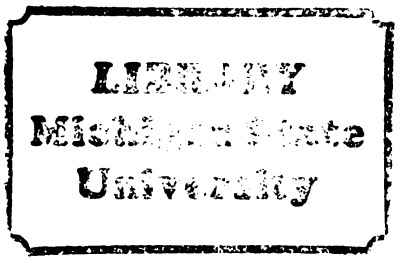
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SHAPES OF BEAUTY IN CLASSROOM LESSONS:
A STUDY OF AESTHETIC EDUCATION AS PRACTICED
IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

presented by

Pamelia Anne Coe

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SHAPES OF BEAUTY IN CLASSROOM LESSONS: A STUDY OF AESTHETIC EDUCATION AS PRACTICED IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

Pamelia Anne Coe

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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College of Education

1983

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1983

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INTRODUCTION

In the sixth-grade classroom the students are engaged in their morning seatwork, which is a mix of straightforward academic assignments in spelling, English, and mathematics and creative assignments: a thank you letter to a classroom guest, a creative writing exercise, and a "logic" puzzle. As usual, the creative writing assignment is meant to evoke sensory awareness, imagination, and logical thinking. Students are to create "What's For Lunch?" jokes. When the teacher explained the assignment earlier, she posed a problem as an example: "What would a teacher have for lunch?" Ana (a recent immigrant from southeast Asia) had grinned broadly and volunteered, "English P's!" Another student had suggested, "Alphabet soup." The teacher had agreed that both answers met the requirements of the joke. The teacher has told the class the order in which they should do the most important assignments, including the thank you letter, and has given them the option of doing the remaining assignments in any order they like.

The intercom summons the teacher to the office to deal with an urgent telephone call, and she leaves the room for a full ten minutes. The students hardly look up as she leaves and continue working quietly but actively on their seatwork, leaving their desks to consult with reference books or with one another as they feel the need. It is understood they may work anywhere in the room during this period, and a few are working on the floor near the bookshelf where the reference books are kept. The observer realizes that it is the first time she has ever seen no breakdown of classroom discipline when a teacher left the room. The class appears to be totally absorbed in their work and unaware that there is anything unusual in their behavior.

This vignette is a composite, based on observation of many such events during observation of this sixth-grade classroom during the spring of 1981. The observer did not once see any

evidence of disruption or disorder when the teacher, Ms. Abbott, left the room. The occasion for the observation was an ethnographic study of the aesthetic education program of the Riverton City Schools. Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade classroom had been selected as a site for intensive documentation because the aesthetic education program staff considered Ms. Abbott to be a particularly good implementer of the program. A first-grade teacher, Ms. Beauvoir, had also been intensively observed. Four additional teachers had been the subjects of one full-day observation each; and a cross-section of school system staff who had been involved in the program (and were selected for participation in the research by the aesthetic education program staff) had been subjects of lengthy interviews about the program.

Teachers who value aesthetic education believe that their use of program activities facilitates a more harmonious classroom climate than they experienced previously. They also believe that the program allows children who have difficulty with traditional academic discipline to experience success in school learning and leads to dramatic decreases in classroom disruption. Ms. Abbott's classroom, in which some creative writing was done each day and where children were frequently engaged in visual or performing arts activities, seemed to be the epitome of a happy, self-disciplined, orderly environment for learning.

The Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program was one of eleven centers for aesthetic education across the United States. The centers' development had been stimulated by an

innovative aesthetic education curriculum developed by CEMREL, Inc. (Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory), one of a number of regional educational laboratories for research and development created by the United States Department of Education under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1964. Although the Riverton program had, during its eight years of operation, accumulated a wide variety of arts-related curriculum materials in addition to the CEMREL curriculum packages (only twelve of which were commercially available), the institutionalized program was based on the CEMREL program. The Riverton staff had received initial program training from CEMREL staff; local training provided by the staff and by Riverton State University was based on the CEMREL program; and teachers who participated in the program still had ready access to the CEMREL packages as well as to other arts-related resources provided by the aesthetic education program staff.

