In response to the argument that the critiques of schooling lack conceptual consistency and clarity, this paper discusses these criticisms within the conceptual framework of self-alienation. The major portion of the paper deals with the process of self-alienation in North America and, more specifically, discusses how the school reflects this process in student self-alienation. Finally, there is a brief discussion of one approach that could meet the problem outlined.

JOHN MILLER

Schooling and Self-Alienation:
A Conceptual View

It has been argued with justification that the criticisms of schooling, although passionately presented, lack conceptual consistency and intellectual bite. Alfred Alschuler (1969), for example, who is sympathetic to the Human Potential Movement, comes to the harsh conclusion that Leonard's *Education and Ecstacy* is more an exercise in "sophomoric psychology" than "expert thought". Samuel McCracken (1970) in a provocative article has pointed out several inadequacies in the thought of Holt, Leonard, Postman and Weingartner. Consider, for example, McCracken's thoughts on Postman and Weingartner's notion of "crap detecting."

> Thus well begun, the authors start with a discussion of the need for the "built-in, shock-proof crap detector," a concept the sturdy elegance of which is doubtless explained by its derivation from Hemingway, and which appears akin to *critical sense,* or perhaps to *skepticism.* The opening chapter, "Crap Detecting," proceeds to an obligatory account of the Knowledge Explosion, then introduces us to Marshall McLuhan, described as "one of the most dangerous men around at the moment . . . because he seems to be subverting traditional assumptions." Postman and Weingarten (sic) are the only critics I know who treat McLuhan less critically than McLuhan.[1]

In this essay, I will attempt to discuss the criticisms of schooling within a conceptual framework so that, hopefully, there will be a greater consistency and clarity concerning the inadequacies of our educational institutions and thus provide a conceptual springboard to alternatives in education. To attempt this task the concept of alienation has been selected. Although alienation has been used in a variety of contexts, it has an admirable intellectual history. Marx, Hegel, Sartre, Tillich, Fromm, and Keniston are among the more prominent thinkers who have effectively used the term. To identify the meaning of the term for its use in this paper, Richard Schacht's (1971) definitive philosophical analysis of the concept is most

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[1]D. McCracken, "Quackery in the classroom," *Commentary,* 1970, p. 52.

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valuable since he delineates the difference between alienation and self-alienation. The former refers to estrangement between two entities A and B. For example, it can be said that a state of alienation exists between the FLQ and Canadian society. Self-alienation, however, refers to a disparity between a person's actual condition and his essential or ideal nature. Here self-alienation will be the primary focus of the discussion but the distinction will be made between alienation and self-alienation through the self-prefix. Fromm's (1962) definition is adequate in presenting a more explicit description of self-alienation.

> By alienation is meant a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien. He has become, one might say, estranged from himself. He does not experience himself as the center of his world, as the creator of his own acts — but his acts and their consequences have become his masters, whom he obeys, or whom he may even worship. The alienated person is out of touch with any other person. He, like the others, is experienced with the senses and with common sense, but at the same time without being related to, himself and to the world outside productively.[2]

As mentioned above, implicit in the definition of self-alienation is the ideal of the integrated self or the whole man. Today this ancient concept of human fulfillment is expressed in such terms as authenticity, identity, integration and self-actualization. For this paper Fromm's definition of identity will serve as the conceptual counterplayer to self-alienation:

> Fourth, man needs to have a sense of identity . . . Man being torn away from nature, being endowed with reason and imagination needs to form a concept of himself, needs to say and to feel: "I am I." Because he is not lived, but lives, because he has lost the original unity with nature, has to make decisions, is aware of himself and of his neighbor as different persons he must be able to sense himself as the subject of his actions.[3]

In short, to have an identity is to be the principal creator and center of one's behavior. Unlike a state of self-alienation the person who experiences a sense of identity does not act according to others' expectations but looks within himself at his own values to arrive at important decisions. In short, he moves toward autonomous action. It might be useful to diagram the relationship between the two concepts. The opposites exist as poles on a continuum since humans do not experience these states in an either/or sense, but typically experience aspects of both states simultaneously.

Self-Alienation .... Identity

1. No sense of genuine selfhood	1.	Sense of self
2. No experience of self as centre of own actions	2.	Autonomy - experience of self as director of own actions

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

It is beyond the scope of this paper to develop an analysis of the general

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[2] E. Fromm, "Alienation Under Capitalism," in E. and M. Josephson (eds.), *Man alone* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962), p. 56.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 157.

societal conditions that contribute to self-alienation. This section merely attempts to review the more prominent elements in society which critics suggest contribute to man's self-alienation. It is intended that this review will provide the social background for describing the more specific factors in schooling that can lead to student self-alienation.

