meaning, simply because he lives and acts in a medium of accepted meanings and values. Through social intercourse, through sharing in the activities embodying beliefs, he gradually

acquires a mind of his own. The conception of mind as a purely isolated possession of the self is at the very antipodes of the truth. The self *achieves* mind in the degree in which knowledge of things is incarnate in the life about him; the self is not a separate mind building up knowledge anew on its own account (1980a, p. 304).

Lest the social appear to take precedent over the individual, Dewey reaffirms the origins of society in the interactions of individuals: “Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication.” (1980a, p. 7, italics in original). The simple and inescapable fact of human association did not automatically imply the concept of community to Dewey, however (Dewey, 1984). There are further requirements beyond the fact of physical association that must be met to produce community.

Development of Community

Communication, already shown as the critical agent in the formation of Dewey’s social individual, was also the crucial formative process for Dewey’s concept of community. The etymological connection between the words communication and community meant far more to Dewey than a simple historical linguistic association (Savage, 2002). “Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common” (1980a, p. 7) Dewey wrote, and it was the fact of things held in common, “aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge – a common understanding” (1980a, p. 7) that differentiated community from simple association. The sharing of common meanings through communication was the beginning of the development of community, but an

expansion into the closer bonds characteristic of community required more than common ideas.

Transactions in Human Association

In Dewey's view, the development of community from basic human association was a result of sharing meanings through communication combined with the effects of human action in association. Both factors operated as processes over time to produce a new and unique quality of human association. "Men did not intend language; they did not have social objects consciously in view when they began to talk," Dewey wrote, "But nevertheless language once called into existence is language and operates as language. It operates not to perpetuate the forces which produced it but to modify and redirect them" (1983a, p. 56). Among the forces which produced language was the desire to direct effort toward the accomplishment of certain aims, and the use of language modified the aims so that they became shared.

Shared aims did not necessarily precede shared action in human association, however. Dewey believed that human action was as much a product of association as communication. "Every act brings the agent who performs it into association with others, whether he so intends or not," Dewey said (1978, p. 404). Campbell (1995) asserted that this view of action as association referred not only to the moral dimensions of human conduct, but primarily to the social environment that produces human behavior. Beyond the involuntary physiological functions (which should not be called conduct anyway), human conduct is produced as humans develop in a social setting (Dewey, 1983a). Thus, all human action has a referent to the social group that produced it: "a being connected with other beings cannot perform his own activities without taking the activities of others

into account” (Dewey, 1980a, p. 16). Shared aims and associated conduct add up to human interaction (Dewey, 1983a).

Interaction among associated people does not necessarily yield community, however. A shared aim such as procuring food for one’s family may lead to conflict between associated humans as easily as cooperation, particularly when associated conduct takes place in a limited or impoverished physical environment. Dewey wrote, “Conduct is always shared . . . It *is* social, whether good or bad” (Dewey, 1983a, p. 16). The critical factor arises when shared meaning and associated action allow people to perceive that their own actions have consequences for others, and vice-versa (Dewey, 1984). Consequences to self and others are perceived as people reflect, or think about their conjoint activities. Dewey termed human interaction accompanied by shared aims and recognition of mutual consequences of everyone’s conduct a “transaction” (Dewey, 1984, p. 243). Transaction also implies that human actions are regulated in some way in recognition of the mutual consequences. Transaction changes mere associated activity into conjoint activity, activity that is aimed at allowing everyone to accomplish their shared aims. A simple example might be an agreement between two people to divide up a hunting territory so as not to harm each other’s chances of acquiring food. Even though each hunter may hunt alone, the avoidance of the other’s territory is conduct carried on in cooperation.

Shared aims and conjoint action under the recognition of mutual interdependence are the conditions producing community. Dewey defined community using those characteristics:

Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common.

What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge – a common understanding . . . If . . . they were all cognizant of the common end and all interested in it so that they regulated their specific activity in view of it, then they would form a community (Dewey, 1980a, p. 7).

Dewey's account of the conditions that produce community is not intended to be an account of the historical development of human communities so much as a description of the general, or normative, conditions that obtain for the development of communities (Campbell, 1995). The shared meanings brought about through language and the conjoint activity brought about by human association are shared experience that comes to be modified and restructured through reflection for future use in directing experience. Reflection clarifies the consequences to all involved of the shared experience and allows those consequences to be used to find ways of directing future thought and action to better achieve what the associated people who form a community decide is good.

The Community's Good and the Good Community

A discussion of what constitutes the good for a community is properly the realm of ethics and will be dealt with in a later section. However, in the present context it is appropriate to mention Dewey's ideas about how shared meaning becomes shared values. Once again, it is the act of reflection on conjoint action and shared meaning that yields a reconstruction of experience into a shared notion of what is good for people associated in a community (Dewey & Tufts, 1985). For Dewey, what is good for the individual

becomes transformed into what is good for the community through the appreciation of mutual consequences of individual acts and the acceptance of responsibility for those consequences by the individual (Dewey, 1984). This social concept of the good is another characteristic of Dewey's community:

Wherever there is conjoint activity whose consequences are appreciated as good by all singular persons who take part in it, and where the realization of the good is such as to effect an energetic desire and effort to sustain it in being just because it is a good shared by all, there is in so far a community (Dewey, 1984, p. 328).

In the case of our mythical hunters, they may realize through reflection that they could better feed their families by hunting together on the same territory rather than alone on part of that territory. Since both share the idea that feeding their families is good, and both recognize that getting more food would be good for both families, they have come to share a value of cooperation in their hunting.

The concept of shared values in community raises an important question about the concept of diversity in Dewey's philosophy. Is Dewey's community capable of supporting and respecting diverse opinions and values? Dewey is specific about the importance of intellectual diversity, as noted previously, because different ideas, which must originate in some individual before they come to be shared by a group, are the primary engines of social change and improvement. At a more fundamental level, however, Dewey returned the focus to the individual by including "the harmonious fulfillment of all [personal] capacities" (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 345) as part of the common good of associated humans. Dewey recognized that the abilities and desires of

individuals as important components in the welfare of the group as they are drivers of social improvement.

Dewey (Dewey & Tufts, 1985) saw the diversity of group members as a positive resource for that group, and the valuing of diversity as a key to developing personal potentialities. Promoting homogeneity would in effect rob a group of valuable resources: “submergence of what is distinctive, unique, in different human beings . . . would produce an impoverishment of the social whole” (Dewey & Tufts 1985, p. 345). Dewey did not view diversity as solely a value for the group, however. Diversity also had positive effects at the level of the individual. Dewey wrote that, “each [person] contributes something from his own store of knowledge, ability, taste, while receiving at the same time elements of value contributed by others” (Dewey & Tufts 1985, p. 345). The ultimate value received by the individual through the diversity of the group was “expansion of experience” (p. 346), seen as a personal enrichment that further enriched the group as well.

Dewey’s ideas about diversity illustrate his rejection of a dualism between the individual and the social. Removing that insoluble opposition allowed Dewey to focus on a notion of equality that did not require reference to external personal attributes. “Each individual is incommensurable as an individual with every other, so that it is impossible to find an external measure of equality” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 346). Equality was a moral question in Dewey’s philosophy, and the morals referred to were based in the social group, not the individual: “When there is an equation in [a person’s] *own* life and experience between what he contributes to the group activity and what he receives in return in the way of stimulus and of enrichment of experience, he is *morally*

equal” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 346, italics in original). Thus, Dewey resisted giving the concept of ‘common good’ a fixed meaning, asserting that the idea was more positively “suggested by the idea of sharing, participating – an idea involved in the very idea of *community*” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 345).

The goal was simultaneously individual and social: “only when individuals have initiative, independence of judgment, flexibility, fullness of experience, can they act so as to enrich the lives of others and only in this way can a truly common welfare be built up” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 348). Achieving this level of moral equality required certain characteristics of the community, however.

Community, as previously noted, was recognized by Dewey as only one potential form of human association (Campbell, 1995). Dewey’s components of community, shared aims, conjoint action, and shared values, might also be taken as descriptive of other forms of association given varying interpretations of the meaning of those concepts. Dewey (1984) used the example of a gang of thieves as a possible erroneous interpretation of his community idea. Dewey’s solution to this ambiguity was to provide criteria by which communities could be evaluated as to their human worth. Campbell (1995) observed that these criteria were based on Dewey’s belief that the ultimate good for a group was the ability of each member to fully achieve his potential to contribute to the common welfare, an idea Dewey called “growth” (1980a, p. 46). The first criterion can be termed “internal” (Campbell, 1995, p. 173) because it deals with associations within the group. Dewey asked, “How numerous and varied are the interests which are consciously shared?” (1980a, p. 89). More numerous and varied interests provide not only stronger interpersonal ties but more importantly, increased opportunities for

enrichment of the experience of each member through interaction with others. The second criterion was focused on associations “external” (Campbell, 1995, p.173) to the group: “How full and free is the interplay with other forms of association?” (Dewey, 1980a, p. 89). Societies that have unlimited contacts and interactions with other groups are likewise exposed to new ideas that enrich the original society as a group, allowing social improvement. Significantly, both of these criteria point to the value of diversity in human association.

It is not surprising that Dewey (1980a) judged democratic associations to be the best according to these criteria. Democracy, he felt, allowed the best opportunity for society members to enrich their own experience and that of others within and outside of their group. Democracy also provided the best conditions for the development of Dewey’s preferred form of human association, the community. Dewey did not confine his notion of democracy to the political realm (1980a, 1984), but judged the concept, understood in terms of the most widespread and equal participation in group undertakings, as the most valuable type of human association at any level. In particular, the idea of schools as democratically structured institutions was an ideal.

Community and Other Levels of Association

Dewey’s community was distinct from other types and levels of association that he discussed. Although Dewey used the term *society* at times as if it were synonymous with community, a broader familiarity with his work seems to indicate that he considered society to be a more generic term to describe human associations at a number of levels. For example, he sometimes used the term society when discussing groups that lacked one or more of the traits of community, or in terms of larger groupings.

There is more similarity between Dewey's concept of a public and a community (Dewey, 1984). A public for Dewey was a form of community, but with key organizational differences. The idea implied a larger group of people in interaction than a regular community. In specific, the notion of indirect consequences of human conduct on other community members is central to the idea of a public. In larger groupings, every member may not have close personal interaction with every other, but the mutual consequences of everyone's conduct still affects all. The presence of indirect consequences caused a community to organize itself so as to control those consequences on the group as a whole. Dewey wrote, "Indirect, extensive, enduring and serious consequences of conjoint and interacting behavior call a public into existence having a common interest in controlling those consequences" (1984, p. 314). Public was therefore a political concept for Dewey.

The state for Dewey was not just a larger form of association but also required the institutionalization of the controls instituted by the public until they became self-sustaining and less directly representative. In the state the individuals of the group no longer exercise direct control over the activities of the group, but rather cede that control more or less willingly to others. At the level of the state, the concern shifts from the immediate aims and interests of the group to aims and interests decided upon by others, more or less by reference to the needs of all members as interpreted by those who control the state. Under Dewey's ideal of democracy, the state becomes in effect a larger community, understanding and striving for the same good as the community of direct association. This ideal is not automatically realized, clearly, but the seeds are present, lying in the concept of the good community.

At heart, Dewey's ideal of community was composed of individuals in direct interaction. Dewey asserted that, "American democratic polity was developed out of genuine community life, that is, association in local and small centers where industry was mainly agricultural and where production was carried on mainly with hand tools" (1984, p. 304). Dewey believed that the strongest bonds holding a community were friendship and attachment, and that face-to-face interaction was a necessity for true community to develop and sustain itself. The idea of direct interpersonal interaction at some level seems to pose a problem for the development of Dewey's community in the contemporary world. Some technological advances that Dewey could not foresee, such as the possibility of interaction at a very direct level over distances through the Internet, may help to provide alternatives to Dewey's prototypical small-town type of community, but at root, the problem seems to be more one of method than of physical space. How can citizens of a country like the United States be brought to the necessary recognition of mutual interdependence, shared responsibility, and a common good? The idea of service may hold some clues.

Service

Just as Dewey's concept of community is encompassed in a continuum of individual and society, his concept of service is encompassed in another continuum, that of thought to action. Dewey rejected the ancient dualism in Western philosophy between mind and nature, proposing the concept of mind operating both in the environment and upon it, affecting changes upon both (Campbell, 1995). Thought inevitably led to action for Dewey because ideas had to be tested in order to be accepted (Dewey, 1986b) and had to be shared in order to become knowledge (Dewey, 1980a). Action led to further

thought as the person assessed changes wrought in the environment and developing situations, then decided upon further activity. Both thought and action were fundamental human tendencies for Dewey, impossible to separate from the very idea of human life.

Human Predisposition to Action

For Dewey, activity was a natural tendency for all living things (1983a).

“Wherever there is life there is activity, an activity having some tendency or direction of its own” (Dewey, 1979, p. 161), he wrote, linking activity to all other natural functions of organisms. Physical activity was for Dewey a raw natural impulse, but in human beings the introduction of direction or purpose required intellectual activity, or thought. In speaking of mental activity, Dewey signified not only the ongoing thought that accompanies and directs physical activity (Dewey, 1979) but also intellectual functioning that actively constructs and orders the world in which humans live by making sense of chaotic sensory input (Sidney Hook, cited in Cruz, 1987). Dewey’s concept of human action therefore logically entails a continuum of thought and action, intellectual and physical, that denied the traditional dualism of mental and physical (Cruz, 1987).

Because of this natural impulse to activity Dewey asserted that children are naturally inclined toward activity and do not have to be coerced into action. From the child’s earliest hours it begins to learn how to control its movements, and because such actions are learned, they are also intellectual (Dewey, 1979). Moreover, the child’s activity becomes intrinsically tied to others, both adult and children, as he develops as a member of a group. Dewey wrote, “The child is born with a natural desire to give out, to do, to serve” (1977b, p. 275). Here we can begin to see the beginnings of Dewey’s concept of service as action directed toward the well-being of the group. The external or

social focus of children's attitudes colors their entire perception of their world, according to Dewey, and that focus will only be lost through training with an emphasis on individual learning, motivation, and goals, like that practiced in traditionally organized schools (Dewey, 1979).

Dewey believed that children were born with some basic instincts and impulses that favored a social orientation to action. In *The school and society* (1976b), he listed four native impulses of children that were available to the school for directing educative activities. These were communication (or sociability), inquiry (or curiosity), construction (or making), and expression (or art). The most fundamental characteristic of child activity, however, was its spontaneity. Children will act, said Dewey, but the reaction of adults will condition the child's future attitude toward the act. This reaction rests on a social interpretation of the meaning of the action. Here is a linkage between the concept of the social individual discussed earlier and the social nature of action.

Action in the Social Setting

Action, according to Dewey, is an innate impulse in every individual. Because individuals can only "come into themselves" as members of a group and through learning and using a store of social meaning, it follows that any innate impulse that works upon the environment, i.e. action, must have social implications. For Dewey, activity is always social. The inevitability of association through action was discussed in the previous section. The effects are reciprocal; not only does each individual's actions affect others, but "a being connected with other beings cannot perform his own activities without taking the activities of others into account" (Dewey, 1980a, p. 16). Campbell (1995) noted that this concept runs deeper than the easily recognized moral meaning. In effect,

Dewey was saying that human activity is inevitably conditioned by the social environment in which it takes place. In *Human Nature and Conduct* (1983a), Dewey used the example of spontaneous actions of a child to illustrate. Grabbing food, a perfectly natural impulse, was considered rude because of social values, while moving out of the way of others, equally natural for a small child, was considered considerate. The approval or approbation of other group members (in this case adults), based in the learned complex of social values, conditions which actions will be repeated and which will be avoided in the future.

This example speaks to the concept of motive. Dewey defined motive as “that element in the total complex of a man’s activity which . . . will result in the act’s having a specified consequence” (1983a, p. 84). In this sense, the connotation of motive is not cause but rather drive to action. What we might call a cause, such as hunger, is for Dewey a natural impulse to action, but does not determine that action. Like any organism, a human experiencing hunger will act or will rapidly become unable to act and cease to exist. The form of that action, however, must rely on a judgment of how to effect the consequence of alleviating hunger. Except in the most extreme situations when impulse overrides habit, what we eat and how we get it is determined socially. It is learned through imitation, through the reactions of others, and through increasing familiarity with the complex of knowledge, customs, and laws characteristic of the group in which we live. It is in this sense that all action is intrinsically social.

Because action is inescapably social there are always social consequences attached to it. When those consequences are recognized, action can take on another dimension. Dewey (1972) distinguished between activity, which emanates from agents

who are individual human beings, and conduct, which consists of activity and aims that are social. In a sense the two are inseparable, as activity without an aim (or end) is in essence empty. Dewey described the distinction thus, “When there is conduct there is not simply a succession of disconnected acts but each thing done carries forward an underlying tendency and intent, *conducting*, leading up, to further acts and to a final fulfillment or consummation” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 168, italics in original). The consummation is supplied when the aim is accomplished or the end is achieved. Dewey’s idea of conduct was thus a continuum of activity carried out by individual agents in order to accomplish aims that were supplied by the social situation in which the individual lived. The idea of a continuum of activity is better captured by using Dewey’s term *end-in-view*, signifying that the achievement of each aim was properly seen as a means toward future ends rather than a stopping point in itself (1983a).

Dewey’s concept of conduct consisted of both action carried out by individuals and aims supplied by the social group, and therefore implied a moral dimension. Yet conduct, according to Dewey, was not necessarily moral. Ends-in-view may only originate from physical impulses or biological imperative, as in the case of self-defense. “So long as this is merely *accepted* as an end,” Dewey wrote, “and not compared with others, valued, and *chosen*, it is not properly moral” (Dewey & Tufts, 1985, p. 47, italics in original). Comparison, valuation, and choice of ends, as well as the means necessary to achieve them (which themselves may have been prior ends), were possible only through moral understanding. Dewey’s concept of morality differed markedly from more traditional moral systems of his time (as well as ours). His pragmatic philosophy led him

to propose a concept of morality based not on religious tenets but on social relations and scientific inquiry.

A Scientific Treatment of Morality

Two aspects of Dewey's concept of morality are salient for the consideration of learning through community service. These aspects set Dewey's formulation apart from more traditional ethical systems (Campbell, 1995). First, Dewey asserted that because morality is a part of all human conduct, morality was inescapably human and social. Second, he believed that since thought and action, or experience, originated in the interaction of human beings with their environment, that morality was open to the same process of reflective thought, or science, as other physical and social phenomena.

Dewey emphasized the present human import of morality as opposed to moral systems based on transcendental ideas of what is good. Campbell explained the reasons for this present, real-world emphasis: "Because ethics is rooted in Dewey's conception of humans as fundamentally organic beings transacting with a natural environment . . . ethics is a naturalistic matter, a matter of the happiness and suffering in this world rather than another" (1995, p. 111). Potentially all human activity had moral implications, because "morals has to do with all activity into which alternative possibilities exist" (Dewey, 1983a, p. 193). The moral quality of an act was determined through the real-world results or consequences attached to that act (Campbell, 1995). Because the assessment of alternative possibilities and potential consequences could only be made through reflective thought, "only deliberate action, conduct into which reflective choice enters, is distinctively moral, for only then does there enter the question of better or worse" (Dewey, 1983a, p. 193).

Because morality had its ultimate reference to present, deliberate human conduct, morality for Dewey was inescapably social (1983a). Dewey saw morality as arising from the active connections between human beings based on his understanding of “the origin of the self in a social group and the pervasive influence of the social environment upon human activity” (Campbell, 1995, p. 112). “Human nature exists and operates in an environment” (Dewey, 1983a, p. 204), and that environment is the social milieu in which each human individual inevitably grows and acts. He was careful to note that this assertion of the inescapable social nature of morals does not imply that everything that is social is moral while everything individual is bad. Rather, the social reference of all morality places attention on the social connections and contexts of human action. “Ethics, rightly conceived,” wrote Dewey, “is the statement of human relationships in action” (1971, p. 56).

It is the naturalistic and deliberative qualities of moral thought that led Dewey to the proposition that moral questions were open to the same kinds of reflective, scientific investigation as physical phenomena (Dewey, 1986c). “Morals is connected with actualities of existence, not with ideals, ends, and obligations independent of concrete actualities” (Dewey, 1983a, p. 225). Dewey was careful to explain that by *science*, he meant intellectual activity, or a state of mind, rather than a “body of systematized knowledge” (1977a, p. 23). “The transition from an ordinary to a scientific state of mind coincides with ceasing to take certain things for granted and assuming a critical or inquiring and testing attitude,” Dewey wrote (1977a, p. 24). He rejected the idea that moral or ethical judgments were different in kind from what are commonly thought of as scientific judgments concerning natural or social scientific phenomena. By substituting

judgment of social consequences for an analysis of *a priori* vices and virtues, Dewey could focus the conclusions to be drawn through moral inquiry on the practical effects of action. He argued,

Morality resides not in perception of fact, but in the *use* made of its perception . . . It is the part of intelligence to tell when to use the fact to conform and perpetuate, and when to use it to vary conditions and consequences (1983a, p. 206).

Considered in this way, “morality is a continuing process, not a fixed achievement” (Dewey, 1983a, p. 194). Moral judgment therefore became a skill to be practiced and refined, another form of experience leading to growth. In other words, morality, for Dewey ultimately became a process of education, to be approached in the same way as any other manifestation of human learning.

For Dewey, the moral inquiry process was the deciding factor in his conception of what constituted service, because actions must be assessed according to reflective judgment according to their social impacts before they could be considered ethical. No hard and fast criteria against which any action could be assessed could be provided. Dewey did not categorically dismiss the role of social mores, religious precepts, and other traditional sources of moral guidance (Campbell, 1995), but rather saw those ideas as sources for moral hypotheses, true guides to a reflective assessment of what was moral, rather than ultimate arbiters prior to thought taking place (Dewey, 1983a). The overarching goal was to develop courses of action that were of social benefit. The next questions to be considered, then, concern exactly what kinds of actions could be expected to fit Dewey’s moral conceptions, and in what context they operate in society.

Society and Service

Armed with an appreciation of Dewey's conception of the social nature of all human activity coupled with his formulation of morality as a humanistic, social understanding, we can begin to assess the nature of service in its social context. Dewey did not place service in a separate category from the activities of everyday living in a social group. Rather, he provided a method for making all activities into service given a proper awareness and acceptance of their social import, so long as acceptance included a willingness to alter one's actions based on that awareness.

To understand this interpretation of the nature of service it is necessary to examine Dewey's ideas about vocation, occupations, and social roles. It is useful to revisit Dewey's definition of society, "A society is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines, in a common spirit, with reference to common aims" (Dewey, 1976b, p. 10). Dewey's understanding of common spirit and common aims was quite broad, encompassing the fulfillment of essentially all human physical and psychological needs, not just collective projects. The role of the individual in fulfilling these needs was defined by that person's vocation, or chosen field of activity. Dewey defined vocation as, "such a direction of life activities as renders them perceptibly significant to a person, because of the consequences they accomplish, and also useful to his associates" (1980a, p. 316). One's vocation was accomplished through occupations, activities directed through reflective thought toward accomplishing aims (Dewey, 1980a). Dewey wrote, "An occupation is the only thing that balances the distinctive capacity of an individual with his social service" (1980a, p. 317). Potential occupations were connected for Dewey in a "division of labor which enables each one to make his own

contribution” (Dewey, 1972, p. 66). The occupations of all members of society could potentially be structured in such a way as to render service to the society as a whole.

While making this argument that everyone’s life activity could be remade into roles of service to society as a whole, Dewey rejected the charge that this concept unjustly subordinated the role of the individual to that of the larger society. He argued that service, rightly conceived, was an inherently fulfilling activity precisely because of the social interconnectedness of all human beings. He wrote, “Any individual has missed his calling, farmer, physician, teacher, student, who does not find that the accomplishment of results of value to others is an accompaniment of a process of experience inherently worthwhile” (1980a, p. 129). This process of experience was not just a good feeling, but ultimately an expansion of the capacities and connections that made the individual’s life better as well. Dewey criticized the dualism of self-other that produced the perception that one had to be selfless, or had to abase one’s personal aims, in order to serve others. The benefit for the individual is personal growth, the further expansion of experience, meanings, and connections in the larger society. For Dewey, the quality of an individual’s life is directly proportional to the quality of the lives of those around that individual.

Because the life activities of social individuals comprises a continuum rather than a set of discrete categories of action, an individual’s economic occupation is not the only activity that may be of service to others. Dewey made this point in “Social purposes in education” (1983b) by pointing out at least three broad areas in which the school can nurture social aims: citizenship, industry (economic activity), and leisure. Socially beneficial activities can take place in any context of a person’s life. The role of the

school in developing children's capacities to engage in such activities across the spectrum of life will be further discussed in the section on learning.

Dewey's concept of what actions hold potential for social benefit, and thus deserve to be called service, is almost infinite. The question becomes not just how the actions of individuals become identified with the good of society, but how the good of society is determined in the first place. The answer cannot be supplied from outside of the social group itself. The final aspect of Dewey's concept of service is the process he offered for making such determinations, namely cooperative inquiry.

Service and Cooperative Inquiry

Dewey's concept of cooperative inquiry can be thought of as essentially a social problem-solving process (Campbell, 1995). For Dewey, the designation of a situation as problematic contained no particular value judgments, but rather indicated that intellectual uncertainty or dissonance was raised by some aspect of that situation (Dewey, 1986b). The resolution of that uncertainty could be accomplished in any number of ways, but Dewey believed that a structured process utilizing a scientific methodology provided an approach that was most efficient and most likely to succeed.

Dewey's argument that social problems were amenable to a scientific approach has already been made in relation to moral questions, and deserves to be reiterated here. He contended that there is no essential difference between social scientific and physical scientific problems that precludes the use of similar methods in solving them. Dewey pointed out that all inquiry shares certain characteristics (Campbell, 1995; Dewey, 1986c), among which are naturalistic subject matter, an overall social context, an orientation toward solving problems, a need to integrate theory and practice in solutions,

and a need to make ethical or moral evaluations as part of the process. Dewey diverged somewhat from the mainstream of scientific thought both then and now, especially by asserting a social context, or “cultural matrix” (1986c, p. 481) of ideas that conditions even what is thought of as a problem, and integrating moral/ethical evaluations into purportedly objective realms of inquiry. Dewey’s argument was consistent, however, with his understanding of the social nature of the human mind and the moral implications of all action.

A brief description of Dewey’s concept of inquiry will suggest how such a process would be used to determine socially beneficial solutions to social problems. The general structure of Dewey’s concept of inquiry was the same no matter what the subject matter, or content of the situation (1986c). His description of the pattern of reflective thought (1986b) included essentially the same phases, representing as it did the same kind of process for the resolution of problematic situations (Campbell, 1995). The first phase or condition of inquiry was “the indeterminate situation” (Dewey, 1986c, p. 109), which arouses an uncertainty or need for resolution. The indeterminacy of the situation was for Dewey a characteristic of environment interacting with human perception to arouse an impulse to action, not merely a function of human perception. In other words, such a situation was “pre-reflective” (1986b, p. 200), suggesting some sort of problem but not defining or solving it.

In the second phase in the inquiry process the terms of the problematic situation are organized or “intellectualized” (1986b, p. 201) into a more defined notion of what the problem really is. In this phase the uncertainty of the situation, or what might be called the dissonance aroused, is converted into an understood, but not resolved situation.

Dewey wrote that, “this conversion is effected by noting more definitely the conditions that constitute the trouble” (1986b, p. 202), a process of observation in which the “constituents” (1986c, p. 112) of the situation are noted. As the facts of the case are ascertained through this observational stage the third phase occurs, in which a hypothetical solution to the problem is suggested by the known constituents of the situation. Dewey’s description of the second and third phases makes it clear that this is not necessarily a sequential process, but rather an iterative one:

Observations of facts and suggested meanings or ideas [i.e. solutions] arise and develop in correspondence with each other. The more the facts of the case come to light in consequence of being subjected to observation, the clearer and more pertinent become the conceptions of the way the problem constituted by these facts is to be dealt with. On the other side, the clearer the idea, the more definite . . . become the operations of observation and of execution that must be performed in order to resolve the situation (1986c, p. 113).

In the fourth phase of the inquiry process the possible solution to the problematic situation is subjected to reasoning in which connections are made between the problem, its possible resolution, and the prior knowledge and experience of the problem solver(s). In this phase the consequences of hypothetical solutions are anticipated as relationships with other ideas and experience are worked out. A potential solution may be rejected or refined through the reasoning process, and the conditions necessary to determine if the possible solution actually resolves the problem will be clarified. This derivation of the necessary consequences that indicate an acceptable solution leads to the fifth phase, in which the solution is tried out in action in order to ascertain if those consequences do

actually occur. A solution resolving the initial dissonant situation may result, or a new problem-solving process may be initiated, with the knowledge gained through the experience of the original inquiry now incorporated into the process.

Dewey noted that this process need not take place in a rigid, sequential manner, but he asserted that this idealized form represented the most reliable and efficient process for solving problems of any character (1986b; 1986c). Particular considerations related to the character of the subject matter naturally existed, and Dewey spent considerable thought on how the stages of observation, hypothesizing, and reasoning differed. Yet despite the variation in the subject matter subjected to this pattern according to whether the problem related to social factors, physical factors, or even everyday common sense experience, the pattern remained the same (Dewey, 1986c).

For Dewey, the essence of community was the process of solving problems of all kinds through a democratic process of cooperative inquiry (Campbell, 1995; Dewey 1984; 1987). As noted in the section on the community, Dewey judged democracy to be the best form of human association because it allowed for the greatest number of connections between members of a group and among groups, and because it allowed for the most freedom of interaction in those connections. According to Cruz (1987), in Dewey's philosophical ideas "the scientific enterprize (sic) and democracy meet in the point of common commitment to the supremacy of method in the resolution of problems" (p. 142). Dewey's substitution of a cooperative, scientific process for problem solving in the place of authority or dogma opened the way for the functioning of free choice and for voluntary commitment to the kinds of shared ideas, aims, and action that characterized

his concept of community. At the same time, Dewey recognized that the methods of science and democracy would not rule out differences of outlook and conflict. He wrote,

Of course there are conflicting interests; otherwise there would be no social problems. The problem under discussion is precisely *how* conflicting claims are to be settled in the interest of the widest possible contribution to the interests of all – or at least of the greatest majority. The method of democracy – inasfar as it is that of organized intelligence – is to bring these conflicts out into the open where their special claims can be seen and appraised, where they can be discussed and judged in the light of more inclusive interests than are represented by either of them separately (1987, p. 56, italics original).

Dewey's concept of cooperative inquiry was essentially a process of communication (Cruz, 1987), fostering the free and directed sharing of ideas that produced common aims and directed conjoint, cooperative action. "Knowledge coped (sic) up in a private consciousness is a myth, and knowledge of social phenomena is peculiarly dependent upon dissemination, for only by distribution can such knowledge be either obtained or tested," Dewey wrote (1983a, p. 345). His concept of cooperative, democratic inquiry represented for Dewey "the perfecting of the means and ways of communication of meanings so that genuinely shared interest in the consequences of interdependent activities may inform desire and effort, and thereby direct action" (1983a, p. 332). In this sense, cooperative inquiry was a mechanism that *produced* community at the same time that it operated for social benefit. Service, seen as social action that operated according to social ethics for the benefit of the social group, was both a product and a producer of community.

Summary of Service

The student seeking a definition of service in the writings of John Dewey must look hard and deep to formulate a clear picture. The identification of service with action, a basic human impulse for Dewey, places the concept in a context in which implications can be drawn from Dewey's larger body of work. Dewey's understanding of the social roots of all human action led to his formulation of the social, humanistic nature of morality that defined action as service to others. He formulated a method by which actions could be matched to problematic situations in a social setting so as to determine what the best social course of action, or service, should be. Dewey understood that his inquiry method was not the only method for solving social problems, or even the most widely used in his time. His concept of education, which comprises the third major constituent of community service learning, was at once a way of introducing new members into the complex of ideas and practices that comprised the culture of the community and developing the individual capacities of community members to participate in the social activities that defined and produced that community. The next section discusses the relation of learning to community and service in Dewey's philosophy.

Learning

In this study the concept of learning, the third aspect of the trinity of community service learning, is used to indicate educational goals and the methods (in a broad sense) by which those goals are to be realized. John Dewey's concepts of community, society, democracy, and ethics all converge in the arena of education, the means by which the social group replicated the very ideas and conditions that led to that group's existence

over the generations of its members (Dewey, 1980a). For Dewey, education was thus one of the most, if not the most, critical function of a social group. It was in education that the common ideas, aims, beliefs, and the past group experience organized as knowledge for achieving those aims and beliefs was passed on to the newest initiates into group life. The sacred trust of education was to pass on this human heritage in such a way as to make it ethical, useful, and conducive to the further growth of the members of the group. Because Dewey saw democracy as the best possible system by which to accomplish those ends, education became the critical element in democratic social life. As Dewey famously wrote, “Democracy has to be born anew every generation, and education is its midwife” (1980b, p. 139).