A comprehensive program description, Through the Arts to the Aesthetic, discusses the CEMREL curriculum as based on the arts but more basic to a general education than the study of any individual art form.

> This curriculum represents an innovation -- it is the first general education approach to all the arts at the elementary level. The curriculum uses all the art forms -- dance, film, literature, music, theatre, and visual arts -- as its content base and integrates this type of subject matter into an area of study that fits into the general organization of the elementary school (Madeja and Onuska 1977: xvi).

While recommending that aesthetic education be taught as a coherent subject area distinct from other school subjects, Through the Arts to the Aesthetic emphasizes its contribution to general education:

> Education for the aesthetic, because it goes beyond the limits of any single discipline and relates to the full range of human experiences, is a necessary part of the general education of every child.... An important characteristic of aesthetic education is its applicability to general educational goals. These outcomes go far beyond the initial appreciation on the part of student and teacher that the aesthetic is something joyful and satisfying.... More specific goals of basic education that are promoted through aesthetic education include the development of visual, aural, and kinetic perception. Aesthetic education, by heightening aesthetic perception, encourages students to utilize all their senses. The cognitive skills acquired through exposure to an aesthetic education curriculum build the students' capabilities to organize ideas, understand processes, analyze similarities and differences, and they also improve students' capacities for making informed judgments and decisions. Aesthetic education also encourages development of overall language ability by encouraging students to build their critical language skills to describe and respond to art objects and experiences. Aesthetic literacy is an important educational outcome of aesthetic education (Madeja and Onuska 1977: 5-6).

Ms. Raines, the Riverton aesthetic education program coordinator, and the two resource teachers, Ms. Vinson and Ms. Yarrow, who constituted the staff of the Riverton aesthetic education program, worked on a regular basis with elementary teachers (kindergarten through sixth-grade) in thirty-two schools, about one-third of the elementary schools in the system; and they provided services to teachers in the other elementary schools on request, if staff time permitted. They worked with special education teachers as well as regular classroom teachers and with both self-contained and departmentalized classrooms.

The general approach of the Riverton program was to enhance children's understanding and enjoyment of the aesthetic dimensions of life by making as many connections as possible between the various art forms and all aspects of school life, avoiding treating the arts

as isolated academic subjects. The function of the arts in this recommended subject correlation was understood differently by various participants in the Riverton program: by some, as recreation, to help children enjoy school or particular subjects they might otherwise find difficult; by some, as sensory training, to sharpen children's perceptual abilities, in the expectation that the children would then apprehend all academic content more quickly and accurately; even, by some, as unifier of a school experience artificially segmented into isolated realms of knowledge, to help children generalize, help them apply knowledge from one realm to other realms not obviously related.

Another vignette, an actual incident in Ms. Beauvoir's first-grade classroom in a low income, Title I school, reveals a very different facet of aesthetic education from that revealed by the vignette from Ms. Abbott's room.

> The first-grade children have just returned to the classroom from recess, and the teacher tells them she wants them to "rest" for a few minutes. It is Black History Month, and the teacher tells the class that, in celebration of the month, she has brought a prized record from home to share with them, a classic of black music. She puts a sophisticated jazz record on the classroom record player and tells the children the name of the artist. She then attends to other business, expecting the children to listen quietly, with their heads down on their desks.
>
> Some of the children move in their seats to the unfamiliar rhythms; others, who love to dance to familiar records, seem bored and read or play quietly at their seats. Others whisper. Only one child is resting with his head on his desk. The teacher leaves the room briefly, and perhaps one-third of the class leave their seats and dance. When the teacher returns to the room, she rebukes them for being out of their seats and remarks that they don't like this music. A number of children protest that they do like it; the teacher urges them to be honest about their likes and dislikes.

She says she will play them a new record she picked up for them at the public library.

The teacher puts a record of "Mother Goose" songs on the record player. The children quickly look bored, and a number of them begin to fidget and whisper. The teacher stops the record after the first song, remarking that it is too "slow" for them.