The Impact of Technology

Technology has been defined as the dominant factor in contemporary Western culture. Jacques Ellul in *The Technological Society* has done the definitive work in analyzing technology's impact on all aspects of life. Ellul's thesis is that society has submitted to technique — "the totality of methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency in every field of human activity". According to Ellul, efficiency has taken dominance over any mode of thought that might interfere with technological progress:

> 'The one best way' so runs the formula to which our technique corresponds. When everything has been measured and calculated mathematically so that the method which has been decided upon is satisfactory from the practical point of view, the method is manifestly the most efficient of all those hitherto employed or those in competition with it, then the technical movement becomes self-directing. I call this process *automatism*.

> There is no personal choice. In respect to magnitude, between, say 3 and 4; 4 is greater than 3; this is a fact which has no personal reference . . . Technique itself, *ipso facto* and without indulgence or possible discussion selects among the means to be employed. The human being is no longer in a sense the agent of choice.[4]

The result of technological efficiency has been what Fred Newmann and Don Oliver[5] have called ideological and aesthetic bankruptcy. Since the main principle of technological progress is quantifiable efficiency, consideration of ideas or values that do not contribute to greater efficiency becomes irrelevant. Daniel Bell in *The End of Ideology* draws the same conclusion in regard to political theory, while Erich Fromm and William Barret have applied the thesis to religion.[6] In regard to world affairs, I.F. Stone suggests that American involvement in Vietnam is more a result of self-perpetuating militaristic technology than any conscious desire to suppress communist aggression.

Another effect of technology is an increasing demand for intensive specialization of jobs and roles that leads to increasing isolation among the members of society. Not only is specialization and resultant isolation apparent on the assembly line but in the bureaucratic organization as described by Max Weber. Today the dominant bureaucratic organization is the corporation. The relationship between technology and the corporation is an intimate one because the capital of the corporation allows technology to be employed on the largest scale possible. Andrew Hacker has brilliantly analyzed the effects of the corporate life on its members. Hacker argues that

[4]J. Ellul, *The technological society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964.) p. 307.

[5]F. Newmann, and D. Oliver, Education and community in *The Harvard Educational Review,* 37, 1967, pp. 61-106.

[6]W. Barret, *Irrational man* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1962).

to succeed in the corporate world (not only in business, but in government and higher education as well) it is imperative for the individual to internalize the expectations of the corporation. In short, he must substitute the corporate self for any authentic goals that he may hold. As Hacker puts it, "Career success today is based on talent and what is especially rewarded is ability and willingness to devote one's talents to goals chosen not be oneself but by others."[7]

Another characteristic of contemporary society that has been made possible by technology is manipulation of the public through the mass media. The advertising industry, for instance, provides artificial stimulants for products that are often irrelevant to a person's real needs. Eric and Mary Josephson summarize the result of consumer manipulation and the technique of planned obsolescence on human life:

> In short working chiefly to consume, consuming to achieve status, accumulating things that have no meaning, wasting on a gigantic scale — these are the conditions in which we live. The result is a wasteland of junk and of human aspirations.[8]

In *The Selling of the President* Joe McGinniss' analysis of the Nixon television campaign is demonstrative of how the public were manipulated during the 1968 elections. For example, consider a promoter's statement on John Wayne. "He might sound bad to people in New York, but he sounds great to the schmucks we're trying to reach through John Wayne. The people down there along the Yahoo belt." Roger Ailes, the producer of the Nixon TV specials, stated that the public is no more than an audience, "an applause machine."[9] The politics of democracy has become the technique of manipulation through television.

The technological effects of pollution have been another major factor in increasing self-alienation. Pollution of air and water that is coincident with technological "progress" has increased man's awareness that he is living in an artificial, synthetic environment that may be slowly destroying him along with the rest of life. Pollution is a constant reminder to the urban dweller that he is out of touch with his environment and, as a result, out of touch with himself. Man, seeing that he is destroying the air and water that sustains his own existence, realizes that he must be out of touch with himself to create an environment that is self-destructive.

Reflecting this larger social context, technological efficiency, manipulation and depersonalization are also common to schooling in North America. This paper now turns to an examination of those elements.