Two aspects of Dewey’s concepts of learning and education deserve mention before proceeding further. First, Dewey did not confine his concept of education solely to the operations of the school (1980a). He distinguished between the educational function of activity in everyday life and the formal educational function of schooling. He saw the former as a more powerful means of education (1976b). “The very process of living together educates,” Dewey wrote, “It enlarges and enlightens experience; it stimulates and enriches imagination; it creates responsibility for accuracy and vividness of statement and thought” (1980a, p. 9). Yet this everyday functioning of education was largely uncontrolled and, especially in an increasingly complex modern world, limited in its ability to truly develop the ability of the young to effectively share in the adult activities of the community. For that reason, formal educational institutions, among which are the schools, are developed in order to bring direction and control to society’s educational functioning. Schools, for Dewey, were places where experience could be

deliberately fostered and directed toward the proper social aims of the group. The largest difficulty in formal schooling was to retain the vital and personal aspect of learning through everyday activity, not just to make learning palatable but because those qualities were what produced the power and utility of informal learning. The importance of Dewey's understandings of informal education in everyday life and formal education in schools will become important when we examine how the schools were to nurture the child's ability to participate effectively and ethically in community life.

A second aspect of Dewey's educational ideal that should be mentioned is the dual nature of his learning goals, particularly in the formal setting. A reading of Dewey's thought on community and service tends to emphasize to the modern mind the role of the social more heavily than that of the individual. I believe that this individual/social dichotomy, which Dewey attempted to reconcile in much of his work (Campbell, 1995) is still one of the chief sources of misunderstanding of Dewey's work today, mainly because this dichotomy remains so embedded in our thinking about education and society. As discussed in the previous section about community, Dewey saw the functioning of the individual as inextricably embedded in a fabric of social ideas and aims. Yet the individual remained for him the thinking, acting physical embodiment of society. In other words, the individual and the social were expressions of the same thing, namely human life. The purpose of education, therefore, encompassed an individual function, that of developing the person's ability to think, and a social function, that of developing the ability of the thinking individual to effectively participate in social life (Campbell, 1995, Cruz, 1987, Dewey, 1976a). These functions did not operate separately but rather represented dual, interrelated goals of the same process. Attaining these

interrelated goals, particularly in the context of formal schooling, depended on “securing a sound direction and development for the immature through participation in community life” (Cruz, 1987, p. 90).

In this section I will examine Dewey’s ideas about what was meant by these goals for education and how best to accomplish them. The discussion will mostly emphasize formal schooling functions, because the context of community service learning implies directed and controlled characteristics that Dewey ascribed to formal schooling. That formal functioning of education in society should be understood as a deliberately structured subset of the overall learning that Dewey believed goes on naturally in everyday life. This notion of schooling as a subset or subtype of living education rather than an entirely separate category of learning is reflected in Dewey’s discussion in *Democracy and Education* (1980a) and is fundamental to all further understanding of Dewey’s educational philosophy. The foundation for understanding how learning is related to community and service lies in Dewey’s assertion that education is experience.

Learning and Experience

Dewey’s concept of education as experience rests on the assertion that education is a “*process of development*” (1986d, p.194) and that development means “the *kind of interaction* that goes on between [a living thing] and the conditions and forces that form its environment” (1986d, p.195). In human terms the interaction of the person with the environment is termed experience. Dewey’s concept of experience had several characteristics that should be examined. First, the environment with which the human being interacted consisted not only of physical components but also of social factors and forces (Dewey, 1972, 1980a), as discussed in previous sections. Second, experience

involved for Dewey a continuum of thought and action (1986b) in which a human being constantly perceived, observed, analyzed, and evaluated environing conditions, thinking reflectively about them and taking actions which further changed the conditions, requiring further thought and action, *ad infinitum*. Experience was thus an interplay of environment and individual impulses, capacities, and needs (Dewey, 1986d; 1988).

Finally, Dewey recognized that, although education was experience, not all experiences furthered the aims of education. He wrote, “Any experience is mis-educative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience” (1988, p.11).

Experiences must be directed so as to make the student better able to function in the social environment, so educational growth consisted of, “that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience” (Dewey, 1980a, p. 82).

Dewey provided two criteria for evaluating the educative value of experiences. These criteria, discussed earlier in relation to Carver (1997) were continuity and interaction (Dewey, 1988). Continuity, which Dewey also called the experiential continuum, referred to the potential of each experience to foster growth in the ability to engage in and utilize knowledge gained from future experiences. Interaction referred to how the external or environmental conditions and the internal conditions of the learner, such as past experience, capacities, and needs, affected each other within a given situation. The external and personal factors of a situation must form a unified whole in order for the experience to become conducive for further growth.

Dewey’s concept of experience shaped the characteristics of his educational design that came to be called ‘child -centered’ education. In recognition of the need to

provide experiences that fit the criteria of continuity and interaction, Dewey argued that schools must begin with the experiences of the child and gradually order the further experiences encountered in school toward the organization characteristic of the adult members of society. For Dewey, there was no difference in kind between the life experience of the child and the human heritage of experience that was organized into school subjects or disciplines; both represented differing points on a continuum of human experience (1976a). Dewey argued that, “Anything which can be called a study, whether arithmetic, history, geography, or one of the natural sciences, must be derived from materials which at the outset fall within the scope of ordinary life-experience.” (1988, p. 48). The primary difference was in how each form of experience was organized, and the logical organization of the disciplines placed them outside of the child’s organization of experience along the lines of his or her life experience. The movement from the child’s experience toward the organized experience of the larger adult society was a primary goal of schooling, but must be accomplished through providing “environing conditions” (Dewey, 1976a, p. 282) in the school that used the vital interests and activities as means for growth and development.

This goal was accomplished by beginning with the active curiosity that Dewey believed was an inherent human characteristic:

It thus becomes the office of the educator to select those things within the range of existing experience that have the promise and potentiality of presenting new problems which by stimulating new ways of observation and judgment will expand the area of further experience (1988, p. 50).

The process was ongoing, leading gradually through a progressive organization of experience accomplished through the organization of the proper environing conditions in the school: “The next step is the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form, a form that gradually approximates that in which subject matter is presented to the skilled, mature person” (1988, p. 48).

Because experience consisted of inextricable lines of thought and action, the progressive development of the child’s experience must consist of a properly balanced mixture of internal and external conditions. Simply cutting and pasting parts and aspects of academic subjects into a different organization would not accomplish the desired reorganization of experience because learning had to be active as well as thoughtful. Dewey asserted,

Development does not mean just getting something out of mind. It is development of experience and in to experience that is really wanted. And this is impossible save as just that educative medium is provided which will enable the powers and interests that have been selected as valuable to function (1976a, p. 282-283).

The unique advantage of the formal educational setting was in its ability to supply a controlled medium that would direct the student’s experience along the desired lines in order to accomplish the desired ends (Dewey, 1980a). The school could weed out conditions evaluated as mis-educative and order quality experiences in ways that eliminated the more haphazard aspects of learning through everyday life.

The question that looms over this discussion of Dewey’s conception of the relationship of experience and education is, precisely what kinds of ‘environing

conditions' did Dewey envision as accomplishing the ends of guiding student experience? The key lies in how the everyday life experience of the child was tapped in the school. Dewey advocated the straightforward approach of deliberately reproducing the conditions of the student's everyday life, especially the social conditions, in the organization and functioning of the school.

Learning and the Embryonic Community

Dewey's solution for balancing the individual and social aspects of the goals of education lay in replicating the everyday life of the child within the school by replicating the social environment in which the child lived. In short, the school was to be structured in such a way that it operated as a nascent community (Dewey, 1976b, 1980a).

Reflecting his conception of learning as active experience, Dewey argued, "The only way to prepare for social life is to engage in social life" (1972, p. 62).

The growth of the child demanded that subject matter, which Dewey conceived broadly as anything studied rather than in a strict disciplinary sense (1980a), must be placed in its social context. There was in fact no subject matter without a social context. Human development required social conditions to occur. Dewey maintained that,

As the material of genuine development is that of human contacts and associations, so the end, the value that is the criterion and directing guide of educational work, is social. The acquisition of skills is not an end in itself. They are things to be put to use, and that use is social (1986d, p. 201).

Traditional schooling, Dewey contended, not only short-circuited this social aim but also fell short of accomplishing the goal of developing individual thinking by ignoring the need to place school functions in their social context. He asserted,

Both practically and philosophically, the key to the present educational situation lies in a gradual reconstruction of school materials and methods so as to utilize various forms of occupation typifying social callings, and to bring out their intellectual and moral content (1980a, p. 325).

Accomplishing a social aim in the formal school setting while taking into account the need to begin with student's life experiences required the school to replicate the structure of the community. "The school cannot be a preparation for social life," he explained, "excepting as it reproduces within itself the typical conditions of community life" (1972, p. 61-62).

As students were given the opportunity to engage in social life in the school community, the school was at the same time able to provide conditions that would lead to a more ideal form of community life. The school was able to carry out this aim of social reconstruction through three strategies: providing a simplified, progressively ordered environment, eliminating the features of the existing community environment that were deemed mis-educative or unworthy, and balancing the elements of the school's social environment so as to give each student a "living contact with a broader environment" (Dewey, 1980a, p. 25). These strategies could be carried out, Dewey believed, by reorganizing the school along democratic lines, providing students with the opportunity to engage their own needs and vital interests as they participated in the formulation of aims and activities of the school (1980a). It also meant reconceptualizing subject matter so as to bring out its social context and function. While all subject matter had a social origin somewhere, it was not necessarily organized so as to be immediately useful for social purposes in the school. Dewey contended that, "The scheme of a curriculum must

take account of the adaptation of the studies to the needs of the existing community life; it must select with the intention of improving the life we live in common so that the future will be better than the past” (1980a, p. 199). The resources available in the community, consisting of characteristics of the physical and social environment, including the kinds of activities carried out by community members and the problems that arose in everyday community life, would provide the educational opportunities needed to accomplish social and individual aims. Dewey felt that there was plenty of educational opportunity in any community to accomplish any desired educational aim: “There is no occasion for fear that the local community will not provide roads leading out into wider human relations if the opportunities it furnishes are taken advantage of” (1939, p. viii).

Dewey’s vision for organizing the school as a community was for him the way to imbue schooling with the same “fullness of meaning” (1976b, p. 19-20) that permeated everyday life activities. He explained, “To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science” (1976b, p. 19). The school as community was the key to John Dewey’s concept of how learning is related to his concept of community and service, and the overall goal of reconstructing society for the better. He summed up his vision in a now-famous quote,

When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the

deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious (1976b, p. 20).

Producing that spirit of service would require that students learn how to conduct the kinds of moral and cooperative inquiry that produced proper social action.

Learning and Moral Inquiry

Dewey's concept of a social morality and its relation to service was discussed in detail earlier. It remains to examine the orientation in the formal school setting that Dewey believed would be conducive to the development of ethical community members. The school's ultimate responsibility, Dewey believed, was to society, and that meant that the school had no choice about fostering moral development as well as intellectual (1972; 1977b). For Dewey, there was no difference between the ethics of conduct in school and in the larger community (1972), and the organization of the school as community allowed that fact to be taken into consideration.

Dewey criticized the approach to moral education that treated morality as a set of principles or rules to be learned and separated moral study and instruction from other learning activities. "From the standpoint of practical morals," he insisted, "we have to protest that the inculcation of moral rules is no more likely to make character than is that of astronomical formulae" (1971, p. 55). Didactic instruction in pre-established moral tenets led to dogma and a static, individualistic notion of ethics (Dewey, 1972, 1977b, 1980a) and dogma could not produce the change necessary to improve social life (1984). For Dewey, progressive education must aim at forming better habits and ideas, not merely reproducing current ones (1980a).

Likewise, the separate consideration of morals, divorced from the other learning functions of the school, rendered the student unable to appreciate the full social import of what was studied and fostered a selfish rather than a social use of the common heritage of knowledge. Robbed of a social, ethical motive, “The mere absorbing of facts and truths is so exclusively an individual affair that it tends to pass into selfishness” (Dewey, 1976b, p. 10). Moral instruction divorced from other learning became in itself, “partly pathological and partly formal” (1977b, p. 273); pathological in the sense that it focused on correcting wrong individual behavior, and formal in that it referred morals primarily to school situations because every other use for morals was rendered abstract and distant from the child’s present life.

Organizing the school as a miniature community allowed moral and intellectual studies to be integrated, because all learning was ultimately aimed at the accomplishment of social aims in everyday life. Dewey maintained that, “Information is genuine or educative only in so far as it presents definite images and conceptions of materials placed in a context of everyday life” (1977b, p. 279). He described the structure and the result:

In so far as the school represents, in its own spirit, a genuine community life; in so far as the methods used are those which appeal to the active and constructive powers, permitting the child to give out, and thus to serve; in so far as the curriculum is so selected and organized as to provide the material for affording the child a consciousness of the world in which he has to play a part, and the relations he has to met; in so far as these ends are met, the school is organized on an ethical basis (1972, p. 75-76).

To Dewey, the study of ethics in the school was actually a study of ethical relationships, of “human relationships in action” (1971, p. 56). Moral study, accomplished through inquiry, became the study of “how to decide what to do” (1971, p. 56) ethically. Dewey wrote,

The end of the method, then, is *the formulation of a sympathetic imagination for human relations in action*; this is the ideal which is substituted for training in moral rules, or for analysis of one’s sentiments and attitude in conduct (1971, p. 57, italics in original).

The need was to develop moral judgment in the student, judgment based on a clear understanding of all factors in the situation and informed by reflective thinking based on experience (Dewey, 1972; 1977b). Experience could only be developed in action, and required applying the skill of moral inquiry to life, not merely learning rules. “Acquiring information can never develop the power of judgment,” Dewey contended (1977b, p. 290). The moral course of action could be sought through inquiry, using the same method that was used for any other type of inquiry (Dewey, 1982). Speculating on how this type of learning might be carried out in the school, Dewey wrote, “it might be possible to introduce a study of the various ideals currently proposed for conduct and test them by application to [problems] under consideration” (1971, p. 60). This passage, written relatively early in Dewey’s career, pointed to a method upon which he was to expand further in his educational writing, namely the study of social problems.

Learning Through Social Problems

If the social and moral purpose of the school was to develop “habits of social usefulness and serviceableness” (Dewey, 1977b, p. 272) in its students, it must “shift the

centre (sic) of ethical gravity from an absorption which is selfish to a service which is social” (1977b, p. 277). This goal must be accomplished, according to Dewey, by referring what is studied to direct social needs and motives. He assessed the requirements of his concept of social morality in education thus: “The need in morals is for specific methods of inquiry and contrivance: Methods of inquiry to locate difficulties and evils; methods of contrivance to form plans to be used as working hypotheses in dealing with them” (1982, p. 177). The opportunity for taking action in relation to the moral situations studied was critical for Dewey (1972), and thus moral and social learning required real situations for testing knowledge. He asserted, “A curriculum which acknowledges the social responsibilities of education must present situations where problems are relevant to the problems of living together, and where observation and information are calculated to develop social insight and interest” (1980a, p. 200).

The social problems to be studied should have certain characteristics, according to Dewey. They must be couched in the terms of scientific inquiry:

problems with which inquiry into social subject-matter is concerned must, if they satisfy the conditions of scientific method, (1) grow out of actual social tensions, needs, “troubles”; (2) have their subject-matter determined by the conditions that are material means of bringing about a unified situation, and (3) be related to some hypothesis, which is a plan and policy for existential resolution of the conflicting social situation (1986c, p. 499).

In order to be relevant to the life experience of the learners, school studies must satisfy two needed conditions:

- (i) In the first place, the school must itself be a community life in all which that implies. Social perceptions and interests can be developed only in a genuinely social medium – one where there is give and take in the building of a common experience. . . . (ii) The learning in school should be continuous with that out of school. . . . This is possible only when there are numerous points of contact between the social interests of the one and the other (Dewey, 1980a, p. 368).

Social problems studied in schools, therefore, should be based upon issues in the local community (Dewey, 1983b; 1986a). Problems too isolated from the present conditions and needs of the student became too abstract. Educative problems should be recognized as problems common to the community in which the students lived and should appeal to the idealism of youth (Dewey, 1983b).

The study of social problems relevant to the local community would have the effect of transforming the school into a social center for the community (Dewey, 1976a). As local, immediate social problems were subjected to the cooperative inquiry process, it would become necessary for the solutions that were developed to be tested in action in order to assess their effectiveness. Since problems involved the entire community, the entire community should be involved in the functions of the school (Dewey, 1939) Developing the ability of the students to effectively address social problems would thus bring them into contact with adult members of the community as well as their peers. Not only would the role of the parent and other community members change, that of the

teacher would be altered. Dewey thought that teachers should act as leaders in the social action needed to improve life for everyone in the community (1983b). He wrote,

The educator as a human being, as a member of the community and as an educator, whether teacher or administrator, must concern himself with economic interests, conditions, needs, possibilities, plans for reconstruction, if he is to be secure and effective in performing his educational functioning (1986a, p. 131).

Thus, as the school became a socially functioning institution, the entire community was altered, both in its social conditions and in the roles carried out by all of its members.

This was what Dewey meant when he referred to the school as a guarantee of a worthy society.

Summary: The Goal of Learning as Effective Social Intelligence

Dewey believed that education in a democracy was the best means of bringing about social improvement (1982). He urged that we should “produce in schools a projection of the type of society we should like to realize, and by forming minds in accord with it gradually modify the larger and more recalcitrant features of adult society” (1980a, p. 326). He rejected the methods of imposition and indoctrination to accomplish this goal, however, (1986b), advocating rather the development of effective social intelligence. Through formal education, children would learn to use the methods of inquiry to bring the heritage of knowledge developed by society to bear on solving problems large and small, infused with a spirit of social consciousness and a desire for improvement of the lives of all members of the community. This kind of schooling would recognize the inextricable nature of individualism, society, intellect, and morality. “Ultimate moral motives and forces,” Dewey wrote, “are nothing more or less than social

intelligence – the power of observing and comprehending social situations – and social power – trained capacities of control – at work in the service of social interests and aims” (1972, p. 75).

The effective use of social intelligence did not signify for Dewey the submergence of individuality or the homogenization of belief and culture across all of society’s members. As previously discussed under community, Dewey saw diversity of thought and ability as the fountainhead of social change and improvement. Dewey did not discount the role of individual “conviction and daring” for in using social intelligence “convictions must be firm *enough* to evoke and justify action, while also they are to be held in a way which permits the individual to learn from his further experience” (1986b, p. 198). Conflict would not be papered over or eliminated, for,

Differences of opinion in the sense of differences of judgment as to the course which it is best to follow, the policy which it is best to try out, will still exist. But opinion in the sense of beliefs formed and held in the absence of evidence will be reduced in quantity and importance (1984, p. 362).

Participation would be collaborative, in the sense that each member of society would contribute according to his personal interests and abilities. The most important characteristic would be the development of judgment, because every community member could not be expected to hold all of the relevant knowledge and skills to individually perform every needed inquiry. Dewey argued that, “It is not necessary that the many should have the knowledge and skill to carry on the needed investigations; what is required is that they have the ability to judge of the bearing of the knowledge supplied by others upon common concerns” (1984, p. 365). Each individual would have the

potential to contribute and even lead (Dewey, 1972) in the situations where his or her special knowledge and ability would best serve the community. Dewey believed that ultimately, the individual and the social were so closely identified that the proper development and improvement of each had to be accomplished in unison. “A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his full stature,” he wrote (1986d, p. 202). In this vision of the effective use of social intelligence the ultimate unity of the concepts of community, service, and learning in Dewey’s philosophical ideas can be seen and understood.

Cooperative Social Inquiry: The Intersection of Community, Service, and Learning

The common thread running through the preceding discussions of Dewey’s concepts of community, service, and learning is the role of inquiry as a structured method for solving common problems. As a general method based in the structure of scientific thought, inquiry may be brought to bear on problems at any level, individual, community, or larger society. Problems of any type are open to Dewey’s model of inquiry, whether based in physical, social, or moral considerations, because all of these types are simple manifestations of the same thing, the natural environment in which humans live.

Dewey’s model of inquiry is not the only means by which such problems may be solved by any means, but he considered his model to be the most efficient and democratic (1980a; 1983a; 1986b; 1986c).

Dewey’s method of cooperative social inquiry mirrored his model of reflective thinking on the individual level to some degree, but contained some key differences. Most obviously, it was a collaborative process in which multiple members of society

contributed according to their personal interests and abilities. Unlike the individual model in which problems began with the perception of dissonant conditions in a situation, the method of identifying problematic situations in the community depended on communication of that dissonance, ideally through more structured means of problem identification such as moral inquiry. The process of developing a solution in a cooperative inquiry demanded that the diverse experience of multiple individuals be communicated and common aims be negotiated through that communicative process before solutions could be developed in action.

Implications for Community, Service, and Learning

It is the role of communication in the model of cooperative social inquiry that defines its importance for Dewey's model of community. Recall Dewey's assertion that, "Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication." (1980a, p. 7). Cooperative inquiry was for Dewey a directed form of transaction, with a structured method, that produced the need for communication on common undertakings. This process allowed the knowledge developed in individual experience to be shared, thus adding it to the common heritage of the community. Such shared knowledge could be used to produce shared aims that were based in common action. These were the traits that, in Dewey's scheme, actually produced community and insured its continuation and progress.

The emphasis on the commonality of shared ideas, aims, and action should not be construed as a denigration of the role of diversity in the community, however. Diversity of thought and action no less than physical diversity constituted a fundamental natural condition of human life for Dewey. In a democracy, such diversity must be respected

because of its very existence, but it also had a vital role to play in social progress. The goal of social progress demanded the communication of new and different ideas that would be shared and integrated into the common social heritage of the group.

Cooperative social inquiry would not eliminate conflicts and differences of opinion and belief, but would mitigate their negative effects and actually turn such differences into assets by opening them to common consideration and evaluation. Differences could be resolved according to shared principles and values rather than by covert use of power.

Cooperative social inquiry enables community members to direct action towards aims that benefit all members of society, thereby rendering service to the community. Dewey decried the undirected, trial-and-error approach to solving social problems as a true kind of inefficiency. On an even deeper level, the direction of action toward social benefit that characterized Dewey's idea of service supplied the conditions under which the individual could develop to his or her true potential in the social group. He wrote,

To learn to be human is to develop through the give-and-take of communication an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community; one who understands its beliefs, desires and methods, and who contributes to a further conversion of organic powers into human resources and values (1984, p. 332).

Dewey's vision of each member of society contributing to the common good through occupations based in that individual's unique abilities and interests eliminated the false dichotomy between service and the everyday activities of life. It also eliminated the distinction between ethical conduct and other forms of action, underlining the moral import of all human action. Solving social problems through a cooperative inquiry

process that integrates moral inquiry avoids both a moral relativism that places individual impulse and selfish desire above community good and a moral dogmatism that subordinates the facts and needs of a concrete situation to ideals that are incompletely shared and disconnected from intelligent analysis.

The implications of cooperative social inquiry for the concept of learning are twofold. Dewey's belief that the most powerful situations for learning occur in everyday community life implies a continuing need for education throughout life. When learning is conceived as the continual reconstruction of experience to meet the changing character of new situations (Dewey, 1980a), the concept of cooperative social inquiry requires members of a community to learn constantly through the communication of shared ideas and the assessment of the facts and causes of problematic situations. The type of learning required here is directed by social needs and concerns, and serves to continually enrich the lives of each community member even as it enhances the overall life of the community.

In the formal education setting, Dewey's model creates a guiding structure for learning, the model of the school as embryonic community. As the school serves to initiate new members into the common life of their social group, it is necessary to develop the ability of the young to effectively participate in that social life. The structure of the school as community, the use of the resources found in the local community, and the emphasis on solving social problems of all types places the functions of the school in the context of the life experience of the child. It gives meaning to the subject matter of the school and guides each student into developing to the best extent their own interests and abilities in relation to common aims. Children must learn to use the model of

cooperative social inquiry through active experience in the guided, structured setting of the school in order to be able to effectively practice it in life outside school.

Conclusion

This discussion has taken three concepts from Dewey's work, those of community, service, and learning, and separated them in a somewhat artificial manner in order to try to get at their deeper meanings in Dewey's philosophical ideas. From the foregoing discussion it should be clear that none of these three concepts actually operated in isolation in Dewey's scheme, nor did any one concept hold priority or importance over the others. While the three concepts have numerous points of contact and similarity, I believe that their most powerful intersection is in the model of cooperative social inquiry. Dewey asserted that, "Social and historical inquiry is in fact a part of the social process itself, not something outside of it" (1987, p. 34). This process combines the vital components of shared ideas and aims, shared ethical action, and the types of knowledge and skills needed to combine them. It was Dewey's belief that this approach was the best way to insure the creation and survival of the ideal democratic society in which every individual would be able to lead the richest life. He maintained that, "A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his full stature" (1986d, p. 202).

I believe that Dewey's conceptions of community, service, and learning, intersecting in the model of cooperative social inquiry, hold powerful implications for our modern understanding of community service learning as well. In order to better understand and evaluate these implications, it is first necessary to do a more complete

inquiry by analyzing the operation of those concepts in action. In the next chapter I will turn to the historical setting of Dr. Elsie Clapp's community schools in order to gain an idea of how Dewey's concepts played out in application to a real world situation.

CHAPTER 5

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS OF ELSIE RIPLEY CLAPP

Introduction

The idea that the school could act as an agency for wider social service in the community is quintessentially progressive in its conception of education. During a time when this idea was much discussed and argued, Elsie Ripley Clapp was already acknowledged as an expert on the subject (Stack, 2002). Dr. Clapp was a teacher and practitioner above all. Yet her work was aimed not only at improving the lives and social conditions of the students in her community schools but also at showing what a school could do when it “forgoes its separateness” (Clapp, 1933a, p. 123) and becomes a living part of its community. Clapp’s vision for the school as social agency sprang directly from John Dewey’s educational and social philosophy; her close background with him insured both that her work and ideas received attention and that her successes as well as her mistakes would resonate far beyond the tiny communities in which she worked. Her community schools in Kentucky and West Virginia offer an excellent historical laboratory for examining how Dewey’s educational philosophy might be put into practice. This chapter will provide the historical context for Clapp’s work between 1929 and 1936 at her community schools.

Clapp’s Early Life

Elsie Clapp may have seemed an unlikely candidate to teach poor farmers’ and miners’ children under trying conditions. Her background, however, was fairly typical of

many of the women who became prominent practitioner/theorists in progressive education (Sadovnik & Semel, 2002), and provides an interesting study of the type of preparation and career path followed by a Progressive schoolteacher. Most of my discussion of Clapp's early life will be drawn from Stack, 2002, because that author is in personal possession of Clapp's unpublished memoirs. She was born into an affluent family and community in Brooklyn Heights, New York in 1879 (Stack, 2002). She was educated in affluent private schools and attended a rigorous prep school, the Packer Collegiate Institute. She began her university education at Vassar (which she found dull academically) but later transferred to Barnard College, graduating with a degree in English. Her reasons for deciding to become a teacher are not detailed in any accessible source, but even before receiving her bachelor's degree she had begun teaching at the Brooklyn Heights Seminary, and later at the Horace Mann School at Teacher's College in New York.

Clapp's lifelong association with John Dewey began during her time as a graduate student in English and philosophy at Columbia University in 1908-1909. Stack (2002) described how she was drawn to Dewey's philosophy classes despite the fact that her main area was English. Dewey apparently returned the admiration, because he asked her to help him with his classes and eventually may have paid for an assistantship for Clapp out of his own pocket. She helped edit and clarify, or at least made more accessible to students, many of Dewey's lecture notes and manuscripts. She continued to study under and work closely with Dewey until she left Columbia in 1912, with all requirements but the dissertation completed for her doctorate in English.

Clapp's early teaching career also reflects privilege, encompassing schools such as Brooklyn Heights Seminary, Ashley Hall in Charleston, South Carolina, Milton (Massachusetts) Academy for Girls, and City and County Day School in Greenwich Village. She did display social consciousness as well, however, working with the Committee on Children for the Patterson Silk Worker's Strike Organization during a time of labor unrest in 1913. Stack (2002) identified this period of Clapp's life as a great learning experience, especially in showing her the impact of "worker's ability to work cooperatively in a common cause" (p. 96). Following this experience, however, Clapp returned to teaching at mostly exclusive and wealthy schools, although she took time to assist Dewey in his classes over the ensuing 15 years. In 1929 she had been serving for 5 years as principal of a private school in Connecticut, but had begun to express dissatisfaction with the overwhelmingly upper-crust private-school focus of much Progressive practice (Stack, 2002). She longed to find opportunities to apply Progressive methods to public school settings, but feared that the logistical and pedagogical realities faced by public schools might make it impossible. It was at this time that Clapp was offered a chance to become principal of a small rural school in Kentucky, the Rogers Clarke Ballard School. At Ballard Clapp's work on the relationship between community and school truly began.

This brief examination of Clapp's background reveals not only the early career path of a particularly fortunate Progressive-era teacher, but also may contain clues that help explain the decisions she made as head of the Ballard and Arthurdale community schools. Her young womanhood, characterized by privilege, self-discovery and a growing yet still somewhat dilettantish concern for social issues, reads as a story that

modern readers might be more likely to associate with the 1960's rather than the turn of the 20th century. Her background with Dewey's philosophy was bound to impel her to a concern for social needs. Yet her life did not contain experiences that might be expected to give her a full appreciation of the strengths as well as the needs of those she wanted to help. Her background suggests that her concept of what those needs actually were might be based more in the mores of a dominant, privileged social order.

The Ballard School, 1929-1934

The Rogers Clarke Ballard School was located in a rural area of Jefferson County, Kentucky. The school was founded in 1909 as a replacement for two one-room schools that had become inadequate for local needs (Clapp, 1939). The school was built with a bequest of land and money from a prominent local family, the Ballards (who requested that the school be named in honor of their son), along with contributions from the County Board of Education and from many local families. The school thus began as a community effort and continued to be so through the next three decades. Well before Clapp's involvement the school represented a community enterprise, with "the mothers preparing school lunches together, helping with physical examinations and with school suppers and entertainments, and the fathers contributing money for certain school repairs and equipment and, occasionally, also for new teachers" (Clapp, 1952, p. 8).

While representing a public-private partnership in many ways, the school was a public school, admitting any local white child who wished to come (schools in Jefferson County, Kentucky were not integrated until the 1960's). Clapp stated that there was a deliberate decision on the part of some of the better-off families in the area to send their children to Ballard with the children of their poorer neighbors (1952). She placed the

demographics at 75% children of small farmers and tenants and 25% “prosperous old Kentucky families” (1939, p. 5), and claimed that the children of these economically diverse families had been attending school together for 20 years. In this discussion frequent reference will be made to the Ballard School community. There seems to have been an identifiable feeling of this community, which was based on location but was not necessarily built around a specific town or village, even before Clapp’s involvement.

Clapp first became involved with Ballard when she met with a search committee for a new principal in 1928 (Clapp, 1939). She outlined a plan for the school as a community agency to the group of parents, who were impressed enough to return home and line up additional funds that Clapp felt were necessary from the County Board of Education. Clapp attributed this ability to acquire scarce funds to the fact that

as parents they [the committee] had for many years helped the school with personal effort and money, and when they called on each member of the County Board and told him that a new and better sort of education could be had for the children of Jefferson County, each Board member believed these good neighbors of his and trusted what they said (Clapp, 1939, p. 6).

For a brief time, according to Clapp, she was undecided as to whether to leave her job directing an exclusive private school in Connecticut, but was urged to go by John Dewey, who described the opportunity to develop such a school as “a dream come true” (Clapp, 1952, p. 8). Clapp was hired for the job, and proceeded to Kentucky along with several teachers from her old school to begin their study of the local resources available for education in Kentucky.

Becoming Acquainted with the Ballard Community

Clapp had been attracted to the job at Ballard because of its rural setting (different from her past experience in Eastern private schools) and because

the school was, and always had been, a center of the community's interest and effort, [which] seemed to offer an opportunity to develop the educational use of environment and active learning in a public rural school, and a chance to continue and possibly extend the community's interest in the school (1939, p. 5).

She freely admitted that her experience in public schools thus far had been inadequate preparation for this new setting. "At first, we felt the disadvantages of our ignorance so keenly that we were almost daunted by them," she wrote (1952, p. 10). Prior to leaving Connecticut for Kentucky she and a few of her faculty who would accompany her spent time in libraries and writing to various bureaus and offices researching Kentucky history, geography, economics, and other topics. When she arrived in Kentucky she was able to learn more specifically about the local community setting.

Despite its rural location, the Ballard School was located in an area that offered many potential educational resources and vital connections with outside resources as well. The school was located near Louisville next to the Ohio River, and the local economy had numerous connections through transportation and other activities with the surrounding area. Clapp wrote,

"To us the School's location seemed ideal educationally. Situated in the midst of farms and estates and surrounded by fields and woods, it could use the teaching materials of its rural countryside and at the same time draw upon Louisville's

industries, wholesale markets, shipping and freight depots, and its University, libraries, hospitals, and clinics (1952, p. 11).