She says, "Okay, I'll let you have your music." She puts on a familiar record, one the children hear at least three times a week during quiet, recreational periods. It is a favorite of both the children and the teacher. The children immediately relax and smile. Most begin singing with the record and stand up and make the appropriate movements when the song suggests simple mime or types of movement such as hopping. One or two sit quietly in their seats reading or appearing to enjoy the music more passively.

This vignette captures music and dancing used as recreation and tranquillizer, familiar music and rhythms helping children move and feel in harmony with each other and the teacher. It is significant that both the students and the teacher recognized that this was "their" music, not simply an activity proposed by the teacher. The teacher foreclosed an opportunity for a more profound musical experience when she discouraged the children's active response to and involvement with the unfamiliar, difficult jazz sounds and rhythms.

This vignette appears to have remarkably little in common with that from Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade class, partly because of the difference in the children's ages and capabilities, partly because of differences in the teachers' styles and in the art forms the children experienced. The differences are more subtle than may at first appear. Ms. Abbott was not always more successful than Ms. Beauvoir in leading aesthetic education activities, but she did regard the arts more seriously and made an effort to bring in outside resources to teach art forms with which she was not

comfortable. (For an example of her seeking out community resources, see the description of a poetry writing tutoring session, Appendix S.)

Although all the teachers in the Riverton program had access to the same curriculum materials and consultants, interpretations of aesthetic education varied widely, as the samples of classroom observations in Appendices I - W illustrate more completely than these two vignettes. The generalization on which the most agreement could be reached would be that aesthetic education is arts-based instruction. Most participants, however, would add qualifications to this general observation, and their additions would not be identical.

The program poses some dilemmas, real or apparent. In an effort to distill the essential nature of aesthetic education (at least as practiced in the Riverton City Schools) and its educational values (if any), the attempt will be made to resolve these dilemmas, after the data on which this study is based are considered more fully.

Dilemmas

Dilemma #1: Frill or Basic?

Aesthetic education is perceived by many non-participants (and probably by some participants) as a harmless frill, pleasant but not essential to an elementary education. Yet many participants believe that the skills children learn from aesthetic education transfer directly to a more efficient learning of core subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Ms. Wilcox, a principal who had been introduced to the aesthetic education program as a second-grade teacher, expressed her belief

in the direct transferability of the skills developed through aesthetic education in the following discussion of the nature of the program and its educational values:

> When I think of aesthetic ed, I think of all the senses involved in the arts. I also think of all the different art forms, and I think it should be integrated into all of the subject areas, into the curriculum guide books, and that the teacher should just incorporate it as a matter of fact ... it should just come naturally as part of the curriculum which they're teaching, whether it's social studies, math, or whatever.
>
> .... I'm very keen on art, so I think that, if you could get children tuned in in kindergarten, first grade, to their senses, to their surroundings, their environment, the discipline that comes with the performing arts, that they fall into the core subjects so much easier and they learn so much faster. I think it's a readiness level for the primary. I think, moving up into the intermediate grades, it's a self-discipline technique that's incorporated into other subject areas.... But, then, I also think that the recreation part of it is very functional too ... just making children aware ... "Hey, here is something ... that's going to be with me forever, and I have all of these opportunities to explore and express."

Not all of those who consider aesthetic education an important facet of general education value its transfer effects on learning of basic school subjects more than the experience for its own sake or for its effects on morale and classroom climate. Some value the non-academic learning associated with aesthetic education more than enhancement of traditional academic learning.

Ms. Abbott and Ms. Beauvoir, the two teachers studied most intensively, agree with Ms. Wilcox about the value of aesthetic education in reinforcing academic learning. Both took pride in showing the researcher their children's scores on the California Achievement Test (CAT) at the end of the year. In both cases the classroom average

was above grade level and higher than the schoolwide average at the same grade level. But Ms. Rausch, a fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy (a low income school), railed against the one-sidedness and fragmentation of a public educational system evaluated solely according to the results of the annual achievement tests.