THE SCHOOL AND ALIENATION

Schooling in North America is now the target of a broad attack from a

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[7]A. Hacker, *The end of the American era* (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

[8]E. and M. Josephson, Introduction to *Man alone* p. 29.

[9]J. McGinnis, *The selling of the president 1968* (Richmond Hill, Ontario: Simon and Schuster of Canada, 1970).

number of social critics. This section attempts to review some of these at-
tacks in relation to the way schooling can contribute to student self-aliena-
tion. The social framework of the school will be considered along with more
specific factors that promote certain strategies by the student which can
lead to a state of self-alienation.

Institutional Framework

The most over-riding factor of schooling is that it is compulsory. The
school is like two other societal institutions — prisons and mental health
clinics — in that it does not give its members the prerogative of leaving. Al-
though the school's impact is not as total or unpleasant as these two institu-
tions, it is similar to them in that its members must also face the inevitabi-
lity of the experience. It is this inevitability that forces him to develop
strategies to cope with the experience in ways that are conceivably self-
alienating. Jackson states the student "must also develop strategies for
dealing with the conflict that frequently arieses between his natural desires
and interests on the one hand and institutional expectations on the other"[10]
This is a recurrent theme in analysing schooling in relation to a self-aliena-
tion since school often overrides the intrinsic interests of students.

Although the direct intrusion of compulsory school attendance ends
around mid-afternoon, school indirectly influences student behavior be-
yond that limit. For example, it is impossible for the student to grow the hair
he might like from three to five in the afternoon. Such an extensive mono-
lopy of the student's time has also destroyed to a large extent his opportuni-
ties for random, exploratory work and play that may be important for
psychological development. Erikson, for example, has stated that to gain a
sense of identity during adolescence there is a need for a psychosocial
moratorium:

> By psychosocial moratorium, then we mean a delay of adult commitments, and yet is is
> not only a delay. It is a period that is characterized by a selective permissiveness on the
> part of society and of provocative playfulness on the part of youth, and yet it also often
> leads to deep, if often transitory, commitments on the part of youth, and ends in a more or
> less ceremonial confirmation of commitment on the part of society. Such moratoria show
> highly individual variations which are especially pronounced in very gifted people (gifted
> for better or for worse), and there are, of course, institutional variations linked with the
> ways of life of cultures and subcultures.[11]

I think that it can be safely asserted that most secondary schools in North
America would not meet Erikson's criteria for psychosocial growth during
adolescence.

Similarly, it can also be argued that schooling effectively isolates the stu-
dent from the rest of the community. School has produced a system of age-
grading which has as one effect the fractionation of human career. By
placing the student in the school away from other community activities, the
school "amplifies the conflict between generations and encourages a pos-

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[10]P. Jackson, *Life in classrooms* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 17.

[11]E. Erikson, *Identity: youth and crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p. 157.

ture of dependency, a sense of powerlessness that may carry over from youth to adulthood."[12] In terms of this essay the student's separation from other basic community concerns (e.g. health and welfare activities, transportation problems and urban development) leads to self-alienation since his school existence seems so unrelated to contemporary human needs.

In this same vein Reimer has argued that schooling performs the task of custodial care in societies where there are enough resources to construct structures to house the young.[13] Every fall mothers are delighted to see their children go back to school so that they don't have to deal constantly with the demands and difficulties of the growing and developing child. Again the school serves the same function as a home for the aged or a mental institution in that it removes from our immediate consciousness those elements that are unpleasant and "difficult to manage." The notion that the schools function as custodial settings leads to eventual student awareness that his needs, interests and concerns have little meaning in the wider community context and likewise reinforce his self-alienation.

The architectural structure and the administrative design of the school is another factor that could possibly lead to a sense of self-alienation. The school's physical structure is modelled after corporate structures where the students travel down corridors designed to handle traffic between different compartments. Administratively, the schools also resemble corporations with hierarchies of authority established with each individual (student, parent, teacher, principal, superintendent, and school committeeman) recognizing his duties and the limits of his authority. Consistent with technological specialization, the activities of the school are organized into special categories: teaching (which is further compartmentalized into various subjects), administration, guidance, custodial services, etc. More particularly, education is packaged into equal and quantifiable units with classes of equal size, instructional periods of equal length, and standardized texts and lessons. With its emphasis on organizational efficiency, the school environment is a microcosm of corporate technology and, in terms of human growth, its resulting incongruence with the natural, developmental needs is no less "polluting".