Clapp and her staff made use of the knowledge and background of the local people as well, meeting and speaking extensively with community members about the local history and geography.

Clapp's obvious interest in the local community and the dedication she and her staff displayed helped her to become acquainted with the local people, but establishing her role in the community (and that of her teachers) took more time and effort. She recorded that the work done by her and her staff "without pay" (1952, p. 12) to clean up the school and get it ready seemed to count in her favor with the local citizens, and home visits to all of the students before school started acquainted the staff with the families at the school. Clapp was still something of an outsider for a time, however, and had to earn her way into her status as a member of the community. An early incident, in which some parents from the more well-off families objected to changes in the lunch menus at the school, illustrates how Clapp had to negotiate her role in the community (Clapp, 1952). Her solution was to place the parents in charge of the lunch program, which she felt reinforced to them their own role and importance in the operations of the school. I have had to rely on Clapp's own descriptions of this and other incidents where parents at Ballard questioned her procedures because few records were left by others. In general, they seem to indicate that parents usually gradually came around to Clapp's way of thinking after seeing the results. Yet even from her own accounts, it seems clear that Clapp had to strike a balance between her roles as neighbor, employee, and leader at Ballard. She had introduced herself into an already functioning complex of relationships

that existed prior to her arrival. This role would be greatly altered when she went to Arthurdale.

Community Needs and Programs

In the process of learning about the Ballard School community Clapp and her staff identified the needs of the community, and began to develop programs to meet those needs. The needs addressed by the Ballard School fell largely into the categories of education (or school needs), health, recreation, and economic assistance. Many of these categories are interrelated, as the following discussion will show. Clapp's vision was that the school would serve as a social center for the community, acting as a catalyst for the efforts of all of the community members to solve problems and as a guide for directing those efforts. Clapp and her staff seem to have taken the lead in identifying the needs of the Ballard School community after their arrival on the scene (Clapp, 1952), but the members of the community had already begun to address many needs. Their search for a new director to restructure the school is one example, and many health needs had also been identified and were starting to be addressed as well.

The school itself needed quite a bit of work to be made ready for the new school year, and Clapp's staff built up an early reservoir of goodwill among the locals by pitching in to this work (Clapp, 1939). Clapp also described how students, community members, and teachers constructed all kinds of needed school furniture in the school shop before school began, and continued to do repairs and build new equipment over the life of the school. Over time local parents and citizens helped to supply most of the material wherewithal to run the school. In addition to money, they gave books, raw materials for shop and other purposes, and artifacts used by students to study pioneer life.

During the 1931-1932 school year a committee of parents and teachers wrote a grant proposal to an unnamed foundation to try to get funds for further school needs they identified, such as a school science laboratory and a home economics classroom. When this proposal was ultimately turned down, community members collaborated to renovate a small suite of rooms formerly occupied by a janitor for use as a home economics laboratory (Clapp, 1952).

Another enterprise undertaken to meet both school and health needs at Ballard was the school lunch program. Clapp's staff had identified effects of malnutrition in 73 out of the 218 students at Ballard (Clapp, n.d.a), and the school lunch program was one way they tried to address this problem. As described above, this program generated positive and negative interest among local parents, and the lunchroom was eventually given over completely to parent control. Community members also provided produce to be eaten at the school, and students even planted gardens for botanical study and school food (Clapp, 1939; 1952).

The school lunch program was only one attempt to address health needs identified in the Ballard community through the school. Clapp and her teachers found widespread health problems, particularly among the poorer families, as they visited the members of the school community. The school had already begun to address identified health needs through cooperation between parents and county health authorities. Their attempts to address health needs ran from providing cots and blankets for rest periods for younger students to holding health fairs for the whole community in which teachers and students presented information on health topics they had studied in the school. Arrangements were made for doctor examinations for students whose families could not afford them

privately, and programs for needs like posture correction and tuberculosis care were instituted. The school also held ‘Healthy Baby’ clinics for local parents, providing both education and access to health services for infants and toddlers. The nutrition program of the school went beyond providing nutritious school lunches. Cooking classes for the whole community were given through the home economics department. As the depression worsened, the school took the lead in helping families to get food through government assistance and cooperative buying from sources in Louisville (Clapp, 1952). Clapp took on the role of helping to coordinate aid from county and Federal health bureaus for the children and families at Ballard.

The study of health needs also pointed up the need for recreational opportunities in the Ballard community. Clapp noted, “Much to our surprise, the children at School had to acquire the practice of outdoor exercise and games” (1952, p. 27). Over time, the games and other entertainments put on by the school became a local source of recreation. In addition to sports, movies were shown and fairs were held at the Ballard school. Community dinners and meetings were held, and plays and assemblies, showcasing topics of study by the students, were attended by many community members. A traditional horse show that had already been held at the school was developed into a Country Fair which exhibited work done by local students and adults, and later included agricultural information and exhibits (Clapp, 1939). Clapp contrasted the recreational role of the school with other local sources of entertainment and recreation, of which the only positive examples (in her mind) seem to have been church functions. Ballard became a center for local recreation not only because of its facilities but also because of its variety of programs.

As the Great Depression deepened, the school began to identify and address more basic economic needs in the community as well. An ethic of helping already existed within the school community, as illustrated by Clapp's description of wealthier families helping out their less fortunate neighbors during the particularly harsh winter of 1931. The school took on the role of assisting the poorer families as well through facilitating aid from the county for grocery purchases, coordinating a cooperative food-buying enterprise for local families, and setting up a "Women's Exchange" (1939, p. 63) where clothes and other necessities could be bought or traded. The school also worked to improve the practices in the local agricultural economy by forming a 4-H Club and coordinating educational efforts with the county agent. Many of these activities were conceived and undertaken by parents at the school, with the school facilitating and acting as a central location for the efforts.

The work done at the Ballard School to meet community needs followed closely along the lines Clapp had envisioned for her community school. The programs to meet these needs evolved into a collaborative effort among teachers and parents in particular, with students playing more of a supporting role. This collaboration was possible in no small part because of several factors: the economic diversity of the community, the strong established roles and relationships among community members, and the connections of community members with outside resources such as food wholesalers in Louisville. The role played by the students was an important one, but students rarely seem to have taken a lead in these efforts. Rather, the school curriculum seems to have been structured to help students learn about community roles and practice them in a guided setting.

The School Curriculum at Ballard

The teachers at the Ballard School initially focused on assessing the academic needs of the students there. They found that most students were one or two grades behind in reading, writing, and mathematics, but they also found problems with what Clapp called “school morale” (1952, p. 20), which included problems with both behavior and study habits. She blamed these problems to some extent on the isolated rural location and needs at home, especially among the poorer students who lived in uncertain circumstances. Clapp identified a primary need of the students to learn to work and play together. She and her staff worked to enlist the help of parents, which she said was usually forthcoming, although some explanation of and adjustment to the new progressive structure of the school program was also necessary on the parents’ part. This adjustment process, as Clapp described it, seems to have been equally a process of acceptance of the new teachers (Clapp, 1952).

Clapp believed that one of the greatest needs for the students was “common denominators of understanding” (1952, p. 24) between what was studied at school and the children’s everyday lives. She felt hampered by the “meager” life experience of most of the students, but asserted that, “if they were to comprehend what they were learning, we must enable them to make connections between what they knew and what the books at school said” (1952, p. 24). The teachers realized that connecting with the experience of the students as well as meeting their varied needs would require extensive reorganization of the subject matter taught.

The school studies that Clapp and her staff developed mirrored in many ways the child-centered principles and the community structure advocated by Dewey. In the early

grades various themes helped to organize the study of local ways of life. For example, the first grade studied farming and plants. The second grade constructed a miniature village complete with houses and buildings, and acted out the roles of community members. Third and fourth graders began to add Dewey-type occupations to their studies, including cooking, building, and weaving, as they focused their study on local Native American cultures. Academics and art were interwoven into these thematic studies. Students would compose stories about their role-playing, use mathematical principles to build, cook, and make things, write stories in notebooks, and compose plays about what they studied.

The older grades continued with this kind of thematic approach, but gradually interwove more academic study as well as expanding their study to locations and topics more distant from the local community. The fifth and sixth grades, after a few false starts, focused on migration to Kentucky and early settlers. The seventh grade studied Native American cultures further, including cultures from far outside Kentucky, while the eighth grade focused on 19th century Kentucky. Clapp had not initially planned on a ninth grade, but when some students of that age showed up she quickly developed a program for them. They studied ancient Greece and Rome, with emphasis on ‘common denominators’ like farming in those cultures. In later years the school expanded to a tenth and eleventh grade. These groups studied topics such as medieval history and the Renaissance, and focused on the economic geography of Kentucky, learning about industry, transportation, natural resources, and other economic topics.

Some activities and studies were common across the grades in their studies. Building and making things, especially in shop classes, was done in all grades. Artistic

expression was interwoven in all studies, with drama playing an especially important role. Students frequently wrote plays as culminating activities for various units of study, and these were often presented to the rest of the school and the local parents. School plays were used as entertainment during fund-raising dinners for school programs, and an elaborate Christmas program was presented each year. Students learned to make school and home repairs in shop, and home economics was an important class.

Some grades studied math and other subjects through projects of service to the school, such as the school store, run by fourth graders or the savings bank later established by the tenth graders. Eighth graders built surveying instruments and laid out athletic fields for the school during the 1930-31 year, incorporating many mathematical skills. The seventh grade actually undertook to build a log cabin that year as well, which later became a resource and museum for the whole school. During the fifth year of Clapp's work the upper grades began to publish a community magazine and a newspaper that served the school and the larger community.

Staff Studies and Socially Functioning Subject Matter

The problem posed by the need to supply Clapp's common denominators of understanding between the lives of the students and the subject matter of formal schooling required that the faculty at Ballard should rethink the structure and function of disciplinary knowledge. The reorganization of study into socially-themed units did not diminish the importance of traditional academic knowledge and skills. Clapp wrote, "Never until we worked here in our rural school did I fully realize the social importance of the three R's – never before see them as means of literacy, the tools of learning, the chance of a better livelihood" (1933a, p. 126). Clapp and her staff continually evaluated

the programs of the school, and at the same time developed their concept of the place of academic subject matter in the social education of the school, through weekly staff meetings and studies (Clapp, 1939).

The staff studies began with a consideration of the role of history in the programs of the school, because so much of what the classes did was centered around historical themes. The teachers rapidly began to realize, however, that they needed to carefully consider the roles of mathematics and language in the school's work. Clapp described how the teachers had to work to overcome their ingrained ideas about the place of these subjects as isolated and prescriptive studies in the school, and reconceive them as tools for social use (1952). As they examined their practice and their goals, they began to see the social functioning of these subjects in the lives of the students. As intrinsic interests of human beings, math and language were naturally interwoven in the daily activities of the students and teachers, and it was this concept of the social importance of academic subjects that they attempted to emphasize in their teaching. In practice, this view translated into approaches like emphasizing measurement and money issues in the village studies of the younger children, the use of language in plays and in the school publications, the use of geometric principles in the surveying done by the eighth grade. Clapp described the resulting structure of the curriculum in a 1932 article:

The social studies (history and geography and social studies units) have constituted the core of work in the different classes. The work in English, mathematics, and Science has been related to them in part and in part has been studied in and for itself. The study of mathematics has covered the usual requirements of a modern school in these grades, but has also included the

operation of practical business demanded by a school community, the history of money, constant use and testing of mathematical facility in shop activities and Home Economics courses. The work in science has been necessarily limited from lack of means, but has centered variously around geological trips, study of soils, study of trees, flora, and birds, natural local resources, study of sources of power and their application to machinery. The work in English has been necessarily unusually full and thorough owing to the need of teaching three-fourths of the children how to speak and read and write easily and well. It has been fortunately enriched during the past three years by a study of a modern language (1932b, p. 24-25).

The reconceptualization of the school's subject matter to emphasize its social importance became one of the key elements in Clapp's idea of a "socially functioning school" (1933b, p. 285). In the course of her work at Ballard, Clapp's view of the subject matter of the school acquired a more holistic character. She described the resulting vision of the functioning of the school,

From these studies we began to wonder if perhaps we in education would not pass *through and out of* the phase of considering subject matter interests as different aspects or emphases of man's living, *to* a study of life, including nature and society, *for different purposes* – a study which would be organized varyingly – now for an understanding of man's work, or of his relations with others; now of his curiosities and discoveries, now of his expression in art and music and language and drama; now of his use of resources and conditions; now of his methods of measuring and computing . . . Studies such as these would be social,

not only because socially motivated and used, but also intrinsically, being aspects or emphases of a social whole (1939, p. 52).

Clapp described the resulting vision as that of “a socially functioning curriculum” (1939, p. 4). Her description of the process of experimenting and learning about the functions of a school at Ballard shows the development of ideas that she would apply later in the different context at Arthurdale.

Clapp's Evolving Understanding of Resources and Community

Clapp's work at Ballard led her to a new understanding and appreciation of the meanings of community and resources in education. Her initial view of community was confined mainly to what went on inside the miniature school community, or to things that directly affected it. When she went to Ballard, her concept of the school's social function consisted almost exclusively of shared activities and social relationships “within the community of children at the school” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 10). Over time this view broadened. Contact with the spectrum of community members, as well as an increased understanding of how all aspects of life were interrelated in a community, showed her that the school could not direct its vision inward and remain a social institution. She realized that, “In a community's school like Ballard, the community is not the school community, as it is in most progressive schools, but the whole neighborhood of which the school is a functioning part” (Clapp MS, n.d.a, p. 10).

Her view of the nature of resources and the environment available for educational use also changed. The cognitive dissonance aroused by unfamiliar surroundings allowed her to see environment in new light. Her work in Kentucky led to a new understanding about what Dewey meant in his concept of environment: “And we began to understand

what he meant when he spoke of the *continuity of people's environment with their own active tendencies.*" (1952, p. 31, footnote 9, italics in original). She gained an appreciation of resources not only as characteristics of the physical and social environment, but also as the opportunities to apply school subject matter to the understanding of the environment and solution of social problems. She applied these new understandings to her later work at Arthurdale.

Clapp Leaves Ballard

Clapp's work at the Ballard School went on for five years, continually expanding and taking in more functions of benefit to the surrounding community. The school helped the community weather the bad early years of the Depression, managing to continue and even grow, adding grades as the local children grew older and expanding programs like their home economics studies. Despite the school's inability to attract outside funding, the community continued to develop and strengthen a network of local and regional resources centered around the school, from the farmer growing produce for lunches to the support of the University of Louisville to the clinics and personnel provided by the Kentucky Board of Health.

Clapp described her work at Ballard as a valuable learning experience for her. "It was in Kentucky that we came to an understanding of the nature and functioning of a community school," she wrote (1939, p. 3). She attributed her understanding of the concept of the overall social functioning of the school to her efforts at Ballard, including especially the place of subject matter and activity in the social educational scheme. She felt that by 1934, when she was invited to go to West Virginia to direct a community school at a new Federal Subsistence Homestead site, her work at Ballard had reached a

“climax” (1952, p. 158) as the students had achieved an ability to maintain the social functions of the school without her help. The effects of her work on the community were “far-reaching,” (1933a, p. 127), she felt. One illustration that she had become sufficiently accepted and her ideas on social service had taken sufficient hold in the Ballard community is that, when Clapp told her students where she was going in 1934, several of her Ballard students asked to accompany her to West Virginia because they wanted to help (Clapp, 1952). Clapp’s work at Ballard may have been the best opportunity she would have to put her community school ideas into practice. The situation she found at Arthurdale would have profound differences.

The Schools at Arthurdale, West Virginia, 1934-1936

The town of Arthurdale, officially called a Subsistence Homestead under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, was in large part the brainchild of Eleanor Roosevelt. Roosevelt was seeking a solution to the problem of workers who were said to be “stranded” (Stack, 2002) in depressed areas where their work skills were useless. The need for some form of relief for such workers and their families was acute.

Scott’s Run

Roosevelt’s concern had been aroused by reports of the extreme poverty and dangerous conditions that had developed in the depressed coal mining regions of West Virginia. The prime example of the problems there was an area of mining camps called Scott’s Run in Monongalia County. Conditions there were becoming acute, with as much as 63% of the population on some form of relief (Haid, 1975), nearly all utilities and services shut down because of the closing of the mines that provided them, and violence breaking out sporadically. Families of miners were gradually sinking into despondency.

According to Brooks (1935), an unnamed ‘world traveler’ was quoted as calling Scott’s Run “the damnedest cesspool of human misery I have ever seen in America” (p. 198). Union extremists were exhorting unemployed miners to fight mine owners to the death (Pickett, 1953). After visiting Scott’s Run in 1933, Eleanor Roosevelt stated that she feared the possibility of a fascist revolution there (Haid, 1975). She became determined to use her considerable influence to help the people who were caught in such wretched conditions.

A Plan for Social Reconstruction

Roosevelt’s plan was to alleviate the extreme poverty in which the people lived while restoring their communities to functioning social entities. Her idea was that the economically displaced workers should be given the wherewithal to support themselves and their families, primarily through small-scale agriculture, while establishing for them new towns where they would retrain themselves not only to work but also to live as vital members of a community. The vehicle for this restoration was a utopian ideal of returning to the land (Beezer, 1974), recreating an ideal of agrarian democracy associated with “Jeffersonian civilization” (Perlstein & Stack, 1999, p. 215). Whether or not such an ideal had ever really existed in America was somewhat beside the point, but it was clear to the planners that achieving such communities would require a form of education quite different from the norm (Pickett, 1953).

In this way the New Deal for reconstructing the American economy met face-to-face with the burgeoning social reconstructionist movement in Progressive education (Moyer, 2000; Perlstein & Stack, 1999). The idea of using the school as an agency for large-scale social change, most forcefully associated with George Counts (1932), was a

growing companion, or sometimes rival, approach to the more established “child-centered” education movement that characterized early Progressive educational thought (Kliebard, 1995). In 1934 the debate over how such reconstruction should take place was still fresh among the ranks of Progressive educators, with many supporting Dewey’s community- and activity-centered approach while others advocated Counts’ more radical call for outright indoctrination. Elsie Clapp had weighed in on the subject in an issue of *Progressive Education* devoted partly to the debate. True to her strong roots in Dewey’s philosophy, she agreed with a need for social change but “wonder[ed] if so much stress would be laid by Professor Counts on the method of indoctrination if he realized, from doing it, how revolutionizing is the *process* of living and learning and doing” (1932a, p. 270, italics original). Her point was that the process of carrying out the activities of living in a community, properly guided by the school, was a more powerful change agent than outright indoctrination. Her work at Arthurdale would be based in this belief.

Clapp’s orientation toward social education apparently dovetailed well with Eleanor Roosevelt’s vision for the Arthurdale School. Roosevelt was already familiar with the ideas of John Dewey and other Progressive educators about child-centered social education (Parker, 1991), and she interviewed Clapp on the advice of Clarence Pickett, Director of the Standard and Industrial Mining Groups of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, US Dept. of the Interior. Clapp was soon hired as School Director and Director of Community Affairs for Arthurdale (Pickett, 1953).

Beginning the Homestead Experiment

Homesteaders were selected for Arthurdale during the Fall of 1933 by a committee at West Virginia University (Haid, 1975). The primary skill that was sought

was farming experience and ability, but the selection process also emphasized moral character and reliability, as defined by the Arthurdale planners. Unfortunately, large segments of the local population were excluded from selection due to race, union activism, or other ‘undesirable’ traits (Perlstein, 1996; Pickett, 1953). The effects of this exclusivity will be further explored later.

The feeling that a new type of education would be necessary for the success of the Arthurdale experiment was shared by almost all of the homestead planners. The structure for the school and its curriculum was suggested by a National Advisory Committee chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt and containing such luminaries as Teacher’s College Dean William Russell, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, and John Dewey himself (Pickett, 1953). The specific school plan was formulated by a committee of West Virginia educators and relief personnel. The school was initially exempted from West Virginia standards and requirements, but as a result it was not accredited by the state. Homesteaders approved the plan for the school “paragraph by paragraph” (Clapp, 1939, p. 72) at an initial meeting in 1934. Later events would raise questions, however, over just how clearly Arthurdale’s citizens understood and supported the experimental program.

As construction began on Arthurdale, the initial priority was to build homes for the new residents of the village. Bureaucracy and poor planning caused months of delay in the construction of houses, however, and when Clapp arrived in June, 1934, she was informed that the school buildings would not be constructed in time for the coming school year (Clapp, 1939). The old mansion that had belonged to the Arthur family, the former owners of the site, was pressed into service, along with some municipal buildings in the village. The situation was similar to Clapp’s experiences with the opening of

school at Ballard five years earlier, and she responded in similar fashion, enlisting the help of her staff and community members to clean up and renovate the buildings and to build basic furniture such as benches and tables for the classrooms.

The Arthurdale Schools opened in September of 1934 with 246 students across all grades (Haid, 1975). The Nursery School opened a week after the grade school with 32 children. By agreement with the local school district the Arthurdale School was considered exempt from the curricular and organizational requirements of the local public schools, and considered rather to be a free and independent school of Preston County, West Virginia (Clapp, 1952). Nevertheless, the local district agreed to provide three teachers to supplement Clapp's hand-picked staff. Grades One through Eight were housed in the old mansion that had belonged to the Arthur family, while the high school was housed in some workrooms at the new town hall (Clapp, 1952).

As at Ballard, the curriculum of the school was built around community resources and needs, with many similar projects and class activities. The earliest grades studied farming and village life, with the construction and agricultural activities of the homestead around them providing direct information and a feeling of immediacy to the work (Clapp, 1939). Clapp, 1939, included a photograph of second graders building rather substantial houses for their village outside the Arthur mansion. Later grades studied Native American and pioneer living with the emphasis on the basic occupations of everyday living. Students learned about food gathering and preparation, weaving and clothing, and tool and furniture-making as they studied how early pioneers met the needs of their lives. The school grounds contained an old slave cabin that was adopted by the fourth grade class, repaired and furnished with student-made implements and furniture as well as

donated items from local families, and used as a study resource, dramatic setting, and museum (Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931; Clapp, 1939). The fifth and sixth grades were combined early on, and studied the history of West Virginia from prehistoric times to the present, taking field trips, making replicas of a wagon and flatboat in shop, and drawing maps and murals.

The seventh and eighth grades were also combined in the beginning. The teachers felt that the students in this class were very able, but had been badly affected by their experiences in the mining camps prior to coming to Arthurdale (Clapp, 1939). These students began by constructing a mural-map of the village, with grammar and reading gradually introduced as the group became more comfortable. This group later decided themselves to undertake a project in shop class in which they constructed playground equipment for the Nursery School students, using math skills as well as shop skills (George Beecher, cited in Clapp, 1939). They progressed from their map study into a study of the Appalachian region that included geology, climate, culture, and history.

Rather than organizing the high school by age/grade groupings, the staff surveyed the new students for their interests and goals. The students were then divided into three interest groups, applied science and math, applied economics, and arts and literature. The principal of the high school, George Beecher, noted that these groupings were not specifically aimed at vocational study, but such training might later be incorporated into the curriculum. The studies in the high school focused around local resources like those of the earlier grades, but incorporated more detail and were more applied to local problems. The school's science program centered around local resources and needs, studying botany, geology and soil sciences, and other aspects of chemistry and biology as

they related to local activities like agriculture. Classes often made their own laboratory equipment in conjunction with shop class. Later, the science program would move away from studies specifically oriented toward agriculture to investigations of local resources that could be used for more light-industrial types of economic activities. Math was studied in an applied fashion. For example, the eighth grade constructed surveying instruments (as had their counterparts at Ballard), and surveyed the route of a highway through the village (Wuenstel, 2002).

Other types of studies emphasized local needs as well. The traditional conceptions of gender roles characteristic of the times determined that boys took shop classes involving construction and repair work, while girls focused on home economics classes that studied cooking, sewing, and child-care. The school also carried out cultural programs and studies, involving activities ranging from drama to music to choral speaking (George Beecher, cited in Clapp, 1939), with a view towards helping to establish a feeling of shared identity for the community. More vocationally oriented studies were gradually introduced, including printing, electricity, and mechanics, but these topics tended to be integrated into the other studies of the school, such as shop, history, science, or math. The staff studies of language and communications needs led to the establishment of a school newspaper which, like the paper at Ballard, soon expanded to cover the news of the entire village.

As at Ballard, the school program at Arthurdale became a cooperative effort among the members of the community. The early work of the homesteaders in preparing the buildings and making furniture set the tone for the community attitude toward the school. Clapp wrote, "For two weeks we had all together – fathers, teachers, mothers,

children – worked on everything. The School was a reality at last and it was ours – the community’s school” (Clapp, 1939, p. 79). Clapp asked the men’s and women’s clubs to help, noting, “The fathers and mothers were happy to do it. The men made lists of carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians & painters among the homesteaders. It is going to be just the kind of enterprise we want” (1934a). This school enterprise truly began to produce the kinds of feelings of shared efforts and goals that Clapp desired when the children at the Nursery School began to recover their health and vitality through the cooperative care provided by the community. The women in the village learned and worked at the Nursery School, while the men helped to construct the facilities and provided food for the lunch program. Even the other schoolchildren had contributed to the improvement shown by the youngest children (Clapp, 1935a; 1939).

The adults in the community also contributed to the enterprise of the school in the areas of transportation and school lunches. Schoolchildren had originally been transported in large trucks used for general work on the homestead, but concerns for safety of the children and teachers led to the acquisition of a bus, for which the homesteaders paid a small fee regardless of whether they had children riding (Anonymous, 1937; Clapp, 1952). The school lunch program was the linchpin of the school’s health efforts, both in strengthening the children and helping parents to learn about nutrition. It was staffed by homestead women who took turns preparing meals, and was supplied from the homesteader’s subsistence gardens as well as gardens planted and tended by the schoolchildren. This effort was most successful. The anonymous homesteader’s wife wrote in her diary that the women had canned 3512 quarts of

vegetables, and the men and boys had dug 1000 bushels of potatoes for the school lunches (1937). She wrote,

January 17 : This was my day to go to the kitchen to prepare the children's lunches. There were six of us to prepare two hundred fifty lunches. We served one or two baked potatoes, depending on size, with a piece of butter in the middle; a big cupful of carrots; two slices of bread; half a pint of milk. All that lunch for two and one half cents a day (p. 13).

Clapp frequently emphasized the role of the adult community in the operations of the Arthurdale school, describing how parents participated in school cultural activities, provided many of the material needs for the school, and learned in classes on handicrafts, health, and cultural activities like music, often alongside the regular students. The school newspaper became an adult activity as well as a student enterprise. As a center and focus of much of the cooperative effort of the homestead, the school was instrumental in defining the identity of the Arthurdale community. Clapp wrote,

The distinguishing features of the life at Arthurdale were consciousness of the purpose and plan of of the project and of the bearing of all events and actions upon that, and a desire on the part of the people for the project's success, which was held to be identical with success for individuals. The fact that the interests and learning of the people centered in the project and the community school gave them a fund of common experience. They all had part, one way and another, in plans and activities. So shared effort and a community of interests were also outstanding characteristics of the life there (1939, p. 385).

The many similarities of the school curricula at Ballard and Arthurdale reflect the application by Clapp and her staff of their experience and study in Kentucky. This experience also seems to have conditioned their view of other types of community needs to be addressed by the school. The health needs of the children, especially the very young, at Arthurdale were more acute than even those of the poorer children at Ballard (Clapp, 1952). The nurse hired by the government for the project was soon overworked, and a doctor had to be hired as well. The school began programs to deal with the immediate ailments and needs, and began an educational program to help with prevention of future problems. The children received thorough physical examinations, dental care, better nutrition through the school lunch program, as well as needed treatments through the school and the homestead health office. Teachers from the Nursery School and the home economics program at the school worked with the village doctor to visit homes and hold conferences with parents on health issues. The school gave classes in cooking and homemaking, and even Practical Nursing (through the WPA). Teachers also provided expertise in agricultural and other home-related areas for the homesteaders. The positive effects of these efforts were especially apparent in the health of the Nursery School children, which gave a sense of hope and shared good to the homesteaders in their first fall (Clapp, 1939).

Recreation was also identified as a need. The school recreation programs took hold gradually on the homesteaders. Activities ranged from sports (for children and adults), square dancing, drama, music, and holiday festivities. The gymnasium built for the school and village during the first year was believed to be the largest floor space in Preston County and attracted many sports teams from other towns (Wuenstel, 2002).

Both the adults and the students had drama groups that put on performances, frequently augmented with chorus groups (Anonymous, 1937). Music festivals were organized during the first two years that eventually drew performers from the surrounding region, and included numerous traditional cultural activities in addition to contests for musicians (Clapp, 1952). The festivities held for the first Christmas on the homestead, including carols, plays, and other activities, helped to produce a sense of community in the new village (Clapp, 1934b; 1939).

The need to foster a sense of community identity at Ballard had been important, but this need at Arthurdale was even stronger because no prior community had actually existed there. The common background shared by the former mining camp residents was to a great extent one of poverty and fear, and the planners at Arthurdale felt it was necessary to counteract that negative influence by promoting a rural culture that combined traditional elements with newer traits. In her report on the first year's work (Clapp 1935a), Clapp included a section written by Fletcher Collins, the director of music and drama at the homestead. Collins wrote of the cultural efforts in the first year,

What the School has been able to do for the community about the historical tradition has in one year been mainly to recognize it as a basis for common participation in the development of a rural culture. Rural people need to articulate their past, to bring it up from the intuitive to the level of expression through the study of "History", through the composition and production of plays with historical themes and traditional spirit, through experience in collecting and recording various phases of the tradition. Once articulated, it can be or is

communicated, and homogeneity on a regional or national scale can follow (p. 26).

Elements of the traditional rural culture at Arthurdale identified by Collins included balladry, lyric folk song, square dancing, fiddling, craftwork, and folklore. He described efforts by the school to promote these and newer elements such as drama and journalism. Those efforts included the music festivals, plays, holiday festivals, community dances, and the renovations on the old cabin near the school.

The school also attempted to integrate the economic needs of the community into its program. The focus of the science curriculum in particular was upon the major economic activity of the area, agriculture. The school not only taught classes in areas related to plants and animal husbandry, it acted as a resource for the community in those areas. Teachers were able to fill the role of experts in helping homesteaders with their crops, and the school science laboratories later began to test dairy products and water for bacterial contamination.

The school also helped to sponsor vocational training programs for the young adults and high school students. Through the National Youth Administration and the Works Progress Administration classes were given in mechanics, auto repair, library work, nursing, bookkeeping, and many other vocational skills (Clapp, 1939; 1952). These classes were work-study programs, and provided some economic help as well as helping to meet needs of the community and the individual students.

During the second year of Arthurdale's existence, the school began to zero in on the problem of providing an economic base for the village. The subsistence farming done by the homesteaders to feed their families had never been intended to provide the kind of

economic support that would allow the village to become self-supporting, which was the eventual goal of Arthurdale's planners (Haid, 1975; Pickett, 1953). The ideal was a light industry to provide jobs year-round and produce tax revenues to eventually support the town. Various plans to bring in a shirt factory (Pickett, 1953), a postal equipment manufacturer (Haid, 1975), or promote local craft guilds (Pickett, 1935) were thwarted by political or economic problems. The private financial backers of the project began to grow restive about the ability of the homestead to ever attain self-sufficiency (Haid, 1975). This climate probably prompted the school staff, led by George Beecher, to formulate a plan by which the high school classes would study local resources and possible economic activities that could be undertaken in the village. In connection with this project, which involved work by some of the young adults in the community as well, the students studied all types of local resources, particularly mineral and energy-related, along with numerous occupations such as horticulture, dairy farming, crafts, printing, distillation, and glass-making. The study of glass-making was particularly thorough. Integrated with the high school study of inorganic chemistry, it included testing of materials in the school lab and the construction and testing of a glass furnace in connection with the school shop (Clapp, 1939). This economic study was unfortunately terminated at the end of the 1936 school year, when Clapp and many of her teachers left the village.

In sum, the school role in the community was truly a social agency, providing not only an academic education for the children but also acting as a center for social services and a resource for needed expertise. The school also acted as a social and recreational center for the community, which was particularly important in the relatively isolated rural

setting that Arthurdale occupied. Most importantly, however, the school began to function as a center of the community's idea of itself, an agency that promoted a new, more positive identity among people who had previously been united only by their suffering and sense that they had been forgotten by the rest of the country. The Arthurdale School was beginning to become the embodiment of the shared ideas and aims of the community, and a locus for the cooperative activity that helped to produce and communicate those ideas and aims.