> I think of myself as a teacher of mini-lessons: quick, to the point, hit it, because we have so many programs ... children are in and out, yet we are totally responsible for the whole program. I think teachers today are under so many pressures.... Sometimes I find myself trying to teach two or three subjects, all at one time....
>
> And I think teachers are pressured, but this is the main [pressure] right here [points to computer printout of spring achievement test scores]. This is our enemy, the achievement test -- because, to me, life is not the achievement test.... You can make a nine point ninety-nine in the second grade on the achievement test, but that's not life. You're not really living and getting along with people....
>
> We as teachers work very hard.... We work with children, and they show improvement on things that are not measured: for example, the arts, expressing yourself verbally. Where does that show up on the tests? You're picking up commas.... Now I really get frustrated, because we do so much work, in these arts, for example, that are not measured there. And they sit back and they say, "They're not teaching...." Well, life is getting along with people, it's enjoying life and not being a nervous wreck, having a breakdown by the time you're twenty.... All this aesthetics, I think, has to do with living, getting along with people, expressing yourself, being pleasant, knowing what your talents are....
>
> We're getting faster and faster, more machines putting people out of work, and we're hurry, hurry, hurry, hurry, hurry. [Most people wouldn't] notice anything unless all the trees in the block fell over on a house. You know, they never notice ... six birds in the tree....
>
> We as teachers feel pressured ... and I know the Board [of Education] feels pressured, because ... the news media like to print those scores.... And the teachers are thinking, "Okay, if it comes down to a choice, it's

> got to be the reading, because it's going to be plastered all over the paper, my principal's going to look at it and say, 'What's the matter, didn't you teach reading this year?'"... But, you see, I listen to my children learn to play the song flute, they learn to sing, Johnny can get along with his neighbor -- he used to fight all the time but now he doesn't. But, see, the achievement test doesn't say what they scored in getting along with others or how well they sang or have they got a good self concept.... The teachers feel the pressure.

Dilemma #2: Are they teaching aesthetic education or not?

Participants in the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program generally are unsure of the definition of aesthetic education or even of the art forms on which the program is based. Thus, they are unsure whether what they are doing represents aesthetic education or not when they move beyond the packaged curriculum materials. However, most of the participating teachers can describe values they believe to be inherent in both the packaged activities and in their teacher-made, arts-based activities which many of them used before the CEMREL materials were introduced. They are more concerned to have these values inculcated than to be authentic or "pure" practitioners of aesthetic education. Arts specialists frequently resent what they perceive as a hidden agenda (to teach social values), which they feel dilutes the arts content of the curriculum, often to the point that lessons which purport to be aesthetic education have no arts content.

Values mentioned by the teachers include having children become more aware of their surroundings and of each other, become more sensitive to their own and others' feelings. A number of teachers value their own increased understanding of individual

children as they observe them in a wider variety of situations, responding to a wider variety of challenges, and as they read and observe what children choose to reveal about themselves in creative writing and dramatic play. Many of the teachers also feel that aesthetic education facilitates classroom management techniques requiring children to be responsible for a great deal of self-directed behavior, freeing the teacher to be flexible in meeting particular educational needs. Inculcation of such values, rather than arts-based activities for their own sake, is of prime importance to these program participants.

In other school systems the implicit conflict in the perception of aesthetic education between arts specialists and non-specialist teachers may sometimes lead to vocal disagreements over the role of the arts in the elementary classroom. In Riverton such overt conflict was not observed, primarily because there are so few aesthetic education specialists that they can only serve as resources for classroom teachers rather than working with classes of children on a regular basis themselves. This precise conflict was observed, however, between the CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators and the Riverton aesthetic education program staff because the program staff felt they had to limit direct instruction of arts concepts to what classroom teachers were able to provide. They could make available more skilled arts instruction only when outside resources (themselves or artists-in-residence) were available.

Dilemma #3: Relaxation or Another Pressure?