The school bell is representative of the emphasis on organizational efficiency as opposed to the pursuit of intrinsic interests. Jackson observes the effect of the school clock when he says, "There seems to be no other way, therefore, but to stop and start things by the clock, even though this means constantly interrupting the natural flow of interest and desire for at least some students."[14]

Jackson's analysis is similar to Lewis Mumford's more general account of the effects of time regulation on self-alienation.

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[12]Newmann and Oliver, *Op. Cit.,* p. 77.

[13]E. Reimer, "An essay on Alternatives in Education," *Interchange,* 2, 1971, pp. 1-36.

[14]Jackson, *Op. Cit.,* p. 16.

As the scale of industrial organization grows, the punctuality and regularity of the mechanical regime tend to increase it: the time-clock enters automatically to regulate the entrance and exit of the worker, while an irregular worker — tempted by the trout in spring streams or ducks on salt meadows — finds that these impulses are as unfavorably treated as habitual drunkeness.[15]

The student also learns early to conform to administrative regularities or otherwise he can be labelled as a "trouble-maker." The school, in order to maintain its smooth efficiency and compartmentalization, obviously will not tolerate any interference by students or even faculty. The student ends up suppressing any urge to explore and grow, and thus adopts an alien and more submissive self.

Relationships

Some critics have also pointed out the impact of schooling on interpersonal relations within the school. Jackson's observations lead him to the conclusion that "the dominant relationship in the classroom is quite impersonal when compared with that which goes on in the home." Not only is the teacher-student relationship often an impersonal one, but institutional pressures encourage lack of communication among the students. Because the emphasis in many classes is on discipline or control, the students learn not to communicate with one another except in the manner prescribed by the teacher. As Jackson puts it, "In a sense, then, students must try to behave as if they were in solitude, when in point of fact they are not."[16] This tension is even greater when students are close friends.

John Holt states that even the communication that does take place in school is often dishonest. For instance, Holt relates that he has shocked groups of teachers by telling them that when kids ask him a question to which he doesn't know the answer, he simple says, 'I haven't the faintest idea". Another form of dishonesty that Holt points to is the emphasis by teachers on liking the students equally. Holt asserts that this approach often leads to phony affection since it is difficult to honestly express equal affection to all the students. Thus many kids learn that schools are not places for honest, open communication, but instead are institutions for guarded, insincere talk:

> It is a rare child who anywhere in his growing up meets even one older person with whom he can talk openly about what most interests him, concerns him, worries him. This is what rich people are buying for $25 per hour when they send them to psychiatrists. Here is someone to whom you can speak honestly about whatever is on your mind, without having to worry about his getting mad at you.[17]

The environment that Holt depicts is conducive to self-alienation since there is little chance for authentic student expression.

Another factor that is related to impersonal and dishonest communication is the basic power relationship that exists in the classroom. Jackson ob-

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[15]Quoted in Josephson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.

[16]Jackson, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 29, 16.

[17]J. Holt, *How children fail* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964), p. 173.

serves that the student knows that the teacher is the person who sets the "wheels of retributive justice" into motion when the behavior of the student does not meet institutional expectations. The teacher is also the person whose function is often the substitution of institutional plans for the student's own interests. Although these plans may coincide with some student interests, Jackson concludes that usually the "students must learn to employ their executive powers in the service of the teacher's desires rather than their own. Even if it hurts."[18]

There are a variety of other strategies students employ to meet teacher expectations, but most are self-alienating. One strategy open to the student is compliance, i.e. the student becomes a "good worker". In other words he internalizes the school's standards as guidelines for behavior and as a principal source for value-making. Other strategies involve more devious tactics. One method cited by Jackson is the seeking of special favors. At one extreme this strategy involves false compliments and extreme competitiveness to seek the teacher's favor. Jules Henry, in *Culture Against Man*, gives an example of this strategy in a fifth grade arithmetic lesson. It is applicable to many other elementary and secondary school classes as well:

> Boris had trouble reducing 12/16 to the lowest terms, and could only get as far as 6/8. The teacher asked him quietly if that was as far as he could reduce it. She suggested he "think". Much heaving up and down and waving of hands by the other children, all frantic to correct him. Boris pretty unhappy, probably mentally paralyzed. The teacher quiet, patient, ignores the others and concentrates with look and voice on Boris. After a minute or two he turns to the class and says, "Well, who can tell Boris what the number is?" A forest of hands appear, and the teacher calls Peggy. Peggy says that four may be divided into the numerator and the denominator.