The Homestead Experiment Ends

Unfortunately the community work of the Arthurdale Schools could not counteract the economic and political forces that impacted the Arthurdale homestead experiment almost from the beginning. The village was only shielded from the economic ravages of the Great Depression by the financial backing of the federal government, and even that was sometimes spotty, as paychecks were held up and projects delayed (Clapp, 1935h; Haid, 1975). There were constant political criticisms of the project, particularly from the political right (Haid, 1975). These ranged from characterizations of the underlying concept as socialistic, down to critiques of the quality and cost of the homes for the homesteaders. Although some of the media attention given the project was positive (e.g. Anonymous, 1937; Brooks, 1935), reporters looking for problems and discontents were constantly showing up around the village, sometimes resorting to trickery to try to get homesteaders to complain about the project (Haid, 1975). Other homestead projects around the country were not faring as well as Arthurdale, and the entire Subsistence Homestead Resettlement program was under fire (Haid, 1975). The outside pressures on the tiny village were daunting.

During the Winter and Spring of 1936 homesteader discontent began to grow, partially because of the isolation of the difficult winter but also because of increasing worries brought about by the criticisms of the project (Clapp, 1939, Haid, 1975). Financial backers of the project, such as the philanthropist Bernard Baruch, began to worry about the prospects of the village and school becoming self-supporting any time soon. Baruch felt that the school was doing good work, but could not sustain the entire project by itself. He wrote to Clapp,

I am still of the opinion about Reedsville that we both concurred in. The school is a model. Even I could see that. Evidently your work there is carrying along the whole enterprise but it looks to me that they are all leaning on it. But it is good work and can carry along many but not all of the mistakes agricultural and economic they planned so badly there (Baruch, 1936).

Baruch's support was flagging, not for the work of the school but for the viability of the entire project, which he rightly saw as inextricably related. Although he remained committed to helping to fund the school, he urged that it be transferred into the Preston County, WV, public school system.

Clapp and her staff reacted to the funding problems by preparing proposals for grant funding to be submitted to several private foundations, but as the Summer of 1936 began it became clear that any other potential backers were going to insist, like Baruch, that the village become economically self-supporting before committing to giving the school any money (Clapp, 1936d; 1936c). Clapp wrote to Roosevelt that the Preston County School System could only provide 6 teachers to the school based on the previous year's attendance (Clapp, 1936c). Clapp's letters also describe increasing difficulties

with the management of a vacuum cleaner factory that had been recruited to the area who were apparently hiring high school students against Clapp's wishes. She was also in conflict with new project administrators over her work as Director of Community Activities, and faced some continuing homesteader opposition on the program of the school (Clapp, 1936c). A note of despair seemed to creep into her letters as she wrote of "facing the fact, which seems likely, that our educational enterprise cannot go on here" (Clapp, 1936c). When Roosevelt finally broke the news that no more private funding would be forthcoming (Roosevelt, 1936), Clapp announced her decision to resign. A number of her teachers followed suit. Many of the homesteaders at the project were dismayed and tried to get Clapp and her staff to stay, but the decision had been made (Clapp, 1936e). Clapp talked of starting another community school (Clapp, 1936e), but later went on to become editor of *Progressive Education*, the journal of the Progressive Education Association.

The Arthurdale Schools continued to operate as public schools, with a much smaller and gradually reduced flow of private funding, under a new administration (Haid, 1975). A 1940 evaluation by the West Virginia University College of Education (Staff of the College of Education, 1940) found the school plagued by faculty turnover and recommended that the school reinstitute its experimental, progressive program. However, the schools gradually came to conform to the traditional models of education of the other county schools. They continue to operate today.

Clapp's work at Arthurdale showed that the school could not only function as a central social agency for a community, but could also use that social role to help produce the sharing of ideas, aims, and cooperative effort that would tie the community together.

The school was credited by at least one observer with producing not only superior morale but also better living conditions at Arthurdale than any other subsistence homestead (Haid, 1975). Ultimately, however, the school could not carry the project along on its own. Clapp's experiment cannot be called a failure based on its two years of operation when the short duration of the project and the massive obstacles it faced were taken into account. Neither can it be judged an unqualified success, either, except as it was able to alleviate the suffering of the homesteaders and give them a new hope for their lives. That, it was able to accomplish.

Comparing Ballard and Arthurdale

Clapp and her staff worked hard to learn about the rural settings and the people at Ballard, and they consciously applied the lessons they had learned to the situation they encountered at Arthurdale. Their approach at the two schools shows how a school can be socially integrated into the fabric of a community and can work to help produce positive changes as it attempts to meet community needs. There were some critical differences between the schools at Ballard and Arthurdale that affected how the ideas of community, service, and learning played out in those settings, however.

One crucial difference between the two schools was that, while the Ballard School was free to operate in relative anonymity, the schools at Arthurdale operated in a setting that was under constant scrutiny by government officials, press, and people who were merely curious about what was happening (Haid, 1975). At Ballard, Clapp had only to achieve the consensus of the members of the immediate community in order to take actions, at Arthurdale, she sometimes had to literally wait for an act of Congress (Haid, 1975). Press criticism of the costs of the project had begun even before the first

homesteaders arrived on the project in 1934. The close participation of Eleanor Roosevelt, herself a somewhat controversial and always high-profile figure, insured that there was constant national attention to the project (Beezer, 1974). Fletcher Collins recalled having to keep lookout from his window for cars coming down the road into town that might be carrying reporters, and going out to intercept them before they could begin asking too many questions (cited in Irwin, 1985). The community at Arthurdale was never able to perform the functions of making its own decisions and pursuing its own goals without being second-guessed and often overruled from without.

This dependence upon others to make decisions and financially support the cooperative efforts of the school and community at Arthurdale point up another difference with the situation at Ballard. The school at Ballard was a community enterprise prior to Clapp's arrival, and the parents who supported the school financially and otherwise had made the crucial decisions about the school structure and curriculum themselves. The Ballard community reflected some diversity, not racially or in fundamental cultural areas, but at least economically. Arthurdale had no such economic diversity. All of its citizens were either poor or government officials. At Arthurdale, the government of the homestead had been envisioned along the lines of the classic New England township model (Pickett, 1953), but the homesteaders in reality had little control over many of the things that happened to them. They were dependent on the government for pay and other material support. Even though the Men's and Women's Clubs at Arthurdale debated issues such as school transportation and trash collection (Haid, 1975), they ultimately had little control over large issues like employment and infrastructure. The accounts left by Clapp, the homesteaders wife, and others show that the

homesteaders worked hard to supply their school with food and other material needs, and participated actively in the activities there, but ultimately they could not save their school in its original form when outside financial backing disappeared.

Clapp's role at Arthurdale was very different from that at Ballard. In Kentucky, she had been hired by the community after it had deliberated itself on her plan, and she went on to become a member of the community who shared in its undertakings as a peer, a leader who was closely responsible to her neighbors. At Arthurdale, she held two official titles, Director of the Schools and Director of Community Activities (Haid, 1975). She was responsible, not to her fellow community members in an equal relationship, but rather to the government. The extent to which she and the teachers shared the actual needs, hardships, and undertakings of the homesteaders is questionable (Perlstein, 1996). All of the government employees on the project had a guaranteed paycheck, and Clapp's was substantial. She and her teachers did not have to farm for subsistence. She wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt,

As an intrinsic part of making the school in reality the center of the community, these teachers are to live in homestead houses at Arthurdale. This living in the community and sharing one's living is an absolute essential to the integration of the community by means of the school. They will not take up arable land but live, like myself, on the edge of the woods on the property (Clapp, 1934c).

While the teachers clearly were deeply involved in the activities of the community, they were ultimately able to opt out.

Clapp actually held significant power over what happened at Arthurdale and even over the homesteaders themselves. As an official, she wielded the power to actually

remove members of the community of whom she did not approve (Haid, 1975) rather than having to negotiate a *modus vivendi* as she did at Ballard. She made decisions about the cultural traits to emphasize, the types of industry to recruit, and the operations of the school program without having to refer them to the homesteaders for approval. Her attitude was sometimes paternalistic, although certainly suffused with concern for the homesteaders. When she wrote to Roosevelt about late paychecks, she bemoaned the deterioration of habits of thrift and buying with cash that she was trying to encourage in homesteaders, asserting, “For their actual suffering I care most. And that this should happen while they are under our care” (Clapp, 1935h). Her controlling attitude seems to have come from concern and a personal identification with the homesteaders, as well as a deep desire to see the Arthurdale project succeed. A former student noted, “She wasn’t just a school principal. She was really an overseer of the whole community – activity-wise. This was her baby” (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 765).

Some of the differences between the situations at Ballard and Arthurdale produced consequences that affected how Clapp’s work reflects the philosophy and theory of John Dewey. Some critiques of Clapp’s work, both contemporary and in more modern times, help to highlight the divergence between Clapp’s practice and Dewey’s ideas. The next section will review some of those critiques with a view toward further illuminating the concepts of community, service, and learning in Clapp’s work.

Critiques of Clapp’s Approach

The Ballard School program was already famous within progressive education circles during Elsie Clapp’s tenure there, but the school operations remained free of outside criticism because of its private nature and relative anonymity. On the other hand,

as a New Deal Subsistence Homestead Arthurdale saw many political controversies. The loudest criticisms came from the political right, which leveled charges of socialism and out-of-control spending against the project as a whole (Haid, 1975). Overall, the schools there fared better in terms of public and official opinion (Haid, 1975), but criticisms of Clapp's approach to community education at Arthurdale and Ballard began while the project was still operating and have continued until today. While some of these critiques revolve around matters outside Clapp's control as head of the schools, others focus specifically on what she did or failed to do concerning the social situations she found at the schools. The following discussion focuses on critiques of Clapp's approach that have particular bearing on the ideas of community, service, and learning at Clapp's schools.

Homesteader Concerns: Questions of Communication and Participation

Even as the project was underway, there were some homesteaders at Arthurdale who were unconvinced and uneasy about the experimental nature of the community schools. There are no records of such discord at Ballard, possibly because the school there represented for the most part a voluntary community enterprise as opposed to an institution planned largely for (rather than with) the community. The plan developed for the Arthurdale Schools, on the other hand, was presented to the homesteaders as something of a *fait accompli*, and the rigorous nature of the selection process to which they had recently been subjected could not have bolstered their confidence in their ability to dissent. Clapp seems to have been concerned from the outset that the experimental nature of the schools would not meet homesteader approval. She wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt,

You spoke, when I talked to you, of putting up to the homesteaders whether or not they wished this kind of school. I very strongly urge that this not be done until the school is functioning and they have had the opportunity to know it and its work. If the question could be put to them five years from now I think their approval would be quite certain. I think they would have no way to answer it before an interval of three years has passed. I feel, however, as I think you did in suggesting this, that the school should belong to them and that they should sustain the taxes for it as soon as is right and possible (Clapp, 1934c).

Nonetheless, the plan was put up to the homesteaders for a vote, and met their approval. As time went on, however, there is evidence that the homesteaders did not have enough information about the schools, leading to feelings of suspicion.

A crisis arose over the school's lack of accreditation during a particularly difficult time at Arthurdale, the Winter of 1936. The initial bloom had worn off the experiment, and second thoughts by financial backers, especially Bernard Baruch, the main sponsor of the schools, began to lead to uncertainty on the part of administrators as to whether the schools could be maintained without amalgamation into the Preston County system (Pickett, 1953). Homesteaders expressed concern that they were not getting a 'real school,' due to the experimental curriculum and the lack of state accreditation (Haid, 1975). One homesteader (Anonymous, 1937) noted that this discontent with the school, while not shared by all of Arthurdale's citizens, was prevalent during the hard winter of 1936: "*January 5, 1936* : Some people say our school isn't any good. They want us to take our children out of it and send them to the county schools. We won't. Jim and I talked. The children are happy and learning."(p. 13). Again on February 13, describing

the talk at a Men's Club meeting, she wrote, "There are always two big questions: [The first concerns the purchase of homes]. Is our school the right kind of school for our children? Well, our school is a progressive school – that is what they call it. I don't know why we are so anxious for our children to have the same old kind of schools we had" (p. 13).

Clapp and Pickett both attributed much of this discord to suspicion ingrained by years of fear and neglect in the mining camps, combined with the uncertainties of a hard winter (Clapp, 1952, Pickett, 1953). Calling the crisis a "disturbance of fear" (1939, p. 358), Clapp described it thus:

The panic, whose source one can only conjecture, centered in this matter. Fear ran rampant that if the school could not "give credits" it was "no good." Deep in their being was the feeling, I am sure, that it would be just their luck to have a school like this (1939, p. 358).

Clapp initially minimized these homesteader concerns, noting that none of Arthurdale High's three graduates for that year planned to attend college (Clapp, 1939). Apparently, though, the critics were not easily mollified, because Clapp found it necessary to meet with the Men's and Women's Clubs and enlist their help in assuaging fears. Her strategy was to get homesteaders involved in the process of becoming accredited, assigning committees to study the school's needs and provide solutions. At Clapp's suggestion, the West Virginia Advisory School Committee that had drafted the original school plan was asked to come and tour the school, on which they gave the parents a glowing report. In Clapp's words, "The panic subsided, and disapproval boiled down to the few objectors who exist everywhere" (1939, p. 361). She succinctly expressed her assessment of the

crisis: “The whole incident was interesting because it voiced the new ambitions to be like and do as other successful people” (p. 362). Yet despite her attempt to minimize the effects of the crisis, it must be noted that Clapp was gone as head of the school the following May.

While the assessments of actual participants such as Clapp, Pickett, and the anonymous homesteader must be respected, this incident raises questions about the vision of democracy, community, and cooperative effort that guided Clapp’s school. Just how free did homesteaders actually feel to object to the initial school plan, and how involved were they in substantive curricular and administrative decisions at the school? Although teachers addressed these issues constantly, nowhere does Clapp describe meetings with homesteaders where such fundamental school issues were discussed and debated. Was the vision of community service guiding the school limited as to the role accorded the parents? Undoubtedly the cooperative efforts involved in providing equipment and food and caring for Nursery School children were educative and unifying for community members, but were these mundane activities the fullest extent of possible citizen participation in the educational process at Ballard or Arthurdale? Finally, Clapp’s reported response to the crisis was somewhat dismissive initially (Parker, 1991). Despite her reportedly successful effort to use a process of participation and social inquiry to address homesteader fears, her published description of the crisis raises a suspicion of paternalism, or at least engineered consent. These questions will be further addressed later.

Critique of the Community School Approach

More recent critiques of Clapp have focused in part on the goals and methods of her particular approach to community schooling. Beezer (1974) leveled a two-part critique that really boils down to one issue: the school experiment at Arthurdale was inextricably tied to an “unrealistic community experiment” (p. 21) based on a Utopian ideal of rural agrarian democracy that was already unworkable in the national-scale economy of the 1930’s. By focusing solely on using community resources to solve economic problems, Clapp ignored the large-scale national forces (both economic and political) that affected the community. Beezer noted that, “The School by developing its curriculum from the resources of the community limited itself to the community’s weaknesses.” (1974, p. 32). Beezer’s critique is clearly not aimed at the larger concept of the school as an agency of community service, but rather at the particular approach at Arthurdale:

A viable community school concept must recognize the fact that an industrial and urban economy is a highly interdependent way of life. A community school’s efforts must encourage or, if lacking, introduce personal, cultural, and environmental resources which increase people’s chances to move into the larger society. If the school only utilizes what is in the community, it runs the danger of turning the community in on itself and, thereby, further isolate it (1974, p. 33).

Beezer’s critique of Clapp’s approach must be understood in light of the total context in which Clapp operated at Arthurdale. In echoing Beezer’s argument, Haid described the economic focus of Arthurdale’s planners and Clapp’s school as “atavistic” (1975, p. 299), implying an unwillingness to face the present situation. In fact, project

administrators did try to provide a light industrial economic base for Arthurdale. A planned factory to make supplies for the U.S. Postal Service was politically thwarted by a Congressman whose district already contained such a factory (Haid, 1975). Attempts to bring in a private shirt manufacturer and a radio cabinet factory both fell prey to the overall forces of the Depression (Pickett, 1953). It may have seemed that the community would be forced to rely only on what was available locally if it was ever to become self-supporting. Yet Beezer's charge of economic isolationism on the part of the Arthurdale Schools does contain important implications for community, service, and learning .

The economic focus of this critique is significant, because economic problems seem to have been nearly the only ones that received this limited localized attention. Certainly Clapp was willing to go outside Arthurdale and West Virginia for help in setting up the schools and dealing with health problems, for example. Her localized approach to economics would therefore be puzzling unless one understands the underlying vision of agrarian democracy that produced it. Pickett (1953) stated bluntly the desire of many project planners to "decentralize" (p. 52) the American economy, moving workers away from the urbanized industrial centers into the rural landscape. This ideal, therefore, was not Clapp's alone; it permeated the planning of the entire Subsistence Homestead Program long before Clapp ever became involved (Beezer, 1974, Haid, 1975; Pickett, 1953). Yet it does mirror parts of Dewey's community philosophy, particularly the focus on face-to-face interaction, that Clapp might be expected to endorse and follow.

It is doubtless that Clapp's approach at Arthurdale was in large part a result of her application of her experience at the Ballard School without a clear understanding of all of

the forces at work there. Her understanding of that experience does not seem to acknowledge the fact that her community school at Ballard was embedded in a community that was already functioning, albeit with its share of needs and problems. The members of the community served by Ballard were economically diverse, encompassing the spectrum from rich to poor. The people at Ballard already had established contacts, both social and economic, outside their immediate community. It was this economic diversity and connectedness with the larger world that allowed the community members to respond to local needs effectively, as in the winter of 1931 when they rallied to help out neighbors in need. Seen in this light, the need for the school to focus its learning goals beyond the immediate local context in order to best provide service to the community is clear. This point will be further explored later.

An Early Critique of Clapp's Social Philosophy

Several critics have focused their evaluations of Clapp's work on her underlying social philosophy, or more accurately, on her choice of and approach to social problems in the communities where she worked. These critiques focus on issues of politics, race, and the relationships of the teachers in Clapp's schools to the people of the communities in which they operated. It is important to analyze and understand the nature of these critiques because they speak to issues that define the very nature and roles of community, some of the most fundamental issues of social reconstruction and the good of the entire community.

In a review of Clapp's book *Community Schools in Action* (1939), Everett (1940) judged Clapp's work to be useful to administrators and teachers in understanding social problems in schools, but qualified that usefulness: "At the same time, the programs

described, and the book itself, illustrate a weakness all too common in community-school programs. There is no concrete basic social philosophy.” (p. 139). Everett’s critique mirrored on a social level the economic critique by Beezer examined earlier. He praised Clapp’s methods for using local needs as means of education, but noted,

One misses, however, in these programs, the same quality of understanding of the relationship of local problems and difficulties to the national scene and the larger society. There is real concern for the practice of democracy in face-to-face relationships, but all too little concern with an analysis of the major social problems of America or of the South of which local problems are an inextricable part (1940, p. 140).

Characterizing Clapp’s approach to the analysis of local needs as “insufficiently intellectualized” (p.140), Everett enumerated many of the larger social problems to which such local problems were related:

Issues such as those of race, farm tenancy, unionization, conservation of human and natural resources, unemployment, paternalism, dictatorship, nationalism, the maldistribution of wealth and income – in a word, the sickness of an acquisitive society – are noticeable for their almost entire absence (p. 140).

Everett generalized his conclusion to all community schooling, stating a basic principle of the social reconstructionist movement in progressive education:

It is the responsibility of those who are engaged in community education to see to it that advantage is taken of all opportunities. Indeed, helping to think through the larger social problems of American life in the present stage of our development

may very well be the first responsibility, not only of all educators, but all intelligent citizens (1940, p. 140).

John Dewey was quick to reply to Everett's review in defense of Clapp's work. Apparently sensitive about placing himself in the position of replying in Clapp's stead, he focused his reply on Everett's citation of the Dewey's introduction to the book. Dewey wrote,

I don't say this to indicate that Miss Clapp got the philosophy of her book from these writings but on the contrary to point out that the educational policy of the school as she conducted it is a beautiful exemplification of what I stated in very general terms – the necessity of beginning with the local face-to-face community and developing its potentialities and resources, human and otherwise, if any attack is to be made upon the problems of the larger society (Dewey, n.d.).

Dewey went on to criticize a tendency he perceived in contemporary thought toward beginning with the larger social problems, or using community as a mere springboard to vault into the larger scene too quickly. Directly addressing Everett's charge of insufficient intellectualization, he characterized such attempts at "socialized education" (Dewey, n.d.) as too abstract and verbal.

Everett's analysis of Clapp's work at Arthurdale, and to an extent Ballard, mirrored a tension during the 1930's between the older child-centered approaches to progressive education and a newer emphasis on social reconstruction. Dewey's reply seems to reflect a characteristic attempt on his part to reach a synthesis of the approaches, or perhaps more accurately to break down artificial boundaries between the two (Moyer, 2001). For the present purpose, however, it is necessary to note questions about how

Clapp's focus on some local problems without tying them in to a larger set of social questions affects the larger goals of her schools. More recent critiques of Clapp's social outlook have expanded on Everett's initial misgivings over the underlying beliefs and attitudes reflected.

Present-day Social Critiques of Clapp

In recent years two authors in particular have refocused attention on questions about Clapp's vision of community and social change, and by extension on larger issues of Progressive education and philosophy. Perlstein and Stack have written critiques of the approach to social problems taken by Clapp, particularly at Arthurdale, but including Ballard as well. Writing both separately (Perlstein, 1996; Stack, 2002) and together (Perlstein & Stack, 1999) they have examined in particular how Clapp dealt with questions of race, economic inequality, culture, and politics at her schools. These critiques speak to fundamental issues of community and democracy in America as well as the role of the school in addressing those issues.

Although Stack (2002; Perlstein & Stack, 1999) described Clapp's work in complimentary terms overall, he did criticize the attitudes displayed at Clapp's schools toward Native Americans as Eurocentric. He noted Clapp's use of the term 'Indian' rather than 'Native American,' and criticized the "traditional depiction of native peoples as inferior or savage" (2002, p. 99). Stack criticized plays and study units at the school for what he considered Eurocentric content in plays written by the classes and for the omission of events like the 'Trail of Tears' from history units, especially at Ballard. To Stack,

This was a serious failure to understand the diverse dimensions of democratic community and that community cannot exist in an environment of classism, racism, and inequality. These activities failed to stimulate reflection, inquiry, and questioning – essential traits of the democratic citizen (2002, p. 100).

Perlstein focused much of his critical analysis of Clapp's work on the treatment of racial issues at Arthurdale. Both of the schools at which Clapp worked were legally segregated, as previously noted. The issue of race at Arthurdale was particularly sensitive, however. During the initial planning for the Subsistence Homesteads, Eleanor Roosevelt had been determined that the communities created would be integrated (Haid, 1975; Pickett, 1953). A storm of local indignation and pressure, combined with federal administrators who were reluctant at best to work with African-Americans and foreigners, threatened to derail the project at an early stage (Haid, 1975). The homesteaders themselves were party to this unfortunate display of prejudice, writing a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt specifically asking that Arthurdale not be integrated. In the face of such opposition, Roosevelt apparently finally allowed herself to be persuaded to take the time-honored approach of throwing a figurative bone to African-Americans by scheduling a White House conference with the NAACP and including plans for 'Black' homesteads. The fact remains, however, that entire segments of the local population in West Virginia were systematically excluded from Arthurdale by planners at West Virginia University (Pickett, 1953).

Not only African-Americans but also the foreign-born and others classified as potential trouble makers were screened out, whether due to 'moral' questions or often

because of union activity (Perlstein, 1996; Pickett, 1953). Pickett rather lamely explained,

Searching questions were asked about the personal habits of the applicants; it was not the idea that Arthurdale should be a community of saints, but neither did the University committee feel justified in offering the opportunity to persons whose lack of moral character was likely to jeopardize their ability to contribute to the venture and receive benefit from it (1953, p. 54).

What was ‘moral’ was apparently decided by those who guarded the gates.

None of this situation was under Clapp’s control as Head of the Arthurdale School or Director of Community Affairs. Perlstein (1996; Perlstein & Stack, 1999) readily acknowledged that fact, but focused rather on Clapp’s lack of attention to racial and class issues at the schools. Like Everett and Stack, Perlstein believed that Clapp’s failure to acknowledge racial inequalities and subject them to inquiry at the schools damaged the ability of the school to effectively serve goals of community and democracy. Perlstein wrote, “Clapp neglected the ways our lives are inevitably shaped by social relations of inequality and domination . . . this silencing discouraged democratic politics even as it fostered residents’ democratic practices” (1996, p. 646). Perlstein singled out the use of the old slave cabin at Arthurdale as a resource for studying pioneer life without any consideration of the actual historical and social factors that had caused the cabin’s existence in the first place.

In similar fashion, Perlstein found Clapp’s omission of any study or inquiry about class conflict at Arthurdale to undermine the social reconstruction efforts of the schools. Perlstein sharply criticized the selection process for the homestead, which made a

conscious effort to exclude former union activists, for example. Whenever coal mining was actually considered at the school, such as during student plays or in studies of local resources, the subject was ‘sanitized’ of its political connections. Noting the turbulent recent history of the coal mining regions of West Virginia, from which the homesteaders had come, Perlstein questioned why the prior political activity and solidarity evidenced by the miner’s strike activities had not been used as an educational resource:

One might expect that a curriculum based on activity, interest, local conditions, and social life would highlight the most obvious questions confronting students; the structure of the coal industry or the impact of the Depression on their recent misery and the continuing misery of their former neighbors (Perlstein 1996, p. 636).

Perlstein traced this omission in part to Clapp’s and Dewey’s concept of community, which “could not exist in a climate of alienation and distrust” (Perlstein & Stack, 1999, p. 230). Perlstein attributed this “erasure of class” (1996, p. 637) at Arthurdale’s schools not to unfortunate omission or expedience, but to fundamental aspects of progressive education itself, terming the omissions “central to [progressive pedagogy’s] formulation of activity, child-centeredness, culture, and democratic participation” (p. 646).

Examining the role of teachers and other experts at Clapp’s schools brings into focus some fundamental questions about relationships in democratic communities. Perlstein identified the relationship between the teachers and students (and by extension, all other community members) at Arthurdale as a manifestation of a dilemma caused by “tensions between teacher guidance and student self-direction” (1996, p.645) in progressive education as a whole. He noted the unclear role of the teachers in the

Arthurdale community, a role that often betrayed an unequal power relationship in which the teachers made decisions for homesteaders about fundamental issues. With Stack, he wrote, “At times, the teacher’s guidance of the homesteaders dipped into condescension, and despite their efforts to integrate themselves into the life of the community, they were rightly viewed as outsiders” (Perlstein & Stack, 1999, p. 233). Stack noted the evident disapproval with which Clapp viewed the behaviors of mine camp residents who would become homesteaders, labeling her attitude “progressive paternalism” (2002, p. 101). At both Ballard and Arthurdale, the teachers assumed a leadership role in identifying local needs and developing potential solutions for them. The situation at Arthurdale particularly lent itself to teachers assuming the role of ‘reformers’ of homesteader habits of behavior and thought, because the whole purpose of the project was to rescue and restore the homesteader’s lives.

One manifestation of this unequal role, which directly mirrors the missionary attitude discussed previously in community service learning, was the teacher’s role in picking and choosing the cultural traits that would be emphasized in building community identity (Stack, 2002). Perlstein criticized the version of traditional Scotch-Irish Appalachian culture as “sentimental and sanitized” (1996, p. 637). He noted once again how Clapp had ignored more recent and politically charged cultural traits, such as “the industrial ballads that animated labor organizing,” (p. 637), seeking instead a “pure, uncontaminated culture” (p. 637) represented by old ballads like “Barbara Allen” with which to build community identity. Stack (2002) was less critical of the choices of cultural traits to be emphasized, but still decried the lack of attention to many social issues.

Once again these critiques must be contextualized in order to make a fair assessment of their import for community, service, and learning at Clapp's schools. The issues of race, social inequality, and their treatment in Clapp's schools are thorny, involving as they do a large measure of institutionalized prejudice as well as issues of fairness and democracy. Stack's critiques related to Eurocentrism in the schools' treatment of Native Americans unfortunately ignored some published accounts of the schools' studies. First, according to *The use of resources in education* (Clapp, 1952), the study of Native American cultures at Ballard included units that examined not only native Kentucky cultures but also Southwestern and other cultures, paying special attention to artistic and technological accomplishments. Clapp's description of the content used in the Indian studies of the second, third, and eighth grades simply does not bear out his charge that Native Americans were portrayed as "savage" (Stack, 2002, p. 99), but rather read as simplified versions of contemporary anthropological thought on early American cultures. Stack's critique of the fourth grade's study of indigenous Kentucky cultures for including no examination of the roots of European/Native American conflicts is directly contradicted by a published passage in the same volume. On page 55, in an excerpt from the fourth grade play, Daniel Boone's son asks him if there aren't enough resources for settlers and Indians to coexist peacefully. Boone replies that the Indians do not believe so, and that he agrees, placing the blame on the large number of white settlers coming in. This passage may not reflect the conclusions about European/Native American conflict that Stack might desire on the part of the students, but it does undeniably show that the children had been exposed to the arguments over colonial European incursions into Kentucky. Likewise, Stack criticized a passage in which members of Boone's family are

kidnapped by rampaging savages, whom Boone allegedly outwits through the “white man’s honor and cunning” (2002, p. 99). The kidnappings were historical fact, not Eurocentric fantasy (which is not to deny violent behavior on the side of European settlers as well), and in the children’s play Boone rescues his kin by sneaking into the Indian village after everyone has fallen asleep, not through some assertion of European dominance. It is arguable that practically any treatment of Native American cultures by nonexpert European-Americans will inevitably contain aspects of Eurocentrism.

However, Stack’s indictment of Clapp’s prejudicial treatment of Native Americans at her schools is largely contradicted by the published descriptions of her work and that of her teachers.

Perlstein’s critique of racial inequality and its treatment in Clapp’s schools is more supportable and therefore more troubling. Yet it too must be examined in historical context and according to all of the circumstances. The historical fact of legal segregation in Kentucky and West Virginia during the 1920’s and 30’s placed immediate limitations on what anyone could do to promote equality in those places. Given a choice between establishing segregated homesteads to help people who were suffering in terrible conditions and doing nothing because of serious local opposition to integration, Eleanor Roosevelt chose the former. It is true that Clapp did not address the race issue in her school, an omission that robs her statements about community and democracy of much credibility. Yet there is a nagging sense of unfairness in Perlstein’s indictment of the school program for not emphasizing racial tensions during a time when homesteaders, teachers, and others were simultaneously trying to establish the community from the ground up, undo what Perlstein himself described as “the brutalizing effects of

destitution” (1996, p. 645), and keep themselves alive in the bargain. A medical metaphor might not be too far-fetched: no physician should attempt to perform orthopedic surgery, no matter how badly needed, on a patient who was simultaneously undergoing chemotherapy. Perlstein’s argument is strengthened by the fact of Clapp’s omission of race issues at Ballard as well in different circumstances, however, and will bear further scrutiny in relation to the philosophical discussion in the next chapter.

Finally, Perlstein’s critique of the treatment of class struggle issues at the Arthurdale schools hits at the very heart of the idea of social reconstruction through education, but unfortunately glosses over some vital historical considerations. The labor struggles around the Scott’s Run mining camps were in reality far bloodier and more divisive affairs than Perlstein seems to acknowledge. In part this turbulence was a result of the sometimes conflicting efforts of two union organizations, the more mainstream United Mine Workers and the Communist-affiliated National Miner’s Union. Haid refers to “sporadic violence, marked by machine-gun fire and sniping” (1975, p. 13) and quotes an N.M.U. official as exhorting members to die fighting against the mine owners. The U.M.W. actively opposed the establishment of the homesteads because it feared that miners would be taken from the union, weakening its membership base (Pickett, 1953). While excluding union activists from the homesteads seems indefensible today for both humane and democratic reasons, the policy at the time seems to have been based on more than ideological opposition to unionization. There were very real reasons to suspect that union activist homesteaders could act in ways that might jeopardize the program for everyone. Once again, the need to do something for at least some of those who were suffering seems to have outweighed loftier social philosophical objections. Clapp’s

concealment of these issues raises questions about her approach to social issues, but it seems to have been related to larger policies for the homestead program overall. If Clapp insisted on defying those policies, she would likely have been replaced quickly.

Placing Clapp's work in the perspective of curriculum history can also help to clarify some of the reasons for both contemporary and present-day critiques of her work (Moyer, 2001). During the decade of the 1930's controversies had arisen within the educational profession as the advocates of child-study and a curriculum based on human development disputed with advocates of a social efficiency curriculum and later with those who believed that the school should act primarily as an agency for social change and improvement (Cremin, 1961; Kliebard, 1995). Clapp's work occurred in a climate of debate over the purposes and goals of American education. Dewey's position, as well as that expressed by Clapp (1932a) was to attempt to draw a synthesis of the child-centered and social reconstructionist positions, advocating that the experience of the child should be used to guide the child's development into an effective agent of social improvement. Dewey's reply to Everett's critique of Clapp's work is understandable when read as a statement of how the child's life experience and state of present development must be respected and used as the vehicle that drove social improvement over time. As Moyer (2001) pointed out, some of the present-day critiques of Clapp's work seem to refer to current ideas of social justice and improvement, not the particular blend of child-centeredness and social reconstruction that actually characterized the educational philosophy developed by Dewey and Clapp at the time. To be just, Clapp's work must be viewed in light of the contemporary purposes and understandings with which she operated.

Conclusion

The very public nature of Clapp's work at Arthurdale probably made it inevitable that critiques would spring up over her approaches and decisions. These critiques are repeated here mainly in order to highlight issues that apply to the present purpose, that of assessing Dewey's concepts of community, service, and learning in practice. Any real-world application of philosophical and theoretical concepts will of necessity have to contend with issues and circumstances that are not anticipated in the ideal realm. For the purposes of this study, the importance of Clapp's work lies in how she interpreted, developed, and reconstructed in practice the concepts that Dewey wrote about as ideas. The next chapter will examine the themes of community, service, and learning that can be identified in Clapp's work and discuss areas of convergence and divergence with Dewey's ideas.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF CLAPP'S PRACTICE AND DEWEY'S PHILOSOPHY

Because Dewey's concept of experience combines thought and action into a continuous whole, his concept of inquiry demands that situations be considered both in the realm of ideas and in the real-world arena of practical application. In this study, the philosophical ideas developed by Dewey and the active work done by Elsie Clapp in her schools provide the overall situation for the study of the concepts of community, service, and learning in a Progressive era context. Clapp's work was specifically designed and undertaken in order to put into practice the philosophy she had developed as Dewey's student and colleague. Dewey saw her work at her community schools as a concrete example of work based in the Instrumentalist, Pragmatic tradition in which he was a major figure. Analyzing the concepts of community, service, and learning in the light of both philosophical and practical considerations provides a clearer and more holistic picture of their meaning.

Themes of Community, Service, and Learning in Clapp's Work

The analysis of primary and secondary sources related to Clapp's work in her community schools yielded numerous ideas and practices that met the provisional definitions of community, service, and learning given in Chapter 1. This data was organized into 18 major themes or categories. The themes are listed in Table 1. In this section, each of the themes will be described, and examples from the source texts will be given.

Table 1

Themes of Community, Service, and Learning in Elsie Clapp's Work

Community	Service
Communication	Occupations
Common Interests	Cooperative Effort
Community Identity	Activity Types
Community Resources	Roles
Community Needs	
Relationships	
Enterprises	
Outside Connections	
Learning	
School as Community	
Socialized Subject Matter	
Problem Study	
Academics	
Learning Roles	
Continuing Education	

Community Themes

The ideas and events that seemed to be most closely related to the provisional definition of community were divided into 8 major themes.

Communication

The theme of communication was reflected by instances where ideas were shared among members of the community. There was also a negative aspect to communication, reflecting instances in which ideas were insufficiently communicated or shared, leading to differences in understanding or opinion.

Examples of communication relating to Clapp's schools included the discussion of school matters with community members. Clapp's initial presentation of her school plan to the school committee at Ballard and the presentation of the Arthurdale school plan to the homesteaders (Clapp, 1952) were both instances in which educational ideas were shared among members of the community. Clapp's assertion that "All matters discussed with them [women's club] before action taken by S. [presumably "school"]" (Clapp n.d.b, p. 5) reflects how the homesteaders at Arthurdale were kept apprised of school-related matters. The schools also emphasized communication in their language studies (Clapp, 1939), and their production of newspapers and magazines (Clapp, 1939; 1952).

The negative aspect of communication is most clearly reflected in the controversy over school accreditation at Arthurdale. Clapp herself attributed much of the homesteader resistance and stress over the issue to a need for better communication between the school staff and the homesteaders (1952). This need for better communication is reflected in the data. In her diary, the anonymous homesteader's wife

(Anonymous, 1937) described the kind of concerns expressed by homesteaders, along with her own reaction:

January 5, 1936 : Some people say our school isn't any good. They want us to take our children out of it and send them to the county schools. We won't. Jim and I talked. The children are happy and learning."

[Feb. 13, describing talk at men's club] "There are always two big questions: [first is about purchase of homes] Is our school the right kind of school for our children? Well, our school is a progressive school – that is what they call it. I don't know why we are so anxious for our children to have the same old kind of schools we had (p. 13).

A personal account by a homesteader reported in Wuenstel, 2002, also reflects this apparent lack of a true understanding of the progressive nature of Arthurdale's school:

Joe also explained, "Mrs. Roosevelt had a meeting with the homesteaders to see if they were agreeable to have that kind of education, and everybody agreed. But after it was all set up and everybody started to school, some families pulled their kids out and sent them down to Masontown (the adjoining town) because they didn't care for the idea, and they were some of the leaders of the community, too (p. 763).

Common Interests

The theme of common interests reflects ideas, goals, desires, and needs held in common by members of a community group. Perhaps the best illustration of the operation of common interests and how they affect community is offered by the role of

the Nursery School at Arthurdale. Clapp (1952) noted that the community truly began to come together around the operation of the Nursery School, as the homesteaders were able to see how it served the common interest of making a better life for the young children (Clapp, 1952). The same kind of interest is reflected in the work of the health program at Ballard, which included the lunch program. Community members were already united around the need to care for their children's health even before Clapp came on the scene (Clapp, 1939; 1952; Clapp, n.d.a).

At the schools the curriculum reflected the importance of common interests in many ways. Describing the second grade village studies at Arthurdale, Clapp noted, "Never before had children with whom we were working studied the building of a village when this was their own father's occupation, and the work and interest of the whole community." (1939, p. 136). The curriculum in both schools emphasized matters of local common interest such as agriculture, and cultural interests such as music (Clapp, 1939; 1952). In his plan for the Arthurdale High School, George Beecher (cited in Clapp, 1939) noted,

"The opportunities for singing and playing of instruments and the giving of plays begin to have their own development and to be a community as well as a school activity. The development of arts in the community, as well as of scientific and economic studies, depends on how well the school bridges the gap between the schoolchildren and the adults." (p. 404).

This local interest in music, which also figured in the schools' attempts to promote a community identity, led the schools to sponsor music festivals at both Ballard and Arthurdale.

Community Identity

The theme of community identity is closely related to that of common interests. Community identity refers to ideas that set a group apart or mark it as a group in the eyes of group members and others. Community identity was produced and maintained in several ways at Clapp's schools.

The role of the schools themselves in producing a feeling of community among local citizens was notable. At Ballard, this perception of community had been centered around the school for some time, and reflected to a great extent a conscious choice among the members of the community who sustained the school to associate themselves and their children with their neighbors (Clapp, 1952; Clapp, n.d.a). The role of the Nursery School in helping a community attitude to jell at Arthurdale has already been mentioned. Some observers judged the Arthurdale Schools to be the only successful agency in creating community at Arthurdale. Haid (1975) quoted project administrator Rexford Tugwell, a critic of the overall Arthurdale project, as saying, "morale at Arthurdale and conditions there were ninety percent better than in any other homestead, entirely due to the school" (p. 295).

Local history and culture were emphasized at the schools in order to help foster community identity. The study of Kentucky's past, including the lives of Native Americans and in particular folk heroes like Daniel Boone, helped the students to form a picture of their heritage at the same time that they studied basic community roles and occupations (Clapp, 1933a; 1952; Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931). Clapp noted, "In the homes of some of these children similar processes [to the kinds of pioneer skills studied] are still carried on, so they had a good deal with which to understand. And many

families, rich and poor alike, had relics from those very days that they were willing to lend for a collection” (Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931, p. 36). Thus, their research into this heritage involved not only learning from books, but also the use of artifacts from the pioneer era that belonged to community members, and through visits to local historical sites that figured in the history they studied. Students shared their experiences with the plays they wrote and performed for their fellow students and parents, helping to share the idea of a common cultural heritage for the whole community (Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931).

Similar historical studies went on at Arthurdale, using the old Fairfax cabin on the property. Miss Sheffield, the 4th grade teacher, noted,

“This old log house means a good deal not only to the fourth graders, but to the homesteaders too I think, for the cabin built by Colonel Fairfax’s sons and used by his boss slave, Watt, is so like the cabins in which some of them were born and in which many of their parents and grandparents are now living, that it seems to connect their past with their new present.” (quoted in Clapp, 1952, p. 160).

At Arthurdale, there was a conscious effort on the part of the project planners and school staff to construct a local identity around the local history and folk culture of the Appalachian Region. In an unpublished manuscript on Arthurdale, Clapp (1935a) wrote under the heading: “Development of a Rural Culture”: “The Arthurdale Community School is perforce developing for this region a rural culture.” (p. 25). The elements that would be emphasized in that culture were essentially picked and chosen by the school staff. Fletcher Collins, school director of music and drama, referred to the settlement of the area by “English, Irish, and Scotch” (Clapp 1935a, p. 25). He linked the local culture

to Western European civilization, specifically “Celtic and Germanic elements” (p. 25).

Collins referred to such folk-culture elements as fiddling, square-dancing, and handicrafts as indigenous cultural elements to be encouraged, along with ‘new’ elements such as drama and newspaper writing .

Left out of the picture of local culture that the Arthurdale Schools chose to emphasize were more recent elements such as the economic and political knowledge developed during the coal mining days (Perlstein, 1996). Collins disparaged any cultural elements that seemed ‘urban,’ writing, “Rural Americans, homesteaders at Arthurdale in particular, have thus a long, unbroken past, and are instinctively in closer touch with the traditions of the race than are Americans in urban centers” (Clapp 1935a, p. 25). He described a vision of developing a “homogeneous” (p. 27) rural culture:

What the School has been able to do for the community about the historical tradition has in one year been mainly to recognize it as a basis for common participation in the development of a rural culture. Rural people need to articulate their past, to bring it up from the intuitive to the level of expression through the study of “History”, through the composition and production of plays with historical themes and traditional spirit, through experience in collecting and recording various phases of the tradition. Once articulated, it can be or is communicated, and homogeneity on a regional or national scale can follow (Clapp 1935a, p. 26).

Community Resources

One of the most salient themes in all of Clapp’s work is the use of local resources to meet community needs. The theme of community resources encompassed any

attribute of a group or its locale that was of use to the group in its undertakings, including education. Clapp of course identified many types of resources in both Kentucky and West Virginia that were of use to the schools and communities, including geological, biological, historical, and cultural resources. Local economic activities such as agriculture, transportation, and energy resources were identified not only as topics of study but as resources of use to the community. Clapp described studies by students in the upper high school classes at both Ballard and Arthurdale that focused on identifying and cataloging the economic resources of the areas in which the students lived (Clapp, 1939).

Of particular importance, however, is Clapp's identification of personal and social abilities and needs of the community members as resources, in addition to more external attributes. Based on what she learned in her work in Kentucky, she identified other ways of thinking about resources, noting for one manuscript about Arthurdale this definition: "Resources – residual; own abilities; opportunities offered by new situation, experiences with new kind of life; new world" (Clapp n.d.b, p. 3). Describing the advantages of rural schools, she wrote, "A school in a rural district has a unique opportunity to function socially. In the country there is community, a neighborhood, linked by common interests and by intimate relationships and informal friendly discourse." (1933a, p.123). She developed at Ballard a better appreciation of Dewey's concept of the social and physical nature of environment, "And we began to understand what he meant when he spoke of the *continuity of people's environment with their own active tendencies.*" (1952, p. 31, footnote 9, italics original). Her definition of resources available to a community was

expanded to include ,

their own abilities and capacities, materials and means found in their environment, their tools and skills, their relations and associations with others, their ambitions and aspirations and the expectations and practices of their social group, their cultural heritage and tradition, and their ways and means of recreation and enjoyment (Clapp, 1952, p. 1).

Community Needs

Community needs are the problems or issues that face a social group, or at least some members of that group. This theme also included the identification of such needs, in which problems or issues are discovered and defined.

Community needs identified at both Ballard and Arthurdale were generally related to areas of education, culture, health, recreation, economics, or communication. Examples of educational needs ranged from academic deficiencies among students (Clapp, 1939; 1952) to programs for older students who were beyond traditional school age. Cultural needs included especially the need to develop a rural cultural appreciation among the homesteaders at Arthurdale (Clapp, 1935a), but also included the preservation of traditional cultural knowledge such as balladry and handicrafts (Clapp, 1939). Health needs ranged from malnutrition to the lack of rest for younger children. Recreational opportunities were limited in the relatively isolated locations of the schools, especially at Arthurdale. The needs of the local economy included the need for students to understand scientific and economic aspects of agriculture, for example (Clapp, 1952). Economic needs were particularly acute at Arthurdale, where the school participated in the search for industries or other economic activities to provide a secure economic base for the

village (Clapp, 1939; 1952). Communication was always a need in the rural areas where Clapp worked, manifested in the lack of newspapers (Clapp, 1939) and libraries (Clapp, 1952) at either community before the schools began to provide them.

Clapp emphasized that these community needs were considered to be a means of education at her schools (1939). Such needs provided an opportunity to relate the subject matter of the schools with the lives of the children and their families. They also provided an opportunity to match the resources of the community, especially the human resources, with actions that enriched the experiences of the community members.

Needs were identified by community members as well as school staff. The school staff made it a part of their job to identify such needs, not only related to education but also to all other problems. The staff studies at the schools were one forum in which needs were identified and studied (Clapp, 1952). Other needs were identified by community members who were not school staff. For example, some of the health needs of the children at Ballard had been identified by parents before Clapp became involved there (Clapp, 1952). At Arthurdale, the members of the community seem to have identified school accreditation as a need (Anonymous, 1937; Clapp, 1939; 1952), despite Clapp's belief that it was not necessary (Clapp, 1934c).

Relationships

The theme of relationships refers to the interpersonal connections shared by members of a group. Several aspects of the relationships that Clapp and others describe at Ballard and Arthurdale are important. One important aspect is the strong helping impulse that seems to have characterized the relationships of community members at

Ballard. Clapp described the bond that existed between community members considered economically ‘well-off’ and those considered less privileged:

In their comfortable and luxurious homes, the struggle for existence of the families in the little houses and cabins seems unreal, almost incredible. Yet it is the people in these privileged homes who helped to build the School and maintain it, and who are still working for it and in it . . . Interestingly, the children from all these different homes and backgrounds have been going to school together for upwards of twenty years. This is no accidental happening, but the considered choice of the well-to-do and wealthy group, who wished their children to go to school with the children of the country families who were their neighbors (1952, p. 17).

The well-off families took actions to help out their neighbors in several instances, notably during the harsh early-Depression winters, by providing relief funds and food to those in need. (Clapp, 1925; n.d.a). Clapp credited these actions in particular with bringing the school community closer.

At Arthurdale, by contrast, similar efforts by neighbors and officials to help out a family in greater need than most yielded a negative outcome when the needy family left the village (Clapp, 1935c). In that case, there seems to have been some resistance on the part of the husband of the family in question to the program of work and service at Arthurdale. Clapp carefully documented the problems that occurred in this incident in her letter to Eleanor Roosevelt.

Another important aspect of relationships in the two schools was the relationship of the teachers to the other community members at Ballard and Arthurdale. Clapp

emphasized the fact that teachers considered themselves to be functioning members of the communities they served throughout her writing (e.g. Clapp, 1933b). She credited her relationship and that of her staff with the other community members at both schools with helping to assuage fears about the unorthodox school program (Clapp, 1952). She appears to have been highly respected at both schools, as exemplified by the desire of students at Ballard to come to West Virginia to help her set up the Arthurdale School (Clapp, 1952) and the widely supported petition of the Arthurdale homesteaders for her to stay on in 1936 when it became apparent she was leaving (Clapp, 1936f). The other teachers seem to have shared this goodwill from their students, as illustrated by the personal account of Annabelle U. Mayor (Mayor & Williams, 2000). Asked which teacher was her favorite, Mayor replied, “Ah, I suppose all I had were my favorite because they were so different and they made you feel that they cared about you. They were, they finally made us realize that they were our friend (Laughs)” (p.765). Another student noted the good relationships enjoyed by the students at the Arthurdale School, which led to few discipline problems and a cooperative attitude (Wuenstel, 2002).

One negative aspect of Clapp’s relationship with other members of the communities she served was a kind of paternalism that particularly showed in her attitudes about the poor members of the school communities. At Ballard, she described the less-well-off families as “try[ing] pitifully hard to get along” (1952, p. 16) while the middle class and wealthy groups were described as “hardworking and thrifty” or “good managers” (1952, p. 16). She sometimes described the old habits and ways of living that had characterized the lives of the Arthurdale homesteaders in disapproving terms, even though she attributed their plight to conditions that were out of their control: “these

people were not slackers but workers, overtaken by a calamity that was none of their making” (1952, p. 13). She felt that they had been placed under her care to receive “rehabilitation” (Clapp, 1935b). In this role, Clapp took responsibility not only for education at Arthurdale, but also in areas such as morals, as when she went to a neighboring town to ‘fetch’ boys who had gone drinking (Wuenstel, 2000), and culture, as evidenced by her choices of which aspects of local culture would be emphasized in the schools.

Enterprises

The theme of enterprises encompasses activities undertaken by the members of the community group through conjoint effort, aimed at meeting some community need. The first and most obvious of the enterprises were of course the schools themselves. At Ballard, the school was already a community undertaking when Clapp arrived, having been founded and supported by community members (Clapp, 1939; 1952). Clapp’s work there served to enhance the cooperative effort of the school and expand its reach. The early resistance of some parents at Ballard to Clapp’s lunch plan may have been caused in part by the fact that the parents wanted to reassert their role in the enterprise of the school (Clapp, n.d.a). Clapp’s solution of inviting parents to run the lunch program fit this situation admirably. The health program at Ballard was an ongoing enterprise among local parents that was expanded both in terms of participants and consequences when it was organized under the auspices of the Ballard School (Clapp, 1939). Other examples of community enterprises at Ballard carried out under the auspices of the school were the lending library (staffed by students, supported by local donations), the food co-op and rummage sales (Clapp, 1952), and a yearly horse show (Clapp, n.d.a).

The school at Arthurdale was not an existing enterprise, but Clapp began at once to use the cooperative efforts of the homesteaders to make it so. Clapp originally planned to set up “cooperative units” (Clapp, 1934a) in order to provide for the schools. Clapp described how the men’s and women’s clubs at Arthurdale were asked to help, “The fathers and mothers were happy to do it. The men made lists of carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians & painters among the homesteaders. It is going to be just the kind of enterprise we want” (Clapp, 1934a). The diary of the anonymous homesteader’s wife describes the community’s efforts to get the school ready:

September 8 : The new school buildings are done. Tomorrow will be the first day of school. The men have worked there for a week. Today the teachers went to the school and waited while the trucks hauled all the equipment from the old houses where we had school last year. We put chairs, desks, and books into the rooms. What a good place for our children to go to school! (Anonymous, 1937, p. 12).

Clapp utilized some of the same types of enterprises as she had at Ballard to establish the Arthurdale Schools as community efforts. School lunches once again were provided mostly by the community members. The homesteader’s wife described her role in this program,

November 15: We finished the last of the canning for the school lunches today. We have 3512 quart cans of vegetables. We have 1000 bushels of potatoes that the men and boys grew and dug. Some days I thought I couldn’t spare the time to go to the canning kitchen. When I got there I found all the other women. We talked and sang and visited. It was fun (Anonymous, 1937, p. 12).

January 17 : This was my day to go to the kitchen to prepare the children's lunches. There were six of us to prepare two hundred fifty lunches. We served one or two baked potatoes, depending on size, with a piece of butter in the middle; a big cupful of carrots; two slices of bread; half a pint of milk. All that lunch for two and one half cents a day (p.13).

These quotes illustrate not only the activity involved in the enterprise, but also the community identity generated as they were carried out. School transportation was another need that was addressed through community cooperation (Clapp, 1935d). Clapp also described a benefit for the village medical fund that involved the efforts of a broad range of community members (Clapp, 1936a).

The Nursery School at Arthurdale has been discussed extensively, but should be mentioned in relation to its character as a community enterprise as well. Students, parents, teachers, and outside health officials combined to carry out this program (Clapp, 1939; 1952). The effects, so visible in the increased health and vitality of the youngest children, were tangible evidence to the homesteaders of the value and effectiveness of their community efforts.

The importance of education in guiding the cooperative effort needed for community enterprises was underscored in the efforts of the school to establish a

cooperative cannery as a source of income for Arthurdale. In a document entitled “Tentative Sketch of Cooperative Enterprises and Individual Enterprises” written with Beecher and Collins, included in a long letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, Clapp wrote,

Above all it has been learned that the growth of the cooperative will be just as slow as the mental group of its members on the community problems. Many of the men see now that a cannery would be of great value here and a possible source of income. But the cannery cannot be a reality until a large number of the men or all of them see that besides grouping together to install a cannery (whatever it involves) they would have to group together in planning the use to which their land would be put and the problems of forming together on larger scales with certain divisions of labor and responsibility. A cannery could hardly be a full success this year because the men are not ready with their farm operations to fully supply it with produce. Yet they can learn slowly through the arrangements that are made and discussed from time to time in connection with home canning, school home economics and school garden for the wisest kind of handling of farm produce (Clapp, 1935g, emphasis in original).

Community enterprises helped to create the shared identity of the communities in which Clapp worked. Clapp’s belief in this concept, shared by the teachers at her schools, is illustrated in numerous passages throughout her work. When she asked her teachers at Ballard to describe their work in terms of the community school concept, she wrote,

All the accounts noted the fact that at Ballard children from very different homes and backgrounds were learning and living together, and spoke of the mutual

understandings this fact enforced and made possible. The social functioning of the school, most of them pointed out, occurred in the children's relations with each other at school and in the relations between the teachers and the children, It occurred also, they said, in the teachers' relations with the families, and in the parents' relations with the School and its work (Clapp, 1952, p. 128).

Her retrospective analysis of the work at Arthurdale also illustrated this belief,

The distinguishing features of the life at Arthurdale were consciousness of the purpose and plan of the project and of the bearing of all events and actions upon that, and a desire on the part of the people for the project's success, which was held to be identical with success for individuals. The fact that the interests and learning of the people centered in the project and the community school gave them a fund of common experience. They all had part, one way and another, in plans and activities. So shared effort and a community of interests were also outstanding characteristics of the life there (Clapp, 1939, p. 385).

Outside Connections

The final theme related to community is outside connections. This theme refers to the types of resources used for the work at Clapp's schools that were located outside of the immediate communities in which she worked.

The presence and use of outside connections is one of the distinguishing differences between the situation at the Ballard School and that at Arthurdale. The Ballard School community was already enmeshed in a strong web of outside connections, particularly economic ones, that enabled the community to support enterprises such as their school. Thus, the school was easily able to call upon the help of the county

government for food assistance for the poorer school families during the harsh winters (Clapp, 1952). The state and county health departments were already involved in work at Ballard, and Clapp was able to enhance their work through the school's health program. Families had connections that allowed them to help develop the food co-op. The school's program reflected this web of outside connections when the students went on field trips, such as the ones to Harrodsburg to study frontier forts (Clapp, 1952; Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931). The school was able to freely blend the use of strictly local resources with numerous outside ones to further its mission of service to the community.

The situation at Arthurdale was different, partly because the community was not a long-established one, but partly also to the guiding philosophy of economic 'de-centralization' described by Pickett (1953). There was a conscious effort to exclude any outside influences that might tie Arthurdale into the larger economic picture, which was perceived by Arthurdale's planners as a source of the negative impacts that Arthurdale was meant to remedy.

The result of this philosophy was a somewhat schizophrenic attitude toward outside resources. The primary resource that provided almost all of the economic support was the Federal Government, yet this support was supplemented by some outside philanthropists who supported either the homestead philosophy or Eleanor Roosevelt (Haid, 1975). The schools utilized outside experts and resources in its health program and in its agriculture studies (Clapp, 1939; 1952), yet confined its search for an economic foundation for the community primarily to locally available resources and occupations. While the high school students studied the possibilities of glassmaking using local resources (Clapp, 1952), Clapp discouraged a suggestion (from a source unknown to me)

for encouraging a tourism industry at Arthurdale, writing to Eleanor Roosevelt, “As you know, the inn & tourist camps terrified me. I know, of course, the suggested playground use of that beautiful hill country--but not at Arthurdale, or near it ever” (Clapp, 1935i). Clapp complained to Roosevelt about a local vacuum cleaner factory trying to hire high school students for work, attempting to set limits on which homesteaders could be hired (Clapp, 1936d).

Outside connections, or their lack, also had effects on Arthurdale’s cultural and recreational activities. The community was isolated, especially during the winter. One homesteader noted in an interview years later, “And the roads weren’t paved. So that’s part of the reason too probably so much was going on in the community, because you couldn’t get out of the community that easy” (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 767). Sporting events drew teams from surrounding communities to Arthurdale, which had some of the best facilities in the area (Clapp, 1952). The cultural influences chosen to create community identity were drawn from the regional Appalachian culture, but as previously noted the school and planners carefully chose what outside cultural influences to allow.

Service Themes

Occupations

The theme of occupations referred to activities in the schools that related to the everyday activities of the community, yet also included social benefits. In most cases, these activities were related to economic activities of the community, or were career-related in some way.

Many of the types of service activities that were related to occupations were carried out in the school shops. Making school furniture and equipment was a common

activity in shop at both schools that involved mathematics as well as handicraft and tool use skills. Both schools included training in shop classes in home and school repairs that were applied to needs in the school and in local homes (Clapp, 1939; 1952). At Ballard, the eighth grade used the shop to build surveying instruments which they used to lay out ball fields for the school (Clapp, 1952).

Because farming was such an important activity in both rural communities, many of the occupations in the schools related to agriculture. At Ballard, each school class planted gardens to supplement the school lunches. These gardens were especially important in the studies of the young children concerning farming. Clapp wrote, "These school gardens followed naturally after the studies of seed germination and plant growth made the year before in the younger grades." (Clapp, 1952, p. 94). Older students carried out more in-depth studies that also yielded service benefits, such as the study of bacteria in biology that led to the school carrying out testing of milk and water for the community (Clapp, 1952). 4-H clubs were active at both schools to further learning related to agriculture and provide information about the latest knowledge to the entire community (Clapp, 1932b; 1939). Home economics was an occupation that was studied extensively in both schools, particularly in relation to the lunch programs, the healthy baby clinics at Ballard (Clapp, 1952), and the Nursery School at Arthurdale (Clapp, 1939).

Other occupations were represented at the schools as well. At Ballard, older students studied library science, clerical and secretarial skills by helping to run the school-community library (Clapp, 1939). The same occupation was studied at Arthurdale under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, and included a service to

deliver books to the homebound in the community. The Ballard seventh grade undertook a study of banks and banking, then decided with the help of a parent who was a banker to open a school savings bank. Clapp wrote,

The volume of business was small, the total of the deposits in the fifty-six savings accounts amounting to less than nineteen dollars, but out of the experience of operating the School Savings Bank the seventh graders gained some understanding of banks and their problems and responsibilities, and everyone in the School became acutely conscious of money's value and accustomed to the practice of saving (Clapp, 1952, p. 148).

This occupation was studied by the 11th/12th grade class at Arthurdale, who established a similar bank. Running the school store at both schools was the undertaking of certain classes, who studied bookkeeping and other skills at the same time. While the school newspapers and magazine at Ballard allowed the study of communication and writing, at Arthurdale the undertaking was enhanced by the addition of a community printing press run at the school, adding still another type of occupation (Clapp, 1952). The newspaper at Arthurdale became a true community enterprise where students and adults worked together.

Cooperative Effort

This theme encompasses activities of benefit to the group as a whole carried out in cooperation by multiple group members. The emphasis is on the presence of conjoint action and shared ideas of what constitutes benefit to the group.

Examples of cooperative efforts in Clapp's schools include the plays that were such an important part of the historical studies of the different classes (Clapp, Sheffield,

& Beecher, 1931; Clapp, 1939, 1952). These plays usually involved contributions from the entire class to the final product, which was performed for other classes in the school as well as parents. Clapp noted, “The success of the plays, the intense interest, the enjoyment, the growth, were due to the fact that they filled a need for all the children, satisfied desires, gave meaning to familiar things around them, or in their past” (Clapp, Sheffield, & Beecher, 1931, p. 38). Plays also fulfilled purposes for the community, such as the benefit performances put on for school and community projects (Clapp, 1939; 1952). The Christmas plays put on at Arthurdale were truly community productions, as students wrote them, performed as actors and chorus, and assisted in building stage and sets along with other community members. Parents also helped with costumes. Clapp described the efforts on the part of the students, “The High School and Night School older boys and girls built the manger, managed the lights loaned us by a Morgantown movie house, decorated the costumes. I was needed only to help. It was theirs entirely” (Clapp, 1934b). Annabelle Mayor remembered,

So, that was one time I was an angel. Only time in my life. (Laughs) It’s those kind of things that, because we weren’t all divided up. You know, it wasn’t one class did this, one class did that. All at the high school boys and girls, all of us, we got the costumes out and the paint and we painted and we did everything that was necessary so that they could...And it was kind of surprise, the costumes and all those things to the grade school (Mayor & Williams, 2000).

The newspapers and magazines at both schools were examples of cooperative efforts as well. These enterprises helped to meet communication needs for the communities as well as promoting learning in language. At Ballard, the eighth grade

produced a newspaper that detailed all of the information they had learned in their studies of Kentucky, which was made available as a resource to the rest of the school through the library (Clapp, 1952). Clapp derived her report on her fifth year at Ballard (1952) mostly from reports in the school paper, illustrating, she said, how students had become as active in the school's program as the teachers.

Cooperative effort was a vehicle to helping establish community identity at both schools. At both schools log cabins were used to illustrate the study of pioneer life in the early grades. The cabin at Ballard was constructed (with help) primarily by the seventh grade (Clapp, 1952), while an existing cabin was used at Arthurdale, which eventually came to be used as a local museum, as local citizens made donations to help furnish it in an authentic manner (Clapp, 1939). The fourth grade at Arthurdale worked together to compile a local history of the area. Their teacher, Miss Sheffield, described the purpose of the project, "We are trying to piece together the specific history of Arthurdale so that the village will be conscious and proud of its past, as any good town ought to be" (quoted in Clapp, 1939, p. 251). In the first year at Arthurdale, the seventh and eighth grade group worked together to construct a mural map of the village. Their teacher, Mr. Collins described this effort,

This project, which involved investigation of roads and crops and location of homesteads and involved also problems of color and design, use of scale drawing and some acquaintance with ratio and proportion, occupied the group for six weeks or so (quoted in Clapp, 1952, p. 51).

This project, according to Collins, yielded a much-needed *esprit de corps* to the group.

Some other cooperative efforts included the shop work of the seventh and eighth graders at Arthurdale to make playground equipment for the Nursery school. Collins described this project in some detail,

Week of September 24, 1934. Shop work centered this week on designing play equipment for the Nursery School. After a committee from the class visited the Nursery School and talked with Miss Sedman, the class designed and sketched sand shovels, wheel barrows, and saw horses for see-saws. The Seventh and Eighth graders thought up the idea of helping the Nursery School themselves, and they have been pretty intelligent about figuring out dimensions for two- to five-year-olds. Mathematics has entered functionally into this work (quoted in Clapp, 1939, p. 284).

Shop classes also made toys for the young children at Christmas.

Roles

The theme of roles in service consists of the types of activities carried out by different members of the community to benefit the community group. The different role types examined were teachers, parents, and students.

Clapp was careful to emphasize the fact that teachers were members of the community, living side-by-side with the parents of their students and sharing the same ideas, needs, and activities. Concerning this role, Clapp wrote,

The teachers are residents, neighbors. Their life is part of the community . . . The work of the school with the children – health matters, social matters – takes them everywhere, into homes, into contact with people of every kind . . . Acquaintance and shared interests encourage us to lead our lives here (1933b, p. 285).

The teachers lived in the communities at Ballard and Arthurdale. This was considered a necessity, and even county-supplied teachers who did not originally commit to living in the community at Arthurdale eventually asked to do so (Clapp, 1952). One Arthurdale teacher, “Lucille” described her role as community member,

You had to live in the community. We did something in the community almost every night. It was either a woman’s club or a square dance or something up at the weaving room or something you participated in. You participated in all the community activities. You were just sort of part of a family. I did something in the community every night. It wasn’t just a day job (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 767).

Following Dewey’s idea that the teacher should be a leader in identifying and addressing community needs and problems, the teachers at Clapp’s schools undertook the task of surveying the communities at Ballard and Arthurdale, not only for the types of physical and social resources of use to the schools, but also for needs and problems. The teachers of course took the lead in identifying the educational needs of students at Ballard and Arthurdale (Clapp, 1935a; 1939; 1952; n.d.a; n.d.b). They not only assessed the students’ academic needs, but also carried out staff studies that helped them to correlate the needs of the students’ social lives with school subject matter. They then designed and guided the types of projects that were designed to meet the student’s social needs.

Clapp credited the teachers’ visits to the homes of families at Ballard and the close communications with homesteader families with helping teachers to identify health-related community needs (Clapp, 1952). Teachers in the schools took a very direct role in setting up the health examinations, nutritional programs, and other health-related service activities. At Ballard, a start had already been made in meeting health needs, but

at Arthurdale the needs were more acute and the services less organized (Clapp, 1939).