Henry comments:

> Boris' failure made it possible for Peggy to succeed; his misery is the occasion for her rejoicing. This is a standard condition of the contemporary American elementary school. To a Zuni, Hopi, or Dakota Indian, Peggy's performance would seem cruel beyond belief, for competition, the wringing of success from somebody's failure, is a form of torture foreign to those non-competitive cultures . . . In school the external nightmare is internalized for life. Boris was not learning arithmetic only; he was learning the essential nightmare also. To be successful in our culture one must learn to dream of failure.[19]

In other words some students internalize the "nightmare of defeat" in order to achieve or succeed in school. In his own way this student becomes self-alienated by incorporating fear as a spring-board to "success".

Another strategy employed to deal with the teachers' implementation of institutional objectives is inattention or the more extreme strategy of withdrawal.

The phenomena of student isolation, withdrawal and competition can also be viewed through the developmental perspective of Lawrence Kohlberg. Research data by Kohlberg indicates that classroom conditions which isolate children from each other are not conducive to moral development. Since Kohlberg's model terminates with the postconventional or autonomous level

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[18]Jackson, *Op. Cit.,* p. 30.

[19]Jules, Henry, *Culture against man* (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 295-6.

(stages 5 & 6) it can be asserted that student isolation is not facilitative of morally autonomous behavior. Instead the conditions reinforce the student's operating at the preconventional (stages 1 & 2) or conventional level (stages 3 & 4). Particularly in the high school, the Kohlberg data would mean that school conditions effectively thwart any advancement towards autonomous reasoning and instead reinforce student operations at the conventional level where moral thought is based on external expectations. In short the school's morality is conducive to self-alienation.[20]

The Henry commentary can be interpreted in a similar manner. Henry's description stresses the value in school of succeeding at another person's expense (i.e., Boris). Schooling reinforces a morality similar to Kohlberg's stage 2 level where other individuals are viewed in terms of one's own needs. Competition in the classroom reinforces preconventional morality and is not conducive to moral development beyond stage 2. In sum, an institutional morality which supports instrumental hedonism and action in accordance with external expectations is not conducive to moral development and the eventuality of autonomy.

Kohlberg's research also suggests that very few people in the U.S. (i.e., 5%) reach the highest stage of moral reasoning. Kohlberg has found that most people maintain the expectations of the family or the institution as a guide to moral reasoning rather than developing self-accepted ethical principles.[21]

Other empirical findings can also be interpreted in light of the conceptual framework employed in this essay. For example Edgar Friedenberg investigated the reactions of 250 high school students to various hypothetical situations. Friedenberg concluded from the study that the students depended more on external judgment than self-approval and internal coherence when making decisions. The students were also suspicious of personal competence unless directed and controlled by the school or by some group for social purposes. In short they distrusted autonomous behavior. [22] The study indicates that as a result of institutional expectations the student to a certain extent gives up his capability for autonomous choice, the second component of self-alienation.

Evaluation

The negative effects of grades and testing on student self-esteem have received extensive analysis so that comments here are limited.

To meet parental expectations for good marks the student may resort to a couple of strategies. First of all he can cheat. Second he can attempt to

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[20]L. Kohlberg, "Moral Education in the Schools; A Developmental View", *The School Review,* 74, 1966, pp. 1-30.

[21]L. Kohlberg, "Stages of moral development as a basis for moral education", in Beck, Crittenden, and Sullivan (eds.), *Moral education* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[22]E. Friedenberg, *Coming of age in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 72-3

"psyche out" the teacher by second guessing him or reading his mind. Institutional and societal pressures on marks lead to another strategy besides cheating and the battle of wits. This is the strategy of incompetence. Due to fear that one may not succeed students lower their self-expectations and accept defeat. For instance, in conversations with students Holt elicited the common reaction of fear concerning school:

> I asked them why they felt gulpish. They said they were afraid of failing, afraid of being kept back, afraid of being called stupid, afraid of feeling themselves stupid. Stupid . . . Even in the kindest and gentlest of schools, children are afraid, many of them a great deal of the time, some of them almost all the time.[23]

Jackson draws a similar conclusion when he says that students learned to "employ psychological buffers to protect them from some of the wear and tear of classroom life". Jackson, however, states that detachment is not an either/or state of affairs. "To anyone who has been in a classroom it is also evident that some students end up being more insulated than others."[24] Jackson's analysis coincides with the diagram of self-alienation and identity presented earlier in the paper.