Identifying health needs at Ballard also helped to point up recreational needs of the students and the community at large (Clapp, 1952).

Clapp and her teachers had very little prior background in the needs and challenges of rural communities and schools, coming as they did from a privileged Eastern background (Clapp, 1939; Stack, 2002). They had to learn about the social needs of the community at Ballard as they went along. Clapp wrote,

It was in Kentucky that we first made acquaintance with the life and problems of a remote rural area . . . Where we learned fully the needs for health measures, recreational facilities, and cultural enrichment which a remote rural area presents. Where the reorganization of subject matters for use in a rural school, and the use of these in interpreting to the children their lives and surroundings, led us into the conception of a socially functioning school (1939, p. 3-4).

When they went to Arthurdale, they clearly had ideas already about what kinds of services and activities would be necessary and appropriate in that setting.

The role of parents and other adult community members in the activities of the schools was varied, but seems to have consisted more in providing the wherewithal for the schools functioning more than anything else. At Ballard, the wealthier parents in particular seem to have been accustomed to more of a leadership role, as illustrated by the lunch program controversy and their prior work in health and other matters (Clapp, 1952). Ballard parents also took a part in setting up the food co-op and rummage sales at the school (Clapp, 1952). However, most of the service activities carried out by parents and other adults seem to have involved providing food, raw materials, artifacts and other

educational resources, and labor for school projects (Anonymous, 1937; Clapp, 1939; 1952). The specific roles parents played as learners and in other aspects of the school's educational program will be discussed under the learning themes.

Clapp summed up the role of the student in her schools as “young members of the community” (Clapp, 1935a, p. 19). As such, their role was to practice the activities and roles they would carry out as adults, but also to live out the role of community members in their present level of development. Their activities, particularly as related to service, were guided by the teachers. Clapp does not describe instances where the students spontaneously suggested their own projects to be carried out in the schools (although she does point out times when the students were resistant because the topics of study were outside their experience). Yet the student role in planning and carrying out school service projects was an active one. One student remembered how teachers would present projects to the class, then open up the planning process to the students,

He would give you a theme or whatever you want to call it, okay? What we gonna work on, what we gonna talk about? What we gonna say? Then the students would give their ideas of what to put into it, see? Then we put all, took out, put up, took out some of the ideas, put in some ideas, put it all together and then that was it (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 764-765).

This democratic approach to school studies reflected the type of role that it was hoped students would carry out as adult community members.

Activity Types

This theme was intended to classify the types of service activities carried out at Clapp's community schools by their main purpose. The main types of service activities included cultural activities, which were activities related to the shared ideas that conferred a community identity. Health activities referred to the physical and mental well-being of community members. Economic activities referred to service actions that related to the economy of the community. Communication activities related to the sharing of ideas among community members and from other groups.

Examples of cultural activities at Ballard and Arthurdale include the project intended to compile and preserve local history at Arthurdale, discussed previously. Other cultural activities included the singing and preservation of traditional ballads at Arthurdale (Clapp, 1935a; 1952), the studies of Native American and pioneer life at both schools, particularly because of the plays that were written and shared among students and parents at the schools (Clapp, 1939; 1952). The cabins that were furnished as learning resources and museums were also cultural service activities. The Christmas programs were important celebrations of community togetherness at the schools. Numerous other examples of service activities intended to learn about, share, and preserve these kinds of artistic and historical shared ideas are present throughout Clapp's work.

Health-related activities were considered by Clapp to be among the most important carried out at her schools (Clapp, 1932; 1932b; 1933a; 1939; 1952). Health was a major focus in the schools' home economics programs, including not only nutrition but also child care. The Nursery School at Arthurdale in particular provided a venue in

which students could perform service activities for the community, alongside mothers who were there to help and learn, and with teachers who could act as experts as well as community members (Clapp, 1952). The school health program integrated many types of studies, as Clapp noted for Arthurdale, “We shall give under the NYA project a course in practical nursing this year. Courses in physiology, some simple work in bacteriology, chemistry of foods, cooking, hygiene, exercise, rest periods, athletics, all reinforce the medical program” (Clapp, 1935a, p. 18).

The health programs have been discussed previously, but it must be emphasized that these activities were intended to affect not only the children in the schools, but also the other members of the communities as well. Clapp asserted that “Our work in Kentucky had shown us that health and recreation services were – made – a good community relation, if needed – as they were here [referring to Arthurdale]” (Clapp, n.d.b, p.1). Students at Ballard put on a health fair to share their learning about hygiene, nutrition, and other issues with parents and others (Clapp, 1952). Students and homesteaders together put on a benefit for the Arthurdale medical fund that featured a concert and two plays by the high school students (Clapp, 1936a). The school was the focal point for health activities, but the entire community benefited.

Economic service activities have also been discussed previously. The agricultural studies at both schools were aimed not only at training future farmers among the students, but also at disseminating current knowledge about plants, soils, animal husbandry, and other topics (Clapp, 1952). Much of the work in science at both schools dealt with botany, biology, soils, and farm-related topics (Clapp, 1935a; 1939; 1952). At

Arthurdale, some students even studied bee-keeping as a potential local economic activity, researching costs and prices and even producing beehives for sale (Clapp, 1952).

Other economic service activities included classes in home and school repairs at Ballard (providing job training as well as service benefits), library science, bookkeeping, and accounting through the library program and the school banks (Clapp, 1939), and furniture-making in both school shops. Production of crafts such as quilts and furniture was studied and carried out by adults and students at Arthurdale as a local economic activity (Clapp, 1939). The high school students undertook a detailed study of local economic resources and opportunities at Arthurdale, focusing on an investigation of glassmaking with local resources as part of their study of inorganic chemistry (Clapp, 1939). Other high school students studied bacteriology, and performed milk and water testing for the community (Clapp, 1952).

Service activities that related to communication included the school libraries, which offered service to the communities as a whole (Clapp, 1939; 1952). Classes often made the results of their studies available to the rest of the school or the community by placing them in the school libraries, such as the book on medicinal plants produced by the sixth grade at Ballard (Clapp, 1952) or the local botanical record compiled and printed by the ninth grade at Arthurdale (Clapp, 1939). School newspapers and magazines were produced at both schools, eventually expanding to cover community news and issues as well as school topics. The staff at Arthurdale made a special staff study of communication needs, including the social uses of language (Clapp, 1952).

Learning Themes

School as Community

This theme concerns ways that community was created in the school's program and structure. Like Dewey's concept of school as embryonic community, this theme combines aspects of child-centered progressive education, where the experiences, interests, and needs of the child drive the curriculum, with aspects of social reconstruction, where the school attempted to replicate desired characteristics of the ideal community in its functioning.

The schools at Ballard and Arthurdale both used the approach of integrating the school "environment" (Clapp, 1939, p. 21), understood as the interaction of the physical and social characteristics of the community in interaction with the needs, interests, and abilities of the community members (Clapp, 1952), into the schools' curriculum and activities. This focus on the community and its needs also served to involve the interest and cooperation of the parents as well. Clapp considered this parental involvement to be a benefit for the entire community, writing, "one community service which these programs rendered was to call forth help from all the parents" (1939, p. 21).

Because of this focus on the environment in which the school was located, Clapp and her teachers at Ballard were soon forced to change their concept of what the school community really meant. Her understanding of the purpose of a progressive school was that it should promote the growth of each child in his or her social relationships (Clapp, n.d.a). She wrote that what she had in mind was the shared activities and social relationships "within the community of children at the school", but discovered "in a community's school like Ballard, the community is not the school community, as it is in

most progressive schools, but the whole neighborhood of which the school is a functioning part” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 9-10). When the resources and needs of the community were brought into the educational program of the school, the activities of the school were naturally integrated into those of the community. Clapp wrote,

“In the school life which is part of the community’s life, the child’s capacities increase; living, working, and playing with other children and with the older people who are his teachers, the child through these associations develops and gains not only the ability to get on with other people, but also an understanding of his part in shared enterprises both at school and in the neighborhood[s] (sic) in which he lives.” (Clapp, n.d.a, p 9-10).

At Ballard, the school became a center for recreation and other social activities in the community (Clapp, 1952). The active interests of the community began to permeate the life of the school. With this effect in mind, Clapp attempted to enhance the usefulness of the school at Arthurdale by designing the buildings there as a reflection of a community design (Clapp, 1939), with the many possible needs of the community in mind (Wagner, 1938). In her initial budget for the Arthurdale project, submitted to Director of Subsistence Homesteads M. L. Wilson, Clapp wrote, “The school and community center is to be the hub of life of the 200 families which will live in the community.” (Wilson, 1934).

Most of the units of study at Clapp’s schools were designed to involve students in actively carrying out the roles and occupations of their communities. The younger children at Ballard (grades one through six) studied the roles and basic occupations of communities in general, mainly through the medium of local history. The first grade

study of farming integrated a local economic activity that could be expected to be familiar to all students, but also provided an introduction to a fundamental human role of food producer (Clapp, 1952). Second graders began constructing their own community, building houses, streets, and other structures. A unit on electricity survives in the Elsie Clapp Manuscripts that was apparently connected to the second grade village studies at Ballard (Electricity Unit, 1932). They took their village ‘play’ seriously, planning out each day’s activities, acting out the roles they had chosen, and writing stories with their teacher about the activities they had carried out (Clapp, n.d.a). As children progressed through the grades, they took up studies of Native American and pioneer life in Kentucky, integrating occupations ranging from gathering food to weaving, pottery, and building furniture and shelter (Clapp, 1952). Clapp wrote of how the activities of the pioneer studies were much like the lives of the children, but “stripped of hardships and tinged with romance” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 18). The plays they wrote and performed served to solidify the roles and occupations they acted out in their studies as fundamental aspects of their own community identity.

At Arthurdale, many of the same studies were undertaken by the young children, but there they had the added advantage of building their miniature villages even as their own actual town was constructed (Clapp, 1952). The roles and needs of the children’s village took on an added significance when they mirrored what was going on in the adult world around the students. The ways in which the occupations carried out in normal community life provided needed service to all group members was highlighted as the community began to gel around the school (Clapp, 1952). The pioneer studies showed

the need for cooperative effort by simulating the situations in which such effort was needed.

The course of study pursued by the older students mirrored this integration of community roles and occupations, but on a larger and more complex scale. At Ballard, the seventh and eighth grades studied Native American and early Kentucky history in greater detail, carrying out larger and more complex undertakings such as building a replica of a pioneer cabin and writing more sophisticated plays about pioneer life. The eighth graders in 1930 produced a 'newspaper' for the school that detailed what they had learned. Older students branched out even further, studying Classical, medieval, and renaissance culture, but with emphasis on occupations, community roles, and connections with their own lives such as farming (Clapp, 1952). By the final year of Clapp's work at Ballard, the older students had taken over running many programs at the school, such as the Safety Council and the Orchestra, both of which were begun by the teachers (Clapp, 1952). The school had grown to include a tenth grade, which supplied officers for a student council that was "organized to grapple with school-community problems" (Clapp, 1952, p. 156). The school newspaper and magazine helped to communicate the activities of the school and tie them together in the minds of students and other community members as part of an integral school-community program (Clapp, 1952).

At Arthurdale, the organization of the high school (except for the seventh and eighth grades) was by courses of study, based on the major areas of interest expressed by the students (Clapp, 1939). George Beecher, the high school principal, described the groupings,

One, Science and Mathematics as applied to everyday life, with such practical additions as Home Economics, Shop work, and reading and spelling.

The other, Economics as it applies to everyday life and industry, History, Arithmetic, and practical calculations, and reading . . . The third grouping . . . has definitely more mature leanings towards the arts and Literature, Library work, and Music – even teaching has cropped up (cited in Clapp, 1939, p. 280).

These divisions represented the types of occupational roles the students expected to carry out in their community. Local resources and problems were integrated into study across the curriculum, from study of local weather and geology in science to the uses of language in the community. Economic occupations played a major role, focusing not only on the existing community occupations such as agriculture and construction, but also possible future economic activities such as glassmaking (Clapp, 1939).

The foundations of the community emphasis at the Arthurdale schools were democracy and the cooperative activities of community life. These concepts were explicitly stated in the school philosophy (Clapp, 1952),

Faith in democracy and confidence in the ability of an enlightened people to govern themselves in economic and political affairs will be accepted as a fundamental doctrine. Consequently, democratic procedures will predominate in the administrative and instructional activities of the school (p. 9).

The community activities will constitute the laboratory through which the children get their educative experiences – the grade projects and other agricultural activities – the social activities and civic projects, the care of the home, all will be

shared by the schoolchildren under the guidance and leadership of the teachers (p. 9, italics original).

This means that the real learning experiences of the school will come chiefly through the vocational life of the community. Industrial arts, specimens of living animal life, museums, library, applied art, home economics, music, elementary science, citizenship problems, will constitute the core of all school activities.

Lifelike problems will constitute the curriculum material, rather than the conventional school subjects (p. 10, italics original).

Socialized Subject Matter

This theme refers to the ways in which the curriculum of the school was placed into a social context. There were two main aspects of socialized subject matter at Clapp's schools: the connections with the lived experience of the students, and the social use and functioning of the knowledge and skills being studied. Like the two functions of the school as community discussed above, these two aspects of socialized subject matter illustrate how the goals of child-centered progressive education and social reconstruction through education were integrated concepts in Clapp's educational scheme.

The connections between the experiences and common interests of the group and the subject matter of the school were a major focus of the staff studies at both schools (Clapp, 1939; 1952). Clapp referred to the need to find "common denominators of life" (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 1) that connected what was studied in the school with what the students knew in their everyday lives. The work at Ballard had illustrated this need, particularly in the isolated rural setting of that school:

As the work progressed it became evident that the children not only lacked facility in using the learning tools, but that the experiences they had had and the knowledges they possessed had not, apparently, been linked with school learnings. The need for common denominators of understanding was no doubt heightened by the fact that the life-experiences of many of the children had been meager. However, if they were to comprehend what they were learning, we must enable them to make connections between what they knew and what the books at school said. To do this we had ourselves to become acquainted with the things they did in their outside-school living and the knowledge they possessed (Clapp, 1952, p. 24, emphasis mine).

The approach used by Clapp and her teachers was to begin with the “familiar and near-at-hand” (Clapp, 1933a. p. 286), starting with the children’s experience. Therefore, the early grades began by studying the kinds of activities and occupations going on around them, as with the village studies carried out by the youngest students at Ballard and Arthurdale (Clapp, 1939; 1952). As the students grew older, they would move further away in time and space, as with the studies based in local history. Clapp cautioned against moving too far too fast, illustrating this point with the case of the 6th graders during the first year at Ballard (Clapp, 1952), who responded in a negative fashion to a unit of study based on the settlement of the Mississippi Valley that was developed for them, but did far better studying current events. Even in the older grades, attempts were made to find commonalties between local life and the topics being studied, such as when the 9th graders at Ballard focused their study of Roman culture on the agriculture and small village aspects of that civilization (Clapp, 1952). As older students

studied the local economic and cultural resources in their communities, the connections between the work of the school and the activities of the community remained vital. The study of “economic geography” (Clapp, 1939, p. 57) was important at both schools as the older students examined not only the available resources of their area but also the uses to which they were put, and the connections produced between their locality and other communities.

Socialized subject matter also denoted the social functioning of the school subjects. According to Clapp, at Ballard, “the reorganization of subject matters for use in a rural school, and the use of these in interpreting to the children their lives and surroundings, led us into the conception of a socially functioning curriculum” (1939, p. 4). School subjects were viewed as “organizations of men’s interests and achievements” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 7), separated in their logical organization but integrated in their social functioning. Clapp explained how the traditionally separate school subjects came to be socially functioning in the work of the community school:

What is meant by social study is study for enterprises essentially social in character of facts and subjects required for their execution. In a school of a community, a socially functioning school, the plan is to have educative experiences that will direct children’s growth and enable them to participate intelligently and actively in the life of their community. The school uses the life at the school, the shared enterprises and the learning that results from them, as a means of interpreting to the children the meaning of their lives and of working together for common ends. In the work of the school, which is a part of the work and life of the community, programs of classes, units of work, subject matters, are

used instrumentally; and knowledge is sought about the problems and resources of the community (Clapp, 1939, p. 48).

The integration of subject matter with community occupations and needs in the work of the school gave deeper meaning to the subjects and transformed their use. Clapp wrote,

Work carried on as a shared undertaking by the community gains wider and deeper social significance. Changes are wrought in subjects studied. When they have the motivation and purpose of community serviceableness, they become *in fact* socially functioning subject matters (1938, p. 90, italics original).

It was thus the job of the school to place the subjects it taught in the proper relationship to the activities of the social group, a relationship of benefit to the community as a whole.

The schools at Ballard and Arthurdale attempted to construct curricula that integrated school subject matter into the social life of their respective communities. The “touchstone” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 9) for selecting subjects for study was their social use. In the staff studies carried out at the schools, all of the traditional subjects were examined for their social importance. Thus, language and mathematics came to be viewed as ways of accomplishing social purposes, studied in their use rather than for themselves. Clapp wrote, “Mathematics, socially speaking, is a tool, a means.” (1939, p.49). The school emphasized the use of math in solving social problems, needs. Language was seen as intrinsically social: “we began to get a glimpse of the particular kind of expression that language is – shared meanings of experiences, relationship of ideas and feelings” (1939, p. 51). History and science melded seamlessly into the study of life in the community

through the use of community resources, while language and math were integrated into the purposes of the students as they studied the community.

A few examples of how subject matter functioned socially will help to illustrate this concept. The electricity unit from Ballard discussed earlier contains a note from the (anonymous) instructor who prepared it stating that “current problems concerning almost every phase of living are brought out by a study of electricity” (Electricity Unit, 1932). The rationale for the unit noted that it utilized arithmetic, reading, expression , and “use of hands” (Electricity Unit, 1932). The second grade village study at Arthurdale integrated math as the village was laid out and reading as the students recorded the activities of the day. Students studying pioneer life kept notebooks in which they recorded what they learned about occupations like weaving (Clapp, 1952). The economic geography studies at Ballard integrated geography, geology, language, history, mathematics, and many other subjects (Clapp, 1952). The high school groupings at Arthurdale directly reflected the social occupations that interested the students in each group (Clapp, 1952). The non-traditional way of organizing the school curriculum worried some members of the community, but the students felt that it was relevant to their lives. Annabelle Mayor stated, “Now we had a few people that said we weren’t learning anything, but we did learn because it wasn’t the conventional type of schooling. And it was things we could use after school was over, after high school” (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 764).

Problem Study

This theme refers to the organization of the learning in the schools around issues and needs faced by the community, or by human beings at any level. It includes not only

the specific examination of problems in the community, but also the integration of school subject matter in studies that are centered around problems.

Describing her vision of the meaning of progressive education, Clapp wrote, “It represents an attempt to use to the full the resources of the environment, to discern the needs of the people, and to use the opportunities the school provides to answer those needs” (1932b, p. 50). She clearly identified community needs and problems as educational resources for the school (Clapp, 1952). The needs of the people determined the character of the problems studied. In this sense, the term ‘problem’ does not necessarily carry a negative connotation, but rather that of a situation in need of some resolution through thought and action.

Problems that were studied at Clapp’s schools include the types of health, recreation, and economic needs already discussed, but also included less obvious needs such as education and ways of living together. The teachers undertook much of the study of educational needs, organizing their staff studies around the problem of how to relate the school subject matter to the social needs and abilities of the students and their community (Clapp, 1952). For example, when the staff at Arthurdale studied language needs, they moved away from the traditional conception of the school subject of English to an experientially-based concept of the use of language in meeting personal and community needs (Clapp, 1939). They factored in the known educational needs of the students they taught as well as the larger questions of the functions of language in society (Clapp, 1935a; 1939). The lack of adequate prior academic instruction for the Arthurdale children was, at least in theory, to be viewed as a community need or educational opportunity rather than an obstacle (Clapp, 1939).

The village studies at Clapp's schools may be viewed as examples of learning organized around the problem of how people live together. Clapp noted,

This village program presented, of course, many opportunities to live and work together. Questions arose and were threshed out regarding the right of way across roads, the duties of the different workers in the Village, and the responsibility for the upkeep of the village road – civic problems which the children found also in their classroom life and activities. “Our morning discussions,” Miss Carlisle writes, “have been very helpful. We make plans of the Village, and for the day’s work, discuss individual responsibilities, respect for others . . . It is a time when the children exchange ideas and make plans together” (1952, p. 47).

In a like manner the basic occupations of living, such as the acquisition and preparation of food, clothing, and shelter, were studied as part of the Native American and pioneer studies in older grades (Clapp, 1939; 1952). As children grew older, the examination of these occupations grew more complex and expanded into a larger scale. Thus, the 8th graders at Ballard studied not just pioneer life but also government and economics in early Kentucky (Clapp, 1952), expanding their understanding of what human beings need to do to live. High school students not only considered the problems of living in more detail in their occupation-related studies, but also considered increasingly abstract kinds of problems. The study of “Local Problems” (Clapp, 1952, p. 116) at Arthurdale was centered around the very real community need for some type of economic base to supplement the subsistence farming done by the homesteaders. Clapp described the plan for these studies in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt,

For some time past the staff and I have been developing plans, many of which are already started, for work with the older high school students that will investigate and develop and study out, possibilities of the development later by older individuals in the community of small businesses. The students can test out and study into markets for various commodities such as honey, tree nurseries, cheese, chickens and eggs, quilts, clay, berries, etc. They are capable of training in the scientific care of these things so that as the next adults they will be well equipped for later use of these facts (Clapp, 1935e).

As it played out, these studies involved integration of science, language, math, and social science subject matters, as illustrated by the example of the study of glassmaking. Students identified resources and markets, researched pricing, built and tested a glass furnace, and wrote a report describing their findings (Clapp, 1939; 1952). The entire science curriculum at the school was aligned with community needs, including consideration of health, economic, and other social problems.

Academics

This theme relates to how the more traditional school subjects were integrated into the school program. As the above discussions of socialized subject matter and problem study make clear, the traditional academic subjects were viewed as organized expressions of human interests and activity (Clapp, 1928; 1939), or as “tool subjects” (1952, p. 63) rather than as intrinsically necessary approaches to learning. The teachers at Ballard brought considerable experience in progressive, child-centered approaches to education, yet they still had to learn through experience and inquiry how academics should be approached in a community school program. Clapp wrote,

A difficulty we encountered at the outset and that occurred throughout our study of mathematics was the fact that we, like many teachers, had fixed in us the notion that elementary mathematic facts and principles were, first and foremost, a prerequisite – to promotion, to “higher” mathematics, to work in science, etc. – rather than a requisite for the solution of problems that arise daily in living and in learning (1952, p. 86).

The ways in which subject matter would be integrated into the study of community problems and interests had to be worked out on the ground, primarily through the staff studies described previously.

Clapp noted that the integrated, child-centered approach to school subject matter in her schools did not preclude some fairly traditional types of direct instruction. Of the program at Ballard, she wrote,

All this learning is active, yet information or skill is often acquired directly. We use materials in a thousand ways many times a day; classes in mathematics, in spelling, in reading, and in writing; indeed, classes in all these tool subjects fill much of the time, for they have special social values, since they increase the child’s literacy, advance his education, and also prepare him to earn a better living than his father (Clapp, 1932a, p. 61).

She referred to using standardized tests to assess the academic skills of students at Ballard (1952), and described “reading, writing, and number work” (1952, p. 35) through traditional means at Arthurdale.

Much of the academic learning at the schools was, however, undertaken in the process of studying local problems or otherwise through more active projects. Clapp

provided a description from her Second Grade teacher at Ballard of how academic subjects were approached in the village studies:

“The work in building the Village,” Miss Carlisle reports, “required addition, subtraction, and some knowledge of fractions; it also required measuring – use of linear measure in cutting the doors and windows of the houses. Dry and liquid measures are both used. Of course, in our cooking and preserving. Number work is done also in village play in buying and selling groceries and in the business transacted at the bank” (Clapp, 1952, p. 47).

Students also wrote stories each day about what they had done in the village, recording actions in their notebooks.

The eighth Grade at Ballard used mathematics and shop class principles to make surveying instruments to lay out athletic fields and gardens for the school (Clapp, 1952). Clapp wrote, “The work,” Mr. Saunders reports, “included practically all the mathematic principles we were studying – number relationships, balance, whole-and-part relations and, of course, geometry” (p. 101). Students at Arthurdale used the same approach, as described by some students:

So, we got to do things that we felt we were, that we’d like to know about. So, the first year, I had electrical shop and then in our science class we learned through that the shop how to make a transit. Then, that was when they were rerouting Route 92 that goes through. The present one. So, we got to take our transits and go out and survey with the teacher guiding us. I guess we did a pretty good job, from what he said. It was just a fun thing you know. And we knew all

about 92. You know. If anybody could ask, wanted to ask, our class could tell you all about it. So, you know, a little bit special (Mayor & Williams, 2000).

Our math teacher and our shop teacher got together and decided we should make transits and survey the area they were going to put the new highway in. And this was fun because in our science class we also made the transit and the leg length of the transit. So it was a combination of the three classes just to do that project (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 762).

Academics were thus placed in their social context, approached through their functioning in the activities of the community rather than in isolation.

Learning Roles

This theme concerns the parts played by different members of the community in the learning activities that took place in connection with the schools. The three types of roles examined are teachers, parents and other adults, and students.

The role of the teachers in the operation of the schools involved several issues. Teachers were first of all charged with studying the needs and resources of the community and aligning them with the school subject matters to produce the school curriculum. The teachers' status as community members allowed them to identify the resources and needs of the community as insiders who shared the common ideas and aims of the community (Clapp, 1933; 1939). Their primary contribution was their specialized training and experience in education. This experience, wrote Clapp, would allow the teachers to,

see what aspect of the needs and problems constitute conditions that will affect children. More than most, they [teachers] are accustomed to arrange conditions,

to push things along and to try to foresee consequences; to hunt for facts, use them, test them in use, consider negative instances, replan, and work again on reformulated or supplementary lines (Clapp, 1933b, p. 283).

Note the similarity between this description and the steps in Dewey's model of inquiry. The teacher's role was to conduct inquiry into the social needs of the community and develop actions that were intended to meet those needs in the context of the socially-functioning school. Clapp (1933b) noted that this role was intended to be a collaborative one, carried out in cooperation with the other members of the community, who would also contribute to the undertaking from their own unique ability and experience (Clapp, 1933).

The best example to illustrate this role of the teacher was the staff studies carried out at both schools, which served as forums for the teachers to align what they knew about school subject matter with their knowledge of the community's resources and needs. As Clapp noted (1939), this was a process of learning for the teachers at Ballard in particular, but even at Arthurdale the staff continued to learn how to carry out the social functions of the school. In a manuscript on the Ballard School (Clapp, n.d.a) Clapp described the teacher's evaluation of their first year's work there, in which they used students' descriptions of what education meant as a criterion. They felt that they had used the children's interests and concerns well, but still had an incomplete understanding of the children's lives at their various ages.

Interestingly, some of the teachers at Arthurdale were supplied by the state of West Virginia, and thus were untrained in the progressive methods of the community school. When they expressed concern about their ability to contribute, Clapp assured

them that “they were valued for what they knew how to do” (Clapp, n.d.b, p. 1), namely teaching the remedial academic skills in which the students were felt to be deficient.

Other staff members contributed from their own areas of expertise as well, as in the case of Fletcher Collins, who was an expert in the regional culture of the Appalachian Mountains (Clapp, 1935a). The work of the teachers was a collaborative endeavor rather than one carried out in isolation.

The role of the parents and other adults in the community was, as discussed above, intended to be a collaborative one with the teachers in constructing the social curriculum of the school. In practice, however, the teachers took the lead in most of the school undertakings because they had the requisite experience. Clapp wrote of discussing the work of the schools with parents at Ballard (1952) and the men’s and women’s clubs at Arthurdale (Clapp, n.d.b). At Ballard the school committee representing the parents had approved her plan and hired her as school director (Clapp, 1952). The teachers and parents at Ballard also collaborated to write a grant proposal, which though ultimately unsuccessful did give those involved the opportunity to develop together a plan for the kind of school they envisioned for their community (Clapp, 1952). The Arthurdale homesteaders were given a similar opportunity to approve the plan for their school, but as discussed previously the degree to which they understood exactly what they were approving was somewhat questionable. The controversy over school accreditation at Arthurdale, by Clapp’s own admission (1952), raised questions about the quality of communication as to the school’s functioning between the teachers (especially Clapp) and the other members of the community.

Another aspect of the parent's role was as learners. The health programs at Ballard were aimed as much at the parents as the students at the school (Clapp, 1952), and there were frequent opportunities for parents to come to both schools to see the products of their children's learning. One student described how parents were included in the programs and learning of the school at Arthurdale,

In school, all parents were welcome to come and watch what we were doing.

They were involved at night, not every night, say one or two nights a week maybe in activities we were learning in school like the Virginia Reel and things like that that we were taught, and they came and participated. We were encouraged to do many projects that involved our parents and other members of the community(Wuenstel, 2002, p. 767).

The well-baby clinics and the Nursery School at Arthurdale were examples of outreach programs for local parents as well.

The role of the students at the school was obviously to be learners, but that role was not a passive one. The learning at the schools was active, through projects and undertakings as well as some more traditional instruction. One important aspect of this role was the collaborative nature of the projects undertaken in both schools. Clapp described how the younger students at Ballard would select members of their class to go on field trips to local resources, then report back to the class what they had learned (1939). George Beecher described how the eighth Grade at Ballard collaborated on their studies of 19th-century Kentucky,

Each individual went through experiences in the group life in one phase or another of which he could be constructive. The boys in the class who were not in

the research habit of mind eventually shared what interests they had and became factors in the group study through painting or drama or familiarity with the environment, and supplemented the other members of the class who could draw on books, experience, and family for such information. The educative value of the program was precisely the extent to which individuals were met as such and made sharers in the studies (Clapp, 1952, p. 75).

Students also shared their learning with other grades and classes with their plays, the materials they developed for the libraries, and through plays.

Another important aspect of the student's role in Clapp's schools was the democratic way in which projects and other undertakings were developed with teachers and peers. Wuenstel (2002) included descriptions from some students of how the group activities were planned:

Joe stated that, although at times there were paperwork assignments, in many instances, group decisions were made on the creation of projects and assignments by the students. He described a teacher's method of accomplishing this, "He would give you a theme or whatever you want to call it, okay? What we gonna work on, what we gonna talk about? What we gonna say? Then the students would give their ideas of what to put into it, see? Then we put all, took out, put up, took out some of the ideas, put in some ideas, put it all together and then that was it" (p. 764-765).

Another student described the excitement engendered by this approach, "We enjoyed our classes and never really wanted to be absent because we were afraid we'd miss out on something exciting that was going on. We did have

textbooks for part of our classes, but most of it was hands-on experience. . . . We didn't always know what we were going to do in our classes the next day because maybe that day you decided to stay home was a day they decided to have a play. You would lose out on part of the planning, and you didn't want to do that because we were always part of the planning for activities (p. 764).

The emphasis on democracy thus extended beyond student councils and other structural concerns into the very heart of the schools' functioning.

At the same time, there seems to have been a lack of deep understanding as to the school's program among students. Asked what students thought of the progressive structure of their school, one student replied, "Actually, I don't think we were interested in finding that out. We were happy with what we were doing" (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 763).

Another described confusion as to how the school class system worked,

I was in class with Mr. Ipcar. He had Social Studies, I guess it was. Anyhow, we had to write an essay or something. I wrote an essay about how none of the high school students knew what grade they were in – Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, or Senior (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 763).

Students were also apparently not aware that their school was not accredited by the state, and ran into difficulty getting into colleges because of it (Wuenstel, 2002).

Overall, however, the students seem to have had a positive view of their experiences at the Arthurdale Schools (Taylor, 1941; Wuenstel, 2002).

The role played by Elsie Clapp herself at her schools should be examined as well. At the Ballard School, she carried out the role of community leader, but this role had to be negotiated and shared with other, more established leaders in the community. She

was, after all, an employee of the school, and her actions were subject to the oversight of the school committee, parents, and others. She always emphasized her status as just another community member, sharing the undertakings and aims of her neighbors (Clapp, 1939; 1952).

Although she continued to emphasize that role at Arthurdale, Clapp has a position in that community that was larger and more controlling there. She was officially both Director of the Arthurdale Schools and Director of Community Affairs, a dual role that was powerful but somewhat undefined. Her control of the schools at times seemed to border on the autocratic, as illustrated by her reluctance to submit the school plan to homesteader approval prior to the opening of the homestead (Clapp, 1934c) and later when she was asked to start a P.T.A., which she refused to do partly because of the recent accreditation crisis (Clapp, 1936b).

Clapp seemed to feel a personal responsibility for the homesteaders and the community at Arthurdale. Annabelle Mayor described this sense of responsibility,

She was a disciplinarian. There is no doubt about it. She knew what she wanted done and she knew how to accomplish it. She wasn't just a school principal. She was really an overseer of the whole community – activity-wise. This was her baby. And she was interested in not just the ones in school, but the ones too young at home and the ones that thought they had gone as far as they needed to go and were just hanging around (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 765).

When the paychecks for the homestead were several months late at one point in 1935, Clapp may have gone to the Treasury Department in Washington herself to try to cut the red tape, which caused Eleanor Roosevelt herself to write to Clapp asking her to

go through channels (Roosevelt, 1935b). Roosevelt also cautioned Clapp to be more diplomatic in her dealings with other Homestead program officials (Roosevelt, 1935a). Clapp apparently identified very closely with the homesteaders, feeling responsible for not only their education but also their morals. When one former student was asked about her,

He also said she was “strict,” and on one occasion when some of the boys had gone to an adjoining town to visit a woman known as Mammy Four Eyes, “She used to sell homemade brew, see? So Miss Clapp got wind of it, see? She went down there and told them to get on home. That’s the truth” (Wuenstel, 2002, p. 765).

Clapp sometimes bemoaned the negative personal habits of the homesteaders (although she always attributed these failings to their experience of poverty), sometimes displaying an attitude of paternalism as she discussed their need for rehabilitation.

In the end, however, the homesteaders apparently felt respect and affection, as well as gratitude toward Clapp. When the outside funding for the Arthurdale schools failed, Clapp announced that she and many of her teachers would leave. She described the homesteader reaction,

The homesteaders on their own got up a petition for me and some of the teachers to remain. They sent one to Mr. Trent and one to you . . . It was signed by a majority of the families and a number of the High School boys and girls, and based its request on the patience and understanding shown them, on ability to run the school, and on the fact that these children had learned and had been happy. I

tried to have them see that this was not possible, and that this desire could be turned to the support of their ‘new’ school (Clapp, 1936f).

Her attitude of concern apparently showed through clearly, and the homesteaders knew that she had done her best for them.

Continuing Education

Educative activities related to age groups that are not traditionally considered part of the school populations made up the theme of continuing education. At both Ballard and Arthurdale, Clapp and her staff developed activities that were intended to enrich and improve the lives of community members of all ages. At Ballard, for example, the health program was aimed at adults as well as students, and the students had opportunities to share their learning with their parents at the health fairs they held (Clapp, 1952). The recreational opportunities at Ballard were also designed to show adults how to profitably use their leisure time. The Country Fair held at Ballard involved all of the members of the community in cultural and artistic activities such as music, drama, and crafts (Clapp, 1952).

Education for adults and older youths at Arthurdale was more extensive. Clapp considered the entire homestead experiment an opportunity for education. She wrote, “Our classrooms, so to speak, were home and schools kitchens, gardens, club meetings, square dances – whenever and wherever we happened to be together. And our teaching, intentionally, was done informally in day-by-day work and living” (Clapp, 1952, p. 66). The school staff at Arthurdale considered it a part of their job to act as local experts in areas such as agriculture, canning and preserving foods, cooking and nutrition, and health (1939). The help seems to have been appreciated by the homesteaders, although Clapp

included the somewhat cryptic remark, “For the most part, the help we gave was asked for” (1952, p. 66), possibly indicating some impatience on the part of homesteaders.

In addition to the informal education that went on day-to-day at Arthurdale, there were more structured programs as well. The program for the young adults on the homestead, many of whom were out of work and under-educated, began with a “Night School” (Clapp, 1939, p. 103) that included shop, English, math, athletics, and history, depending on the interests of the students. This young adult program later expanded to include work-study projects under the auspices of the National Youth Administration and the Works Progress Administration (Clapp, 1939).

The Nursery School became a center for teaching about health issues from nutrition to hygiene for adults, especially mothers, as well as the high school students who worked there. The school music and drama program was extensive involving all ages up through adult. Clapp described some of the winter 1935 school activities, “Meanwhile we ‘saw wood’ in winter farm classes with the men, plant biology with High School students, some home economics at the nursery school, and the devoted and intelligent work of the nurse on food & health problems” (Clapp, 1935d). More formal and academic classes were also held, and often included people from outside the Arthurdale village. The village recreation program brought in sports teams from outside the village, as did the cultural activities such as the square dances and the Fiddler’s Festival (Clapp, 1939). Arthurdale became a site for teacher education as well. Clapp wrote, “I have gotten Lucy Sprague Mitchell to give a course on the methods of study of an environment, and Jessie Staunton to advise the homesteads on how to set up nursery schools.” (Clapp, 1935f). Education was a community-wide enterprise at Arthurdale, a

fact that probably led in large part to the success of the school in boosting community awareness and morale at the homestead (Haid, 1975).

Examples of Cooperative Social Inquiry at Clapp's Schools

Before turning to a discussion of Dewey's theory and philosophy and Clapp's practice, I would like to discuss three examples of what I consider to be cooperative social inquiry that took place at Ballard and Arthurdale. Two examples are directly connected with the schools, while a third was undertaken by the men's club at Arthurdale. I will discuss the relationship between the different stages of the first example and the stages of Dewey's inquiry model in a future section.

The first example of cooperative inquiry, which took place at both Ballard and Arthurdale, was the staff studies of community needs and school subject matter (Clapp, 1939; 1952). The teachers at both schools met at least once a week to discuss and study the local resources of the communities as well as the social context and functioning of the school disciplines. These studies focused primarily on language and mathematics, although the integration of community resources and needs into the science and social science curriculum was also an important area of study. During these meetings, particularly at Ballard, Clapp led the staff in directed readings of John Dewey's work as well (Irwin, 1986), particularly *Democracy and Education*. One participant described these staff studies as a relatively unstructured combination of education class, faculty meeting, and brainstorming session (Irwin, 1986). The process was collaborative, with Clapp providing direction and guidance but with all staff members contributing according to their own experience and specialties.

The Ballard and Arthurdale staff studies illustrate how the concepts of community (as people's abilities and needs), service (as socially beneficial action), and learning (as observation, reflection, and experimentation) converged to form the curriculum of Elsie Clapp's community schools. Two other examples of cooperative inquiry will be described more briefly.

The study of local resources and their potential for providing an economic base for the village undertaken by the high school students at Arthurdale reflects Dewey's inquiry model, albeit in a modified form. The definition of the problem for study was accomplished primarily by the teachers at the school, as were some potential hypothetical solutions. The students then helped to refine the problem and the hypothetical solutions through study of the local region and testing of possible actions, as when they built and tested a glass furnace (Clapp, 1939). The process was collaborative, as students undertook different aspects or phases of the study according to their interests and abilities (Clapp, 1952). The inquiry was unfortunately truncated soon after it began when Clapp and much of her staff left the village, but continued study along these lines might have helped to provide a solution, given more time. This example indicated one way that social inquiry could be structured so as to give students practice in carrying out inquiry as a social undertaking.

Another example of cooperative inquiry that was more successful was the study and action taken by the Men's Club at Arthurdale on fire safety and protection. Like the above examples, this inquiry was undertaken in a collaborative fashion as different members studied different aspects of the problem and formulated the solution of doing a village fire-safety survey and acquiring some large portable fire extinguishers. After

being tested, it was found that the extinguishers had to be refined to meet the transportation needs at the village. Fletcher Collins, who was a teacher and fire committee member, noted that, “the Committee had not only learned much about ways and means of solving acute community problems, but had developed in the process an *esprit de corps* which to them was very pleasing” (cited in Clapp, 1952, p. 71-72). Clapp called this example “an illustration of the kind of adult education we were attempting” (1952, p. 72).

The examples of cooperative social inquiry above illustrate how Clapp’s work at her two schools was imbued with Dewey’s philosophical ideas. Her work was founded in the progressive ideas of education and its role in the community. The concepts of community, service, and learning that Dewey articulated in his theory and philosophy were made to live in many ways at the Ballard School community and at Arthurdale. Clapp’s work contained numerous points of convergence with Dewey’s theory and philosophy that influenced how she structured the social vision of her school. There were also points of divergence, resulting both from the necessity to work in real-world conditions and also from Clapp’s judgments about the needs of the situation. The next section will examine the points where Dewey’s theory and philosophy met Clapp’s practice, and where the two differed.

Discussion: Dewey and Clapp on Community, Service, and Learning

Comparing the conceptions of community, service, and learning in the work of John Dewey and Elsie Clapp yields points of convergence and divergence that can enrich our understanding of those concepts. The close relationship between the two makes the strong connections between Dewey’s philosophy and theory and Clapp’s practice

unsurprising. Dewey took a strong interest in Clapp's work, particularly at Arthurdale. Wuenstel recorded memories of unpublicized visits by Dewey to the Arthurdale schools: "Annabelle remembered Dewey's visitations, "There's a lot of times that he came in, and it wasn't public knowledge" (2002, p.762). Clapp and her teachers used Dewey's ideas in a systematic and conscious way in their work. Irwin (1985) cited the memories of a Ballard staff member who stated,

"Within the format of staff meetings, Dr. Clapp taught two courses for credit.

They were the most freewheeling courses I've ever attended but that was probably a good thing. Here is where we read through and discussed Dewey's Democracy and Education and Experience and Education" (p. 4, emphasis in original).

While this close relationship of both the protagonists and their ideas is one of the foundations of this study, I wish to avoid the impression that I am evaluating Clapp's work according to how well or badly it reflects Dewey's ideas. Dewey was free to consider idealized situations under which his concepts might operate, while Clapp had to work with the limitations and compromises produced by the real world. Dewey himself defended Clapp's work as a successful example of what he was talking about in his work. Gainsaying that evaluation would constitute hubris.

At the same time, Clapp's application of Dewey's philosophy had identifiable consequences at her schools. In some instances the facts of the situation in which she worked did not allow for the fulfillment of all of Dewey's ideas, and her choices and actions can be analyzed according to concepts and criteria put forth by Dewey. Gaining a clear understanding of the concepts being studied demands a careful and honest appraisal of both the philosophy and practice of the situation. In this section I will compare the

understanding of Dewey's ideas I have developed in Chapter Five with my analysis of Clapp's work.

Community

The Individual-Social Continuum

The idea of the social individual was central to Dewey's concept of community. Clapp's work revealed throughout this understanding of the individual as a social being. Her concept of the subject matters and activities of the school as a socially functioning curriculum reflected Dewey's understanding of the inevitable grounding of human development in a social matrix. Her focus on community was based on her understanding of the role of the individual in his or her social environment. Much of Clapp's thinking about her practice revolved around the use of community resources in the educational program of the school. Her concept of community resources included individual abilities, interests and needs along with community aims and problems as educational opportunities. In this way, Clapp's practice balanced the child-centered progressive goals of personal growth with social reconstruction goals. The essence of her community school concept was the development of the student, according to his or her personal potential, into the role of an effective, functioning member of a social group.

Communication

In Dewey's concept of community, it was the sharing of ideas through the medium of communication that produced growth and knowledge. The development of the individual occurred through interaction with other members of the group. Human association was for Dewey predicated upon communication, and the communication of

ideas that occurred in association produced the common aims, values, and actions that produced community.

Communication was a vital component of the work in Clapp's schools. The staff studies of language allowed the teachers to place reading, writing, speaking, and other communicative acts into a social context. The projects and studies carried on by students integrated this idea of language use in communication into every aspect of study. The planning, role playing, and storytelling of the young children as they studied villages or pioneers was an act of communicating and sharing the ideas they developed in their school experience. Students at all levels communicated not only through the direct media of writing, such as with the school newspapers, but also through artistic media such as drama and music.

Communication in this manner was a key element in the production of community identity at Clapp's schools. Culture was not just a set of traditional practices and rituals, but a participatory act in which the ideas developed in artistic expression and other ways were shared among the members of the communities. The studies in the schools helped the students to perceive the common interests that united them with peoples of the past as well as with their neighbors. These common interests were communicated formally and informally to other students and other community members through the activities of the school, from the plays to the county fairs. As community members of all ages participated in the activities of the schools they communicated more freely and yet in a more directed way than if they had not had the school medium, and this communication began to spread to contexts outside the school as well. The role of the teachers as

community members reflected Dewey's preference for face-to-face interaction, or direct communication, between community members sharing the same interests and needs.

The Community's Good and Mutual Consequences

For Dewey, the sharing of ideas, aims, and interests that produced community was an active process, requiring not only the meeting of minds, so to speak, but also action carried out in association. Dewey's concept of transaction emphasized not only shared ideas and action, but also an understanding and acceptance of mutual consequences of group and individual actions to all group members. The guiding principle was the social good, the greatest benefit to all members of the group.

Clapp's emphasis on community needs and resources reinforced the idea of community good at her schools. Addressing the needs of everyday living in the studies across the grades through study of village roles, occupations, and economic topics helped to emphasize the interconnectedness of the members of the communities where she worked to students. Carrying out programs in the community that addressed needs that were clear to everyone, such as health and Depression-induced poverty, helped to develop the concept of community good through common effort in the minds of all community members.

Clapp's job was easier in this regard at Ballard because the school community had formed voluntarily well prior to her arrival. The families at the school had decided to cast their lot with neighbors long before, and there was a tradition of children from different families studying in association. Clapp's work was able to take root in a soil that had already been prepared to accept the idea of mutual consequences, and the school's actions reinforced that idea. Clapp noted, "It was well that the School's social

functioning was in response to urgent and recognized needs of its children and their families, for no one debated whether the School should undertake the services it could render” (Clapp, n.d.a, p. 15). Her efforts seem to have been successful, as the anecdote about the students who wanted to accompany her to West Virginia illustrated.

At Arthurdale, Clapp did not have this tradition of cooperative effort to build upon, but she had the experience of enhancing that effort she had gained at Ballard. She used many of the same school programs to foster the understanding of mutual interdependence. She also used the existing Men’s and Women’s Clubs as agencies for education and social action. The inquiries these groups undertook into fire protection and other enterprises were as much an educative exercise in developing understanding of mutual consequences as they were simple civic functions.

Ascribing success to Clapp’s efforts at developing such understandings at Arthurdale must be tempered by recognition that the people she worked with at Arthurdale were carefully selected for the project, in part for the ability to ‘get along’ and work together. She also not to use the past experience of the displaced miners in labor organization as a resource, according to any account available. While it might be surmised that using this experience as a resource to produce community solidarity might have been rejected for political reasons, no discussion of that decision was found for this study.

Shared Aims and Enterprises

Dewey’s concept of community was an active one. Shared aims guided cooperative actions, and the actions undertaken in cooperation helped to reconstruct those aims and produce new ones in a continuum of means and ends guided by shared values.

Community was produced as cooperative efforts drew group members together, facilitating communication, and shaping changing common aims. Through the sharing of ideas and actions the relationships characteristic of a community were produced.

Enterprise is the term used to describe the kind of cooperative effort aimed at meeting community needs (of all types).

In Clapp's work, the schools themselves are some of the best examples of enterprises undertaken. The schools represented active effort by the members of the community as a whole to meet the need of education for their children. The effort was a collaboration, with the teachers providing educational expertise while other community members were able to participate according to their own abilities. Community involvement in the schools went far beyond simply paying taxes and making sure that one's own children were taken care of. As such an enterprise, the school at Ballard provided the central defining aspect of the community, producing a far more powerful unity than simple spatial proximity for the local people.

The school at Arthurdale also helped to provide a uniting force for the new community. When the new homesteaders began to perceive the positive benefits of their cooperative efforts, as with the dramatic improvement of the Nursery School children's health, they began to accept and internalize the value of cooperative thought and action that went into the effort. The school helped to provide guidance to further enterprises that helped to further cement the ties of community.

At both schools, enterprises were undertaken that addressed a variety of community needs. The recreation and cultural programs were no less aimed at meeting the needs of productive use of leisure time and strengthening community identity. The

fairs helped to emphasize the common efforts that went into everyday living. These efforts were collaborative and ostensibly open to everyone. Community was produced through communication and associated action undertaken to achieve common aims. Common values, not the least of which was the valuing of the association with other community members, were produced as the aims were communicated and refined in practice.

Democracy

Dewey saw democracy as the best form of human association. Democracy was not just a form of government for Dewey, but rather a type of relationship and an approach to associated living. His criteria for evaluating human social groups included free interplay within the group as well as free interaction with outside groups. The internal criterion evaluated the interconnectedness of the group by the number and variety of shared interests, while the external criterion evaluated the fullness and freedom of outside connections. Through democracy the individual could grow to his or her full potential as an effective member of a social group, and through democracy the social group could best insure the best possible conditions for all of its members.

Clapp's schools were structured according to democratic principles. The school plans were submitted to the members of the communities before they were instituted. Members of the community were ideally able to contribute their ideas as to how the schools were run. The projects and units of study, while usually developed conceptually by the teacher, were undertaken in collaboration with students. Everyone involved contributed to the planning and actions involved in the projects. The schools also

provided practice in the roles that students would undertake as members of their communities in a democracy.

The operations of the schools at Ballard and Arthurdale provide a contrast, however, that speaks to issues of democracy. At Ballard, the full consent of the community was given before the school plan was undertaken. The school was an existing community enterprise, and the direction of that enterprise was determined by the community as a whole. The parents had decided from the start that community was a primary goal for the school. The parents do not seem to have participated regularly in the inquiry about the school's program and curriculum undertaken by the school staff. However, they were involved in the development of the grant application, and Clapp implied that all were kept informed of the school's program. Significantly, each member had the option to withdraw from the school if they did not approve.

The Arthurdale school plan was subject to homesteader approval, but subsequent statements and events seem to indicate that that approval was not completely informed and free. Clapp's descriptions of her communications with the homesteaders about the school seem to be more along the lines of informing them of decisions already made. The homesteaders do not seem to have participated in deciding the directions and goals of the school. While they might not have had the expertise to make curricular decisions, they should have been consulted about the larger goals and purposes of the school on a more regular basis. Clapp admitted as much when she blamed lack of communication for the accreditation crisis that arose in 1936. Her solution, involving the parents more closely in the accreditation process, was democratic insofar as it went, but she continued to resist greater parental involvement in the schools until her departure. The result was to

limit the beneficial effects of the school at a time of uncertainty for the homesteaders.

The lesson is perhaps that consent cannot be engineered but must be continually renegotiated and revised.

Applying Dewey's internal and external criteria to Clapp's schools can provide some insight into the concept of democracy as it relates to community. Internally, the Ballard community shared at first a significant but limited number of interests. They consciously undertook shared action aimed at educational and health needs. Their approach to other connections, such as economic ties, was less deliberate. Clapp's work there both increased the shared interests and multiplied the areas of shared effort. Externally, the Ballard community was already strongly enmeshed in the regional culture and economy. Clapp was able to enrich some of the outside connections, but her efforts were primarily directed inward. Yet many of the activities undertaken by the school as a social agency would not have been possible without the strong outside connections of the Ballard community.

The school at Arthurdale was clearly an agency for enriching and multiplying the shared internal interests of the community. However, the fullness and freeness of outside connections there seems to have been artificially limited. To some extent, this situation may have been a result of the philosophy of decentralization adopted by Arthurdale's planners. Beezer's (1974) conclusion that the school was unsuccessful in attempting to solve the local economic problems by recourse to local resources seems appropriate, however. Clapp seems to have resisted the influence of outside connections, particularly economic ones, on Arthurdale's utopian agricultural ideal. Her resistance to the plan for encouraging tourism through building an Inn at Arthurdale (Clapp, 1935i) and her

conflict with the management of the vacuum cleaner factory that finally located at Arthurdale seem to indicate a desire to limit the possible negative effects of the outside world on Arthurdale, an attitude that ignored the more immediate economic needs of the town. Clapp did not seem to have perceived the importance of free and full outside connections for her community.

Diversity

The topic of diversity should also be mentioned in this discussion. Cultural diversity, and diversity of thought, played a vital role in Dewey's concept of community. Dewey saw diversity as important not only because it was an established fact in the human social environment, but also because diversity was the source for new ideas and approaches that might help produce social change and improvement.

On the positive end, Clapp's schools utilized a collaborative approach to school enterprises that placed value on the contributions of all students and all community members regardless of their abilities. Students were not shoehorned into a standardized curriculum. The full development of the individual abilities and interests of the students within the social environment of the school was the goal. Teachers and other community members were valued for their own abilities.

Yet neither of the schools at which Clapp worked could be characterized as culturally diverse. In both instances, larger forces of segregation and discrimination were involved. At Ballard, the economic diversity seems to have produced some diversity of thinking and of abilities that enabled Clapp to carry on many of her programs. However, the lack of diversity at Arthurdale was crippling, both in terms of the ability of homesteaders to meet community needs on their own and in terms of fostering

innovations that might have saved the project. Perlstein's (1996; Perlstein & Stack, 1999) critiques of Clapp's work raises important questions about Clapp's treatment of economic and cultural diversity issues. Clapp and her colleagues avoided examining ideas that seemed controversial, such as race and economic inequality, and at the same time sought to promote a homogeneous rural culture sanitized of conflicting elements. One of Arthurdale's fatal flaws may have been a lack of encouragement of diversity.

Service

Emphasis on Activity

One important aspect of Dewey's concept of service was his emphasis on action as a fundamental human impulse. Clapp's work emphasized activity and the importance of the thought-to-action continuum of experience. The programs and units of studies undertaken at her school were all active, with considerable involvement on the part of the learner. Studies at the school along with programs undertaken for the benefit of the community were founded in cooperative effort, or conjoint activity on the part of the members of the community.

In the work of the school Clapp emphasized the basic child impulses to social action that Dewey described in *The School and Society* (1976b). She emphasized communication, as discussed above, in the subject matter as well as the methods at both schools. Inquiry (understood in this instance as curiosity) was constantly present as the students learned about their own lives and experience through the study of local resources and problems. Construction, or making things, was as natural a part of their studies as reading or writing, and the work done in the school shops was an integral part of many of the units of study rather than an add-on or elective. Artistic expression was utilized as an

integral part of many studies as well, and in many cases such as the plays that classes wrote and performed, constituted a form of alternative assessment and service to the school and outside community. Action permeated the program of Clapp's schools, and many of the same impulses were encouraged in the adults of the community through participation in the programs of the schools. These active impulses, properly directed and shaped by what Dewey called the child's natural desire to give out, or serve (1977b) served to help the school to locate the child's natural action in its social context.

The Social Setting

Dewey emphasized the social nature of all action, asserting that no human action could take place without some form of social context and consequences. By utilizing community resources and community needs and problems as educational opportunities in her schools Clapp placed the school activities undertaken by her students in their social setting in a direct fashion. The social nature of the aims and consequences of the students activities was clear to the students because these activities were based in their own social lives both inside and outside of school. Clapp described her realization in Kentucky that the community she must deal with in the school's program was not only the sequestered, embryonic one of the school but rather included the larger one outside the school as well. Once she began to focus on the social nature of activity, she discovered that the work of the school was embedded in the same web of social ideas and connections as the rest of the community. In order to make the school a true socially functioning agency, the holistic nature of the social environment of the school and the community at large had to be recognized and addressed. Clapp learned that the activity of the school was of necessity continuous with the activity of the school's community.

Occupations and Vocation

The studies at Clapp's schools reflected Dewey's understanding of occupations and vocations as forms of social action allowing community members to direct their interests and abilities toward conduct that would be of benefit to the community. For Dewey, there was no difference in kind between the activities of everyday life and actions that were of benefit to the social group. From the earliest grades Clapp's schools emphasized the basic roles of community members and the types of occupations that human beings undertook as part of everyday living. Over time, these occupations were gradually placed in their current social context and studied at increasing levels of complexity, but the social setting was always preserved through the study of problems affecting the school community and by emphasizing local resources in occupational studies. Students at the schools undertook projects like running the school store, surveying and building recreational fields, and operating a school savings bank not merely to gain experience in the skills involved but also because they perceived a need in their school and community for such enterprises and wished to better understand how that need could be met. Even for the older students, vocational training like that undertaken through federal programs was placed in the context of how it fulfilled local community needs.

The collaborative nature of so many of the activities at Clapp's schools, both those directed at students and those for the larger community, helped to emphasize the nature of service as each person's contribution to the social group. Dewey saw occupations as balancing each person's abilities and interests with the service they were able to contribute to the community. For example, when students contributed to the plays

by doing artwork or building stages and sets, they were utilizing their interests and abilities in a way that furthered the aims of the class group as a whole. The goal was to enable students to grow into their own role in society, always with an understanding that they had something to give back to the group, and that their own aims and purposes were best served when they applied their experience to the good of the group as a whole.

Action Directed by Inquiry

Dewey provided a model for cooperative inquiry that would enable members of a community to direct their actions toward societal benefits. The inquiry model was a continuum of thought and action, enriched by the shared experience of multiple members of a group. Using the model for inquiry, the best course of action for solving a problem could be developed and tested, then refined in practice and tested further, becoming a part of the shared experience of the group to which they turned to address new, changing situations.

This model of inquiry is best illustrated in the deliberations of the school staffs at Ballard and Arthurdale on the curricula and programs of the schools. The process was collaborative, taking into account the past experience of people in the group who had different kinds of abilities and past experiences to draw from. The staffs tied their inquiries closely to the local social and physical environment, investigating resources, needs, and problems through their status as community members. The solutions they developed, embodied in their concepts of the socially functioning curriculum, were tested in practice at the schools in the teaching as well as in the programs intended to be of service to the larger community.

The schools provided both parents and students the opportunity to participate in inquiry directed at other problems. The examples of the activities of the men's clubs and the economic studies of the students are two examples of inquiry at a relatively high level. Students began to learn this process at a young age as they discussed and planned for their village studies, plays, and other school enterprises. The process was collaborative, reflective, and connected to the students' experience through the inclusion of community resources and educational opportunities. Although the identification of particular problems was primarily a function of the school staff, this kind of practice in solving problems through inquiry was a close embodiment of Dewey's ideas about structuring the school as a miniature community.

Moral Inquiry

Dewey believed that the transformation of life activities into social service depended upon the understanding of the moral implications of action. His concept of conduct was distinguished from the simple impulse to activity by an appreciation and acceptance of the consequences of individual behavior. His ethics were built upon the idea that it was the understanding of social relationships and the motive of social good that produced morally-correct action. This kind of understanding could not be based upon universal or abstract rules, but must rather be determined in the same process of cooperative inquiry that determined action for solving problems. Moral inquiry was not a separate form or process of inquiry, but should rather be interwoven into the overall social inquiry process.

From the descriptions left by Clapp and others of the schools at Arthurdale and Ballard, this moral inquiry process is not evident. Clapp and her staff seem to have

entered with certain assumptions about the community's good, particularly at Arthurdale, that remained unexamined in the practice of the schools. While the absence of a record of such an inquiry process does not conclusively show that it did not occur, the absence of such considerations in the detailed descriptions of the school operations raises questions about how, precisely, the activity of the schools was aligned with a commonly-held idea of the social good in the context of the communities in question. Rather, certain assumptions, some easily defended, some more questionable, seem to have guided the school's work in many cases. No one would argue, for example, that good health is a community benefit, but the process by which it is achieved should be examined. The decisions to leave out certain aspects of the heritage and culture of the Arthurdale homesteaders should have been more closely examined in an ethical light, as should the decisions to focus only on selected community economic resources and to repress certain kinds of outside connections in the search for an economic base for the Arthurdale village. This kind of ethical inquiry should involve all of the participants to the greatest possible extent.

Learning

Learning as Experience

Dewey's concept of learning as experience was reflected across the curricula of Clapp's schools. The concept of learning as experience united the child-centered developmental approach of much progressive education with the social emphasis of many reconstructionist approaches. At Clapp's schools, the learning began with the child's lived experience as a young member of the community, and built the study of school subject matters into an active, social environment in the school. Although Clapp and her

teachers sometimes used direct instruction methods, the learning was aimed at reaching the child in his or her present state of development and relating the subject matter to the vital interests and concerns of the child.

The search for common denominators of understanding between the lived experience of the student and the subject matter of the school was part of the effort of the staff to ground the learning at Clapp's schools in experience. The socialized curriculum of the schools met Dewey's criteria of continuity and interaction for educative experiences. The use of community resources and problems, matched to the interests of the children, made the experiences continuous with the outside life of the students and provided a continuous process of growth for the child through for the school subject matter. The same approach enabled the teachers to insure the kind of relationship between the external conditions of the school and the internal conditions of the child that Dewey meant by interaction. Community helped to provide the unify theme or environment that allowed the teachers to structure educative experience at Clapp's schools.

School as Community

Clapp's schools closely reflected Dewey's concept of the school as embryonic community. The studies provided the opportunity to understand and practice social roles in a context of ever-increasing complexity. From the village studies of the earliest grades through the more detailed occupational studies of the older children the emphasis was on the social role and service to the community of each student. Students not only studied, but actually engaged in social life. The governance of the schools was to an extent democratic, not merely in the usual sense of having a student council, but in the

construction of curriculum and the direction of school programs. At Ballard, where the program had a period of time to work, the students began to take over more and more of the school functions. Arthurdale students described how the planning of units of study with their teachers was a vital part of their school experience.

As discussed above, the lack of student and parent involvement in the process of planning the larger goals and experiences at the school must be acknowledged. The careful choice of which aspects of the community to emphasize in the program of the school is a vital part of Dewey's concept of the school's role in social reconstruction. This type of decision as to what community traits should be encouraged is a critical one for social and ethical inquiry, and as such should involve the community as a whole, not just the educators in the school. Once again, the participation of adult community members outside of the school staff in this process is not described in Clapp's work. Despite this limitation, however, it must be acknowledged that the focus on community and the contributions of community members to the operations of the school did seem to engender a feeling that the schools belonged to the community. The homesteader's wife (Anonymous, 1937) frequently refers to the school as belonging to the homesteaders. The students seem to have taken pride in their contributions to their school and their larger community. It was in this way that Clapp's schools best produced community.

Socialized Subject Matter

Dewey emphasized the reconceptualization of the subject matter of the school in order to bring out its social context and function. This process involved not only understanding how different disciplines and skills were related to the needs of everyday living, but also understanding how those subject matters were outgrowths of the present

experience of the learner, and how they could be presented in such a way as to further the growth of the learner's experience. At Clapp's schools one of the guiding principles was the socialized curriculum. The learners experience began in his or her community, and the teachers job was to find the connections, the 'common denominators of experience,' that would connect the experience of the school with the life of the community. Placing subject matters in their social context in the school demanded an active, problem-oriented curriculum rather than one based in traditional disciplines.

It was primarily in the staff studies that this socialization of the school experience was planned. Clapp readily admitted that the process of coming to know the community and its children was a time-consuming process. The decision of the teachers to live and directly participate in the communities was a vital part of this process, but it still took time and conscious inquiry for the teachers to understand the relationships between their own experience in schools and their own knowledge of subjects, and the new social environment in which they were working. Once the staff understood the connections, they were able to use that knowledge to develop the purposes that would form projects and units of study for the students. Planning and further refining the purposes with the students further developed the connections between the social life of the community and the educational life of the school. The teachers' ability to accomplish this purpose was clearly a trial and error process, and they were able to apply the experience born of much study and effort in Kentucky to the new situation at Arthurdale.

Moral Study

In the previous section, it was noted that the accounts of Clapp's work do not directly mention conscious inquiry into ethical issues at her schools. There were aspects

of Clapp's practice that reflect some of Dewey's ideas on moral education, however. Dewey emphasized the child's natural impulse to give out, do for others, and contribute as a resource to be fostered in moral education. This impulse was encouraged in many ways at Clapp's schools, from the exploration of how community roles and needs were addressed to the direct activities meant to be of benefit to others, such as the construction of Nursery School play equipment by older students at Arthurdale. This type of study not only gave meaning and direction to an impulse to service that Dewey considered to be natural in children, it also helped to clarify service as a relationship, not merely an act of obligation or charity. By emphasizing social relationships in the programs of the schools, Clapp enabled her students (as well as the older community members who undertook service activities) to understand their place in the overall society and to appreciate the fact that all action has social consequences, consequences that affect the server as well as the served. In placing the subject matters of the school in their social context Clapp's schools helped to foster the natural impulse to act in ways that benefited others.

Study of Social Problems

Another way that Clapp's practice met the social conditions of Dewey's concept of learning was through studies centering around social problems, particularly community problems. In this way, the studies of the school were made continuous with the everyday life and needs of the community. Study of community problems also provided the students with opportunities to live out their roles as young members of the community, and address the same kinds of problems and needs they would face as adult members. Study of community problems allowed the subject matter of the schools to be placed within the social context of the community and the experience of the learner.

Clapp's practice reflected Dewey's emphasis on the living occupations of the community and how they might be studied so as to make their educational importance clear. Social problems did not necessarily have to be negative situations. How human beings solved the basic needs of everyday living was a problem-oriented study, for example. The strong emphasis on village study, relations of school knowledge and skills to occupations, and meeting community health and recreation needs were all aspects of the study of problems in everyday experience.