Students, then, form a range of strategies to deal with the inevitability of the school experience. From the organizational structure to the pressures of evaluation students employ means to cope with institutional expectations. The central theme that runs through these strategies, however, is that the student is changing his behavior to meet external demands that are often inconsistent with his own sense of self. Instead he is forced to cope with and ultimately internalize the values of school so that he can survive. No one has better summarized this process that Jules Henry: "School metamorphoses the child, giving it the kind of Self the school can manage and then proceeds to administer to the Self it has made."[25]

IDENTITY AND EDUCATION

It is beyond the limits of this paper to detail a plan that will lessen student self-alienation. Only the briefest suggestions can be presented here. In short it is suggested that educators commit their efforts to understanding, applying, and extending three models of human development drawn from the work of Erik Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg and Jean Piaget. These theorists are chosen because they fall within and broaden the conceptual framework of the essay. They broaden the framework because they detail several stages of human development with each successive stage generally delineating the increasing capacity for autonomous behavior within the theorist's respective sphere (psychosexual, moral, and cognitive). For illustrative purposes it might be helpful to describe the respective modes of behavior in each developmental model during adolescence. Piaget, for example, describes the stage of formal operational thought where the adolescent can

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[23]Holt, *Op. Cit.,* pp. 38-9.

[24]Jackson, *Op. Cit.,* p. 27.

[25]Henry, *Op. Cit.,* p.

master abstract reasoning and what he calls hypothetico-deductive thinking. The adolescent can make "logical experiments" that he can test through internal logic rather than correspondence to the concrete empirical world. In the Kohlberg model, coincident with the movement to formal operational thought the adolescent is capable of moral reasoning based on "self-accepted moral principles." The adolescent moves from moral thought based on conformity to external expectations of authority to the stage where moral reasoning is based on self-accepted principles that are sensitive to community welfare and contractual agreements. For the adolescent in the Erikson model there lies the possibility of establishing a sense of continuity and sameness within himself through the synthesizing capabilities of the ego.

The developmental models of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Erikson also effectively complement one another and, as a result, offer a broad, integrated picture of the developing child. The theorists themselves have indicated the relationship between their respective models on several occasions.[26] (Evans, 1967; Piaget, 1958; and Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971). Kohlberg and Gilligan, for example, have referred to research on adolescents that indicates a relationship between achievement of identity and the development of self-accepted moral principles: "Erikson's picture of an adolescent stage of identity crisis and its resolutions, then is a picture dependent upon attainment of formal logical thought and of questioning of conventional morality.[27] In general moral, cognitive, and ego development seem to be closely interrelated so that attainment of a Piagetian cognitive stage is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the attainment of the parallel stage of moral and ego development.[28]

The chosen models of human development are philosophically defensible. Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer have argued recently that development is a more viable aim for education than behavioristic or romantic aims in that developmental theory is democratic, non-elitist, and non-indoctrinating. I will not attempt to summarize their extensive analysis here but only emphasize that the models of development are not limited to psychology but have philosophic import that is defensible in its own right. Fortunately, the conceptual content has also been linked to a wealth of empirical data. Kohlberg has been the most extensive in undertaking research to support and add meaning to his developmental model. Even Erikson's work, however, which is the most difficult to deal with in empirical terms has been

[26](1)R. Evans, *Dialogue with Erik Erikson* (New York: Dutton & Co., 1967).

[26](2)J. Piaget, In J. Tanner and B. Inhelder (eds.), *Discussion on Child Development:* Vol. 3 (New York: International Universities Press, 1958), pp. 114-162.

[26](3)L. Kohlberg, and C. Gilligan, "The Adolescent as a Philosopher: the Discovery of the Self in a Post Conventional World", *Daedalus,* 100, 1971, pp. 1051-1086.

[27]Kohlberg and Gilligan, *Op. Cit.,* p. 1078.

[28]L. Kohlberg, and R. Mayer, "Development as the Aim of Education", *The Harvard Educational Review,* 42, 1972, p. 491.

related to valid and reliable programs for research.[29] Loevinger has integrated several development models into a comprehensive model that can be used as a research tool. The work of Kohlberg, Piaget and Loevinger, in fact, allows an operational definition of self-alienation. *In short self-alienation can be operationalized as stage retardation* since all of the empirical models lead towards autonomous behavior in their respective spheres. Alienation could be *alternatively operationalized as a disparity between developmental needs and institutional norms.*

In general the work of the three theorists have indicated a number of principles for shaping environments that would avoid stage retardation. In brief these can be stated as alternative principles to the conditions described in the first part of this essay.

1. Adult Awareness of the Child's View of Reality

This is an extremely important principle when considered in light of the literature on student self-alienation. The theorists indicate that the child holds a radically different view of the world than the adult and that lack of adult awareness of this fact can thwart development. Piaget, for example, states that teacher probing of the child's view of reality is necessary before tasks can be matched with the child's developmental framework. The Piagetian teacher, then, is concerned more with stimulating the child's explanations of reality than imposing adult explanations which have no cognitive meaning.

Erikson has also referred to teacher responses that are conducive to psychosocial growth. In particular he has developed the concept of negative identity and its educational implications. During adolescence the young person may adopt the reverse identity of his parent's expectations. In other words, instead of the "good boy" his parents want him to be he may for a while become a "delinquent" or a "drop out". If the teacher accepts this negative identity as a matter of convenience the "young person may well put his energy into becoming exactly what the careless and fearful community expects him to be — and make a total job of it.[30] From his background of clinical experience Erikson states that if the negative identity of the adolescent is properly understood and properly confronted this identity does not necessarily have to become a final one. Erikson has quoted a character in a Faulkner novel to summarize his point, "It ain't none of us pure crazy and ain't none of us pure sane until the balance of us talks him that way."[31]

2. Activity is a principle facilitator of development

This assertion is most often connected with Piaget's work but is appli-

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[29]J.E. Marcia, "Development and Validation of Ego Identity Status", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 3, 1966, pp. 551-588.

[30]Erikson, *Op. Cit.,* p. 196.

[31]H. Maier, *Three theories of child development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 67.

cable to the educational implications of the other theorists as well. To take a simple example of Piaget's assertion that activity is facilitative of cognition, it can be shown that the child's memory of a tower of cubes will differ among children depending on whether they (a) simply looked at and perceived the cubes, (b) observed the tower being constructed by an adult while the children watched, or (c) reconstructed the tower themselves. The memories which result from the last treatment are clearly superior, whereas there is not much difference between the other two. This shows, says Piaget, "that by carrying out experiments in the child's presence instead of making the child carry them out, one loses the entire informational and formative value offered by action proper as such."[32]

Erikson's stage of industry vs. inferiority centers on the ability of the child to gain a sense of industry by mastering some of the tools and techniques of his culture. If the child's inter-action with his culture and schools is successful, he also realizes a sense of competence or he feels, "I am what I can learn to make work." If the interaction has not been successful the child develops a sense of inferiority. Since Erikson refers to this period as the "school age", the educational implication is that the school and teacher have a major role in facilitating the child's sense of industry by creating situations that allow the child to master various tasks.

3. Evaluation should be based on cognitive processes and competence tasks

The emphasis on achievement in our society has placed a reliance on paper and pencil tests which often do not reveal a real understanding of the concepts involved. As an alternative, Piaget has emphasized a probing of the child's ability to master various operations which are often demonstrable with concrete materials. For example, the preoperational child can count but is unable to conserve number when two equal rows of objects are different in length. Thus the child's understanding of number is more limited than verbal responses would indicate. Evaluation also assists the teacher in matching relevant tasks to developmental needs.

4. Exposure to concrete materials and community realities

The importance of concrete learning materials as a facilitator of cognitive growth is often connected with Piaget and his influence on the British infant school. In short, the teacher's task is to attempt the proper linkage between the child's stage of development and a set of materials which are appropriate to that stage and its coincident operations.

Erikson with regard to adolescence emphasizes exposure to various social and community roles so that the adolescent does not leap to identity foreclosure, but instead has ample opportunity to experiment in various social settings. Some schools have developed individual courses that offer possibilities for direct contact with community concerns and, as a result,

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[32]M. Pulaski, *Understanding Piaget* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), p. 197.

identity growth may also be enhanced. The Community and I course at Thornlea school in North York, Ontario, is an example. After an overview of community problems, the students with their teachers identify particular problems (e.g., pollution or school-community relations) which they wish to study. Groups of students are then formed around certain problems of common interest to the members. These groups then become working teams which study a particular problem and perhaps take some form of relevant action with regard to the problem. Taking four periods every day there is ample opportunity for direct exposure to community concerns, and for role experimentation. In sum the theorists indicate the need for developmentally oriented exposure to manipulatable materials at the early stages of growth and to social realities during adolescence.