Perlstein's criticism of Clapp for not addressing the pressing social problems of race and economic inequality that her students faced sheds light on the nature of the problems she considered to be important for education. While the educational and social reconstruction opportunities available in these kinds of studies are significant, Dewey's admonition to Everett (Dewey, n.d.) concerning the danger of making social problems too far removed and abstract from the child's experience must be considered. Dewey's concept of learning required that the studies of the schools should grow from the child's experience, not the other way around. Still, at some level these types of larger societal problems must be addressed if any sort of social reconstruction and improvement is to be accomplished. These problems were particularly apropos at Arthurdale, leaving open the question as to whether Clapp could have, in the long run, brought out such issues after the most pressing problems of the homesteaders were under control. However, if such issues are never to be addressed unless they become problematic in the direct experience of school communities, it is hard to see how they might be solved on the larger, societal level. At some point, the face-to-face community must come to understand and accept its place in the larger society.

Staff Studies as Cooperative Social Inquiry

The staff studies into the nature of community problems and the social functioning of the school subject matter was, as noted above, a good example of Dewey's model of cooperative social inquiry as I have come to understand it in this study. Using Dewey's model to analyze the process, the first phase of this inquiry occurred when the teachers perceived the disjoint between the lives of the students and the needs of the community, on one hand, and the nature of the traditional school subjects, on the other. The idea that the school subject matter would need to be reorganized for the community situations at Ballard and Arthurdale originated before the teachers arrived at the schools, of course, but they were not truly able to appreciate the full extent of the problem until they had experienced the community itself. Clapp noted,

Although experienced in the ways and means of children's education, we had not before taught in a rural school, and going into the Kentucky countryside was for us entering a new and unfamiliar area . . . Because everything was so new to us we were sensitive to impressions and got the full impact of our surroundings. And, since we had so much to learn, we were constantly investigating (Clapp, 1952, p. 10-11).

It was this constant investigation, as well as their developing experience in living in the community and teaching the students, that moved the teachers into the second phase of inquiry in which the problem became defined for the teachers. Clapp wrote, "Our efforts in starting the School, informative as they were, barely sketched the problem. It was the work in the months following that taught us its range and depth" (Clapp, 1952, p. 23). At this point the stage of reflective thinking was underway, in

which the teachers drew upon their own experience as educators and members of communities to begin to develop hypothetical solutions. This phase involved continual observations of the local conditions as well as reflection, both in a group setting (staff meetings) and individually. Clapp described the process,

As the work progressed it became evident that the children not only lacked facility in using learning tools, but that the experiences they had had and the knowledges they possessed had not, apparently, been linked with school learnings . . . if they were to comprehend what they were learning, we must enable them to make connections between what they knew and what the books at school said. To do this we had ourselves to become acquainted with the things they did in their outside-school living and the knowledge they possessed (Clapp, 1952, p. 24).

As the teachers worked through this process they gradually began to develop hypothetical solutions to the problem. As noted previously, this involved letting go of many of their past conceptions of learning and the role of subject matter. Clapp wrote,

Somewhat to our astonishment, we discovered that our assumptions regarding subject matters and also the uses we made of them in our teaching were in many ways – manifest and hidden, both – conditioned by the conception of knowledge which we had absorbed during our own academic training and had never since, it seemed, examined (Clapp, 1952, p. 85).

In this phase the teachers were examining and rejecting hypothetical solutions based in their own experience, based on the newly observed conditions in which they worked.

Eventually, the idea of socially functioning subject matter developed in the minds of the teachers. Clapp wrote, “the reorganization of subject matters for use in a rural school, and the use of these in interpreting to the children their lives and surroundings, led us into the conception of a socially functioning curriculum” (1939, p. 4). Out of this concept grew the many school programs and activities described above. In the school’s activities the concept of the socially functioning curriculum was tested and refined, leading to newer programs as the situation changed. By the fifth year at Ballard, the teachers felt that students were truly taking an active part in their own education and community (Clapp, 1952), accomplishing the goal that Clapp had set out to reach.

The same process had to be undertaken at Arthurdale to take account of the different circumstances there. Clapp credited the teachers’ refined personal and group experiences with enabling them to respond effectively to the acute needs of Arthurdale’s children as well as the adults (Clapp, 1939). To some extent the perceived success of the school in creating community feeling and morale bore out the effectiveness of the actions taken at the Arthurdale School, although the community experiment as a whole did not survive intact.

Conclusion

This discussion provides a look at how the ideas of John Dewey could be operationalized in a real-world setting. It is frequently lamented that Dewey left behind few descriptions of how his educational ideas could be put into practice, especially in the context of the older grades of school. Clapp showed that she had a grasp of those ideas that rivaled any contemporary progressive thinker, and more importantly the skill and courage to derive the implications of those ideas for the actual school situation. At

Ballard and Arthur Dale the ideas, efforts, and abilities of real people were directed toward the improvement of the lives of all community members through the guidance of the community's school. Her work, and that of her teachers, shows how the concepts of community, service, and learning coalesce in the concept of the socially functioning school.

The work of Elsie Clapp at her community schools represents an important experiment in education in its own right, Clapp was privileged to have the opportunity to structure for herself a situation in which her ideas and those of her teacher/colleague Dewey could be put into practice, not once but at two different schools under two different sets of circumstances. Her faults and mistakes reveal her as human, yet her perseverance and adherence to her strongly held philosophical and ethical principles during very trying times at these schools show her to be in many ways a role model for progressive-minded teachers in any time or place. The work she did, as Dewey noted in his reply to Everett's review, was a faithful attempt to put into practice some of the finest ideas of progressive education. The final chapter of this study will discuss the implications of the work of Dewey and Clapp for present-day community service learning.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to explore, through a process of inquiry, the meanings of the concepts of community, service, and learning as theoretical and philosophical ideas and in practical application. In the first chapter I presented provisional definitions of community, service and learning. In this chapter I will offer some revised definitions that incorporate the findings of my analysis of Dewey's ideas and Clapp's practice. John Dewey's theory and philosophy provided a systematic consideration of the meanings and relationships that constitute those concepts, while Elsie Clapp's practice at her community schools provided a view of how those concepts could be tested and refined in a real-world context. The preceding discussion highlighted some important issues concerning the nature of community, service, and learning, as well as suggesting a model for learning through community service in the form of Dewey's concept of cooperative social inquiry. In this chapter, I will discuss conclusions about the nature of community, service, and learning and propose Dewey's model of cooperative social inquiry as a way of thinking about present-day community service learning. I will then discuss some implications of this study for present-day issues and practices in CSL, and discuss some areas for future study.

Understanding Community, Service, and Learning

Community

The work of Elsie Clapp and John Dewey makes a strong case for the idea that community is founded on issues of commonality and sharing. The most fundamental issues are the recognition of relationships and mutual consequences that lead to the development of common aims and cooperative actions. In this view, community needs and problems are conceived as areas of mutual consequence, affecting every member of the community.

Community, thus conceived, is created through communication. Communication allows the sharing of experience that produces knowledge and allows that knowledge to be assessed instrumentally in practice and organized into a common heritage. This communication involves not only verbal interaction but also artistic expression and cooperative action. Over time, the communicated ideas form not only the sharing of aims but also very the identity of the community that shares them. The roles and relationships of the individuals who compose the community are developed within this sharing of ideas and action.

Issues of democracy and diversity are vital components of this view of community. Democracy provides the best means to insure that ideas and aims are freely shared and mutual consequences are given equal consideration. Diversity provides the foundation for the different individual interests and abilities that can be brought to bear on common needs and undertakings as well as the mechanism for social change through the introduction and use in action of new ideas. The use of and respect for these principles can be difficult in real-world situations, as Clapp's experiences show, but the

ultimate goal of fostering the highest individual growth in the social environment demands the freest and most fullest participation of all community members.

Dewey's belief that community required face-to-face interaction must be viewed in light of several considerations. Clapp's work at Ballard and Arthurdale showed that outside connections can never be ignored. If the local community could ever be viewed as a self-contained autonomous unit, by the time of the industrial era the web of economic and social connections in which each community must function had become as vital as the web of interpersonal connections in the community itself. Dewey certainly acknowledged this fact in his consideration of social units larger than the community, and his external criterion of full and free interaction among groups integrated outside connections into his concept of the democratic community. However, in practice, especially at Arthurdale, the danger of focusing too narrowly on local needs and resources can allow larger problems to negatively affect community life. Dewey's admonition to Everett concerning the abstract nature of larger social problems must be viewed in the context of child development and experiential learning, rather than as a restriction on community interactions.

Dewey's preference for face-to-face communication must also be viewed in a historical perspective. During most of Dewey's lifetime the ability to communicate at all over distances was limited and relatively primitive, and long-distance interactive communication was far beyond the income and expertise of most people. Today the opportunities for interpersonal interaction with people from far away are far greater and more commonly available than Dewey might have anticipated. The sharing of ideas and development of common aims, and even the coordination of cooperative action with

people whom one may never meet face-to-face, is entirely possible. In many ways, however, this increased ability to communicate makes the conscious development, understanding, and acceptance of relationships and mutual consequences even more critical. The fundamental constituent aspects of community have not changed, even if the ways of creating them are altered.

In light of the findings of this study, a new definition of community may therefore be proposed. Community is the conscious sharing and acceptance of mutual relationships and consequences, developed in communication and embodied in the sharing of common aims and the cooperative actions necessary to achieve them. The best means for achieving these conditions are democratic living and respect for diversity.

Service

The concept of service that is suggested by the work of Dewey and Clapp is closely related to the everyday life of the community. Service, in this view, is not a separate kind of action from the other activities of human beings in living association. Rather, it is an active outgrowth of understanding and evaluating the relationships and needs of community life. Ethical and moral considerations are paramount, and those ethics must be built upon an understanding of the mutual consequences of associated living that enables community members to evaluate and produce the greatest social benefits for their actions. No action can be completely free of consequence to others, so the social context and relationships inherent in every situation must be observed, evaluated, and understood.

This concept of service emphasizes the ability of every member of the community to contribute to the social good through collaborative participation in inquiry based on

their own interests and abilities. The idea that each individual can contribute to the social good through his or her living occupations entails both a freedom of action and a solemn responsibility on all members of the community to act thoughtfully and in acceptance of the full set of relationships entailed in that community. This responsibility is fulfilled in the full and free participation of community members in the processes of reflective thinking and social inquiry undertaken to meet social needs and solve problems. Every member of the community is capable of contributing in some way to the overall good of the group, and every member's fullest participation is desirable.

Viewed in this way, service can be considered to be a relationship in action rather than a commodity. The community concept advanced by Dewey is based in commonality and consensus, arrived at through the process of associated living and shared to the extent that everyone is able to participate in the formation of goals and purposes. A relationship founded on communication, common aims, and the recognition of mutual consequences entails action that is directed toward the benefit of all by helping to meet the needs of the group. This notion does not negate self-interest, because the best interest of all community members is tied up in the overall social environment in which each person lives. Based on these ideas, the new definition of service proposed is as follows: Service is a relationship in action based on an ethical understanding and acceptance of social needs and benefits.

Learning

The concepts of community and service illustrated in the work of Dewey and Clapp necessitates a concept of learning that begins in the experience of the learner. This kind of experiential learning not only demands that the subject matter of the school must

be placed in the context of its social use, but that that context should be developed around the present, living experience of the learner. The experiences that the child has in the school must be made continuous with the life of the child in the community, and those experiences must be so ordered that their social meaning and use is brought out and developed.

Basing the experiences of the school in the life of the community requires that the resources of the community be studied and understood by teachers as well as students. Clapp's work helped to emphasize the fact that those resources include not only the physical and cultural characteristics of the community, but also the interests, abilities, and needs of community members. Community problems can be recognized as educational opportunities that are integrated into the experience of the learner. As the experiences at Arthurdale indicate, the study of community resources must also develop an understanding of the connections with aspects outside the local community, directing attention to the larger web of connections in which the community is embedded.

Clapp's concept of socially-functioning subject matter is a vital component of the community role of the school. Learning that is developed around community problems is of necessity integrated, with disciplinary boundaries taking a back seat to the needs of the problem at hand. Placed in social context, the subject matter of the school becomes instrumental, organized by its utility in a given situation. The subject matter becomes integrated in the experience of the learner as she engages in a continuous process of thought to action to further thought, constantly reorganizing past experience in the light of new situations. The job of the teacher is to guide this process, insuring that

experiences always lead to growth in the learner in his or her ability to effectively participate as a member of the social group.

In order to learn to *be* effective community members, students must have the opportunity to *act* as young community members. As shown in Clapp's school, this entails not only studying the roles and relationships of the community, but also developing experiences in the school where cooperative action is taken to address community issues and needs. Ethics, the appreciation of the social relationships that characterize the community, should be a conscious topic of inquiry, but the understanding and acceptance of these relationships and their implications for the good of society depends on experiences that are structured to encompass these relationships in their active, social context.

If the desirable form of community is to be democratic, the students need to practice the methods of democracy, not merely through formal mechanisms of governance such as student councils, but also through collaborative participation in developing the aims and units of study in their schools. Studies should be made into opportunities for cooperative inquiry, in which each learner explores his or her role in the identification of problems, the study of the situations that produce them, and the testing of potential solutions in action. The role of the adult community member in the learning process is equally important. The school is a false democracy if the members of the community it serves are not closely involved in its operations. The community as a whole must be able to help form the goals and purposes of schooling, and the communication between the school and the community must be interactive, a process of collaborative inquiry rather than a one-way directive.

In this study, the definition of the concept of learning is tied to the concepts of community and service. This definition will take into consideration the goals and methods for learning through community service, but I do not wish to imply that this definition of learning encompasses all of the aspects that are related to learning in general. In light of the current study, the goal of learning is defined as the development of the ability of the learner to effectively participate in social life. The way that that learning is best accomplished is by providing the learner with guided opportunities to live the role of community member through the practice of addressing social problems through the process of inquiry.

Summary

The concepts of community, service, and learning expressed articulated in this study are a combination of the interpretation of John Dewey's philosophy and theory in combination with Elsie Clapp's thought and practice. As such, these concepts combine an idealistic consideration of the nature of reality, and a practical interpretation based on what were admittedly highly unusual educational situations during a period of time that was quite different from today. Even when these ideas were able to be put into practice in a context where the conditions were able to be structured in a nearly ideal manner, as was the case at Clapp's schools, the considerations and issues of the real world affected their ideal application and function. Thus, the understandings of community, service, and learning developed in this study present a number of challenges and difficulties for modern practice, where there are few opportunities to structure the situation as Clapp was able to do. Perhaps the most important implication of these concepts, however, is to suggest a model that provides a useful and integrated way of thinking about learning

through community service. When I began this study I hoped to gain an understanding of the constituent concepts of community service learning that would help to answer the questions I perceived about the fundamental nature of such learning. As I worked my way through the interpretation and analysis of the ideas and the practice described in my study, however, I began to see the same model of social problem-solving recurring across the concepts I was studying. I believe that this model integrates the aspects of community, service, and learning that Dewey emphasized as fundamental, and that Clapp showed to be of practical importance. That model is cooperative social inquiry.

Community Service Learning as Cooperative Social Inquiry

The model of cooperative social inquiry described by Dewey seems to provide a useful way of conceptualizing community service learning. This model is actually a framework for thinking about how to meet community needs and solve community problems and taking action to do so. It encompasses the same thought-to-action continuum that characterized CSL, combining learning goals with active application of the knowledge and skills learned. Cooperative social inquiry, as described in Chapter 5, integrates the concepts of community, service, and learning. As these concepts are integrated, the kinds of purposes that are accomplished, such as citizenship and moral education, personal development, and academic learning may also be accomplished in a way that recognizes the essential interconnections between them that exist in social life.

Cooperative social inquiry is based on the reflective use of past experience, or past learning, integrated with observation and assessment of new situations, or new learning. Problems are identified based on the recognition of community relationships, needs, and mutual consequences. This identification requires considerable knowledge of

the community, as well as the understanding of social forces and connections. The perception of a problem can originate in any phase of experience, but further investigation is required to substantiate the problem and begin to define its causes. As the situation becomes more clearly understood, hypothetical solutions can be developed through reflective thinking that combines past experience with the new knowledge developed through observation and investigation of the characteristics of the new situation. Those hypothetical solutions are then subjected to more reflective thinking, particularly on the ethical questions of positive social benefit, before a solution is chosen to be tested in real-world action. The testing of the proposed solution provides new information and alters the problematic situation, leading to the need for further inquiry.

In all of these phases of the inquiry process deliberate educational goals can be developed and integrated. The problem study phase can focus on areas of community need that relate to the educational needs of the students involved. Identifying the problem requires knowledge about the functioning of given social factors, and the skills to organize and document them. Developing hypothetical solutions requires not only the knowledge and skills to identify those solutions and understand their functioning, but also the ability to evaluate and assess the potential effects of given actions before they are undertaken. Understanding the interpersonal relationships that are impacted by given actions requires a developed ability to reason ethically. The entire process requires the ability to collaborate on the study of the situation, the understanding of the processes of scientific observation and testing, and the ability to apply disciplinary knowledge and skills to real-world situations. These goals are further reinforced as the hypothetical solutions are tried in practice and refined according to their observed effects.

The cooperative social inquiry model emphasizes the need for reflective thinking throughout the process. Reflection, as noted in the beginning of this study, is the essential process by which the learning in CSL takes place. In this model, there is the need to build opportunities for formal and informal reflection on a personal and a group basis throughout the project. Learning should be documented throughout the project, and a constant process of revisiting original goals, assessing the present situation, and developing new approaches to the problem at hand takes place. Dewey's model for reflective thinking suggests ways that the students past experience can be integrated into the learning process and reorganized in light of new experience in the course of the project. The concept of socialized subject matter suggests ways that the disciplinary knowledge of the school can be applied in the ongoing real-world experience of the learner.

Because cooperative social inquiry is a process that emphasizes relationships and mutual consequences, the dichotomy between the server and the served is broken down. Collaboration requires communication, sharing, and the negotiation of aims by everyone involved. This means that everyone involved can be simultaneously considered to be a learner, a beneficiary, and an acting community member. In this context it becomes more useful to conceive of all of the people involved as collaborators rather than dividing them into providers and beneficiaries (E. Pate, personal communication, 4/11/03). The concept of the benefits derived from CSL is also changed. The idea of reciprocity is transformed from a kind of quid pro quo to a recognition and acceptance of the interconnections and relationships that constitute community. Mutual benefits become the objects of reciprocity. The good of the community can be recognized not merely as the material or

spiritual improvement of the lives of community members, but also their increased ability to function effectively and act for further improve in the social setting. This ability involves not only the use of the common store of knowledge and skills shared by the community, but also the ability to understand the consequences of using that knowledge in the social setting.

The model of cooperative social inquiry provides an open framework into which the characteristic components of community service learning can be integrated. It gives us a way of thinking about how learning takes place in experience, how academic knowledge and skills can be applied in real-world practice, and how learning results can be evaluated. In combining concepts of the nature of community membership, service as action aimed at social benefit, and the kinds of learning necessary to produce them, it also shows how multiple purposes and goals can be integrated into the same learning approach. It gives us a way of thinking about the practice of community service learning that places the school at the core of efforts at social justice and improvement. In the next section, I will examine some implications of cooperative social inquiry and the concepts of community, service, and learning it encompasses for present-day community service learning.

Implications for Present-day Community Service Learning

The concepts of community, service, and learning and the model of cooperative social inquiry I have proposed in this study hold suggestions for many of the questions raised in the literature on community service learning. The ultimate goals of CSL, generally conceived as citizenship, civic education, moral education, personal development, or academic learning, cannot be considered in isolation according to

Dewey's philosophical/theoretical ideas. Dewey recognized no distinction in kind between the relationships and activities that characterize citizenship and ethical life in the community. Acquisition of knowledge was empty without the development of the ability to engage in social life that constituted Dewey's idea of personal growth. Clapp's work revealed the interrelated nature of the means and goals of education when they are focused on the needs and interests of the community. A more holistic concept of goals, integrating the many purposes for which CSL has been proposed, takes into account the nature of the social individual and of action within the social context of community.

If Dewey's ideas about the nature of the relationships between community members and the mutual consequences, shared aims, and cooperative actions that produce community are to be taken into account, the distinctions made between students and other participants in CSL, or the divisions into service provider and service recipient, need to be rethought. The concept of service as charity emphasizes an inherently unequal relationship between community members, and operated from the assumption that there is a deficit somewhere in the life of the recipient that the provider does not possess and is able to fill (Boyle-Baise, 2002). This conception redefines service as cooperative effort at meeting community needs rather than a commodity given by someone who is immune to community problems to someone who is needy or incapable of helping themselves. The recognition of the inextricable interrelationships between members of a community and a mutual interest in improving the community as a whole supports the idea that everyone involved in the service activity is at the same time a recipient, provider, learner, and teacher. The concept of participants as collaborators in the activity of service to the

community better encompasses the kind of relationships that Dewey and Clapp reveal to us in their work.

Implicit in this conception of service learning is the idea of shared control over the structure of the service project, so that all participants are able to contribute to the enterprise from the standpoint of their own abilities, interests, and cultural backgrounds. Boyle-Baise (2002) suggested a concept of shared control of service learning projects, similar to the concepts seen in the work of Dewey and Clapp, which seems to offer a way of thinking about CSL that takes into account the nature of cooperative effort and at the same time encourages ideas of diversity and multiculturalism. She suggested that project development be a collaborative undertaking, with all participants sharing in the process. This concept seems to point to a way of considering CSL that is more aligned with the ideas of Dewey and Clapp illustrated in this study.

This collaborative notion of CSL underscores the need for frequent and widespread communication among participants. Communication should be viewed not only as a necessity for the coordination of action, but rather as the activity in which ideas are shared, common aims and goals negotiated and articulated, and the learning that takes place is developed. Reflection should be both a personal and a communicative process, and participants should be given the opportunities to learn how to reflect together and by themselves. Opportunities and encouragement to reflect should be built into every stage of the project not only to encourage learning but also to assess and evaluate the progress of the project against initial goals and changing circumstances. Young people also need to learn how to work effectively with others and how to match their abilities and knowledge to shared objectives. Educational objectives developed for CSL projects

should include learning how to work cooperatively, and opportunities to work collaboratively should be built into school activities of all sorts.

Diversity and multiculturalism, under Dewey's conception, become a way of encouraging innovation and change. Social justice and reconstruction require not only that the needs and beliefs of every member of society are respected, but also that such differences are valued as a source of strength for the community as a whole. In the process of emphasizing the sharing of ideas and the commonalities that characterize community, we cannot lose sight of the fact that we live in a democratic, pluralistic society, and that is our strength. Differences should be valued of course because they exist, but also because they can lead to the kinds of new experiences that enrich the lives of everyone. Democratic interaction and control in CSL projects is vital to insure that free and open communication leads not only to the development of common goals but also the understanding of differences.

This need for collaboration and communication underscores the need for CSL projects to begin in contexts that fit into student experience. The notion of community does not have to be developed merely through face-to-face interaction, especially in today's world that is tied together so much more immediately and closely than the world of a century ago. However, unless the idea of service as a social benefit to all is emphasized through the study and understanding of relationships and mutual consequences, the types of learning involved run the risk of becoming too abstract and remote from the lives of the learners. Projects that involve indirect service, whether in contexts close by or distant, should work to expand the perceived relationships between the people involved, through interpersonal communication whenever possible.

Especially for young children, it is important to keep the principle in mind that community begins in the experience of the learner, and only through experience can connections between people and concepts be expanded.

The concept of reciprocity is also somewhat altered when CSL is conceived as collaborative effort at meeting community needs. The notion of a *quid pro quo*, in which one side gets a measure of knowledge and the other receives some free labor, do not take into account the true nature of service in promoting social justice or improvement that benefits all. This does not negate the importance of building in conscious educational objectives for the project, but rather necessitates that the full nature of the community relationship be emphasized, along with the idea that service is a way of carrying out the activities of community life.

The concept of socially functioning subject matter that was so central to the learning concept developed by Dewey and Clapp has implications not only for how educational objectives are developed in CSL, but also for how they are assessed. In Clapp's work, the separate subjects were integrated around the concept of meeting community needs. In present-day CSL projects, this integrated and contextualized nature of learning implies that objectives be built around central themes or essential questions based on community needs and problems. Learning should be assessed in ways that take into account the applied and contextual nature of knowledge and skills in CSL. It may be that measures of learning that are divorced from the context of learning, such as standardized tests, will not accurately reflect the learning results of CSL projects. Performance-based measures may offer a better way of assessing the learning in problem-based CSL projects. In addition, the concept of testing knowledge through the action

implies that service projects should continue the process of observation and evaluation through the active portions of a project, and even conduct longitudinal study of the results of service activities whenever possible. The concept of the 'legacy' project (E. Pate, personal communication, 4/10/03), in which a given service activity takes place over time with successive collaborators, may provide a model for evaluating not only the results of a service activity but also the types of learning that are accomplished in the project over time.

Using the model of cooperative social inquiry to think about CSL offers a way of incorporating many of the characteristics and practices of CSL into a coherent, unified approach. Taking into account the philosophical and theoretical implications developed in the work of Dewey and Clapp will require first of all that some of the basic ideas found in the literature about CSL, such as reflection, reciprocity, educational objectives, and service activities be rethought. Incorporating the cooperative social inquiry model also suggests a number of needs for further study in CSL. The next section will briefly discuss some of those implications for future research.

Implications for Further Research

The concepts of community, service, and learning developed in this study and the model of cooperative social inquiry proposed for modern community service learning contain a number of implications for future research and inquiry. The desirability of tying CSL projects to community problems and issues highlights the need to find ways to do research about the community, and particularly to train educators to design and lead such research, in order to define community needs and assess the factors of the social environment that are related to those needs. Lagana and Rubin (2002) describe a five-

step model that could offer guidance to collaborators attempting to address such community problems. The incorporation of action research methods and other qualitative types of research may also offer ways to develop projects that are informed and responsive to the many cultural, social, and legal issues that affect community needs.

The process of communication in relation to CSL also needs to be further clarified. How can communication be encouraged and structured so as to emphasize the relationships and commonalities that characterize community? How can communication take place across the spectrum of culturally diverse members of a community in order to preserve and respect that diversity in the approaches taken to meet community needs? What are the functions of communication, in language and by other means, that characterize today's society? Inquiry into communication was a vital component of Clapp's community school model, and communication in today's world is at once easier and more complex than it was a century.

Other aspects of encouraging community and service in a pluralistic society also need examination. How can ethical inquiry proceed in a society that contains so many differing moral systems and views. How can the public school, with its deliberately secular structure, take into account the wishes of diverse groups as to the moral education of their children? The need for some sort of ethical study in public schools is increasingly understood, but there is much to be learned about how to effectively accomplish that purpose in a diverse society.

Methods for helping children learn to work together and achieve consensus are also needed. In this respect, much depends on how teachers can be trained to work with diverse and sometimes divided groups in their classrooms to try to develop some of the

common aims and cooperative actions that will foster their membership in a community. Teachers must also learn how to accommodate the diversity they find across their community as they develop community partnerships and learn about community needs. We need to find ways of helping teachers to develop a greater understanding of other cultures and of the social forces that affect communities. The use of CSL as a method of teacher education, as described by Boyle-Baise (2002) holds promise for providing prospective teachers with the kinds of experiences they need to understand other cultures and incorporate diverse needs into their teaching. Further research into how such programs can be structured would be helpful.

The concept of learning in CSL also suggests some areas of further investigation. Despite the nearly universal agreement among CSL advocates that reflection is one of the most critical processes in this type of learning, knowledge about how reflection works in a psychological sense and what methods are best in CSL projects is still inadequate. The psychological processes by which learning takes place in a practical, applied context should be further investigated so as to help develop the best approaches to service activities. The concept of situated learning (e.g. Wenger, 1998), in which the knowledge and skills needed to accomplish given goals is studied and contextualized, may hold promise as a foundation for understanding how the learning in CSL takes place. Warter and Grossman (2002) describe how the theory of developmental-contextualism may inform CSL advocates about how the external environmental factors of a learner's world interact with the internal factors of the learner's cognitive, physical, and personal development to produce change in the individual. This and other approaches that integrate the individual psychological factors in learning with the contextual factors of

the larger physical and social environment seem to hold promise for understanding the ways in which learning takes place in CSL.

Assessment of learning outcomes is another issue that needs further research. The contextualized and integrated nature of academic knowledge conceived as socially functioning subject matter would seem to present challenges to traditional assessment methods. Performance-based measures may offer better ways of assessing the actual learning that occurs in a cooperative social inquiry-based CSL project. More research into how such assessments can be structured is needed.

Finally, the inquiry approach to developing knowledge through experience suggests a need for CSL projects that are structured deliberately along the lines of Dewey's model. Testing the applicability of this model for present-day CSL is necessary to determine its effectiveness, refine concepts and practices, and further develop the implications of Dewey's philosophy and theory in the realm of practice. An inquiry into cooperative social inquiry, involving the collaboration of researchers, teachers, students, and other collaborators, will help to increase understanding of how this model may help to inform and possibly improve the practice of community service learning.

Conclusion

I originally undertook this study because I had perceived a problematic situation. I wanted to study how community service learning worked, but I found that there was disagreement as to what the term meant. As I delved further into the question, I became aware that basic concepts had different meanings to different researchers and practitioners, and that the frequent disagreements and confusions over these meanings were not always even obvious to those who worked on CSL. I struggled for a long time

to reconcile for myself the differing interpretations of CSL and the confusions about just how it worked and what its results were. I frankly wondered if the fault was not my own, and if the questions I was troubling myself with were really important to my purpose of studying a practice that was already widespread. Yet I had trouble even wording my questions, because I was never even able to decide what to call CSL: a practice, methodology, philosophy, pedagogy, or something else. After talking to some of my teachers whose opinions I valued greatly, I began to believe that clearing up confusion about the purposes, practices, and effects of CSL would require developing some sort of agreement on what was meant by the fundamental concepts that composed the name community service learning.

My choice of how to study these concepts came from aspects of my own experience combined with what I was learning as I delved into the theoretical literature on CSL. John Dewey was an educational role model for me since my own preservice teacher education, and I had for years worked to understand and apply his ideas to my own teaching and learning. I also began to perceive another problematic situation as I read the CSL literature. According to many writers, CSL was a practice that had developed in recent decades, mainly since the 1970's. I thought back to what I knew about Dewey, and also to another Progressive Era teacher with whom I was familiar from my interest in rural education, Elsie Ripley Clapp. Hadn't Dewey talked about the concepts of community, learning, and something that at least sounded like service? Hadn't Clapp tried to develop schools that served as centers of social service to the communities in which they were located? As I began to read more and more modern literature that connected Dewey's ideas to CSL, I began to think that if we wanted to find

out how Dewey's thought might inform CSL, we should delve into that thought in depth. Understanding that philosophy and theory, no matter how appealing it was to me personally, could not fully inform us about real world practice, I decided to use Clapp's work at her schools as a case of the application of Dewey's thought.

The result is this study. I undertook it because I believe that CSL offers a powerful way to enable students to learn about their own lives and about the world in which they live while developing in them the kinds of attitudes that would work toward the improvement of society. CSL seems to offer an antidote to many of the problems of education today: the disconnection between what is learned and the lives of students, the individual emphasis on learning at the expense of cooperation, the attitude of students that what they are learning has nothing to do with their lives, or that anything that does not appear on the test has little importance. I think that CSL offers an approach that can help revitalize education during a time when schooling is increasingly a sterile undertaking driven by rankings and individualism.

The application of the concept of cooperative social inquiry to community service learning holds promise, I believe, for making CSL a rigorous, effective approach to education that at the same time promotes the ability of schools to act as true agencies of social improvement. Dewey's concept was formulated to be applied to any of the problematic situations of human life at whatever scale and for the conscious purpose of allowing individuals to develop to their fullest potential within the social context as they worked toward the benefit of all members of the social group. Advocates who seek a way of thinking about CSL that can accomplish purposes inside and outside the school may benefit from an understanding of this concept. The purposes of community service

learning, whether altruism, civic participation, social reconstruction, or social justice, are inextricably tied together, and the recognition that the kinds of activities that are aimed at accomplishing any of those goals are not different in kind from the activities that aimed at accomplishing any others, or for that matter from the kinds of activities carried out in everyday living, mandates an integrated overall approach that takes into account the interrelated nature of community. Clapp's work shows that even in the face of difficult conditions, the school can act as an agency that not only gives hope to members of the community, but also offers an opportunity for them to become effective agents for improving their own lives and those of their neighbors. Perhaps it is time for the school to take its place as the cradle of democratic living by reconnecting with the everyday life of the community and acting as an agency for service and social improvement.

APPENDIX A

NAME INDEX FOR ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Elsie Ripley Clapp

John Dewey

Clarence Pickett

George Beecher

Fletcher Collins

Carleton Saunders

Elizabeth Sheffield

Jessie Stanton

Eleanor Roosevelt

Bernard Baruch

Rogers Clark Ballard Memorial School

Jefferson County, KY

Arthurdale, WV

Reedsville Subsistence Homestead Project

APPENDIX B

NOTE FORM FOR DATA ANALYSIS

Dissertation Note Form

Date:

Source:	Research Question: How were a) <i>community</i> , b) <i>service</i> , and c) <i>learning</i> conceptualized in Progressive Era theory/philosophy and the practice of selected schools of that era?
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Community	
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Service	
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Learning	
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