5. Role playing and empathic processes

Kohlberg has referred to the moral theories of Dewey, Mead and Piaget, and to his own work, as foundation for the principle that "taking the role of others" is a necessary precondition for moral development. Mead, for example, has stressed the value of role taking in terms of social institutions while Piaget's theory has emphasized the peer group as a source of moral role-taking. Opportunities to "see the other point of view" eventually become intertwined and organized with moral principles of justice at the higher stages of development. The moral principles of justice (e.g., the categorical imperative) ultimately assist the individual in moral conflict resolution. Role-taking is important because it does not produce a particular value system in the individual but instead is a necessary condition to moral development.[33]

As mentioned above, Erikson has argued that adolescent role experimentation is one of the eight components of identity formation. Role experimentation allows the young person to integrate past childhood identifications in the face of an anticipated future and thus assists him in establishing a sense of identity.

6. Confronting genuine conflict

Instead of focusing on what the school or teacher views as "right", Kohlberg has stressed the value of the child's immersion in moral conflict where the child feels a genuine sense of uncertainty about the right answer to the situation in question. A significant portion of research on moral development indicates that moral conflicts are conducive to the development of moral reasoning. In other words, genuine moral dilemmas where there are no right answers provide an alternative for those who seek environments conducive to the development of autonomous behavior. An example of such a moral conflict situation is the classic Heinz case:

> In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the

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[33]Kohlberg, *Stages of Moral Development,* p. 50.

same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $1,000, which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.[34]

7. Sharing in institutional decision making

Research by Kohlberg suggests that integrates or participants in peer group activities advance more quickly than children who are isolated from such activities. Thus methods might be developed to integrate student isolates in peer group activities. Ronald Lippit, for example, has developed methods which encourage peer-group participation rather than directly attempting to influence sociometric integrates to include isolates. The most important aspect of participation, however, is student involvement in school management questions. In order to prevent stage-retardation it is imperative that the child participate in developmentally related decisions which will affect the school environment around him.

Erikson has often made reference to the need for mutuality in human encounters. In short societal awareness of respective developmental needs (e.g., the generative needs of the adult vs. the explorative and competence needs of the child) is necessary so that the institutions of that society facilitate human identity and integrity.

These principles are only guidelines for people (i.e., school officials, principals, teachers, parents, students, community organizers, and free school resource personnel) who wish to facilitate identity development and autonomous behavior. Other people who place higher priority on other objectives (e.g., cultural transmission) will not find them meaningful. I have deliberately not described in detail how the organization of these principles would translate into a particular organizational model. Although the British primary school is often used as an example of how Piagetian developmental theory is effectively transferred to education, the model may not be appropriate for other societies. In short, the model would serve as guides within various contexts but there should not be any attempt to transfer an entire program to another society or subculture. For example the Parkway Program or the SEED program in Toronto might serve as models of developmental theory applied to urban adolescent education but it would adolescence might be no school at all. Paul Goodman, for example, argued in response to Erikson's suggestion for a moratoria that for a certain period the young adult should not be admitted to school but left to pursue self-chosen tasks.[35] Again guidelines must be interpreted in terms of the particular context concerned. A similar approach must also be taken with regard

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[34]*Ibid.,* p. 33.

[35]P. Goodman, *Compulsory miseducation and the community of scholars* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).

to compulsory attendance. Developmental theory does not indicate any final answer to this question and ultimately it is one which all constituencies must face. For example, to abolish compulsory attendance during adolescence might be developmentally appropriate but the economics and political repercussions must also be confronted by the affected constituencies.

The developmental approach should not exclude other alternatives being developed by people who perceive self-alienation as a problem in schooling. It is suggested, however, that this conception provides operative principles that could move systems more intelligently towards environments that are conducive to autonomous behavior rather than abdicative responses. One of the limitations of the approach is that practitioners could extrapolate beyond the boundaries of the theorists to establish a *de facto* rationale for educational programs. Second some people could act as "disciples" of these models and establish a dogmatism that would not be congruent with the experimental view of each of the theorists. Yet these risks seem worth facing since the free school movement, as Kozol indicates, is severly limited by lack of financial support.

For summary purposes the developmental work of Kohlberg, Piaget and Erikson provide one alternaltive to the self-alienating conditions described earlier in this paper because

1. they are conceptually complementary and are causally interrelated;
2. they are philosophically defensible and offer a rich theoretical base for further empirical inquiry and intellectual commitment;
3. they indicate a number of principles for establishing conditions conducive to identity development and autonomous behavior;
4. given the contemporary corporate presence the theories offer the most feasible ground rules for moving towards more humane educational practices.