Voluntary participants in the aesthetic education program value arts-based activities in part because they feel these activities relieve some of the excessive pressures children and teachers are under and make the classroom a more relaxed, pleasant place to be. Yet teachers who resist the program usually do so because they perceive it as yet another pressure -- and a demand for performance in an inessential curriculum area. They perceive that the novelty of the approach will be uncomfortable for them and probably for the children also, rather than pleasurable and relaxed.

The Structure of Engagement

A concept discovered in the observations for this study helps explain some of the apparent contradictions and variations in the points of view of different participants that are revealed by the list of dilemmas. The concept is that of dramatic structure: an intrinsic, apparently necessary sequencing of students' and teacher's engagement with the content of any given lesson. What it describes is not the sequencing of the content itself (a separate concern, since there is intrinsically appropriate or inappropriate sequencing in the presentation of school tasks) but the successive, coordinated focusing of participants' affective energies (often described as "interest" or "engagement" or "involvement") on the cognitive, motor, and social demands of the task. Observations revealed (for instance, in the first grade writing lesson described

in Appendix M) that it is possible to capture students' affective involvement in such a way as to disrupt rather than to reinforce the cooperative focusing in on the content of the lesson itself. (This seems to occur when students' imaginations are sparked by some aspect of the lesson which they do not and perhaps cannot perceive as integrally related to the overall thrust or "point" of the lesson.)

When the sequencing of involvement exhibits good dramatic structure, as diagrammed schematically below in Figure 1, interest and group engagement level rise to a clear peak or climax, which coincides with the basic "point" of the instructional sequence, and then drop off more or less rapidly (a "denouement" in theatrical terms) to be refocused on something else.

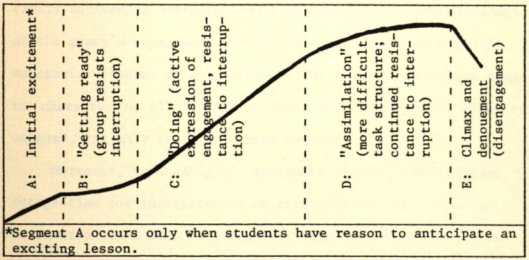


Figure 1. SCHEMATIC LESSON ENGAGEMENT CURVE

The term "dramatic structure" is borrowed from the art of drama and was specifically suggested by a very strong analogy

between the attentional sequence just described and the structure indirectly taught students through a plot-creating board game in the CEMREL package Creating Dramatic Plot. The researcher's original expectation was that such a structure would characterize arts events in contrast to more academic events and might (when arts content was incorporated into a mathematics or grammar lesson, for instance) account for teachers' consistent reports that arts-based lessons decrease disruptive behavior and increase appropriate engagement in all school tasks. However, it was more difficult to pinpoint the effects of arts instruction on more academic instruction than anticipated. As the charts in chapter four and in the appendices show fairly clearly, arts lessons which "worked" for participants did exhibit simpler structure (fewer and more easily described steps in the sequence leading to a climax) than intuitively successful non-arts lessons. However, the overall shape of the group's engagement curve turned out to be identical in successful lessons of all types. Clear dramatic structure seemed to characterize all lessons in which participants were adequately engaged, not only those with arts content.

Moreover, no unambiguous instances of successful subject integration (or incorporation of arts content into a unit of instruction in a more basic subject area, to attract students' attention to the academic content) were observed. Teachers who attributed desirable academic outcomes to their use of arts-based activities in the classroom were, perhaps, describing a more complex process than their abstracted descriptions of it suggested.

Although the data can only suggest the hypothesis and cannot directly demonstrate that it is accurate, the following speculation seems probable. What is supposed here is that, when the inherently necessary sequencing of affective involvement in lessons is problematic, for whatever reason, arts events have such powerful, intrinsic affective influence, focusing students' attention on the activity in which they are participating, that they can be used to teach students how to participate in a coherently sequenced group event with a "point" and can evoke a general willingness to "suspend disbelief" and participate in lessons on the assumption that, when the whole event has been assimilated, it will have been intrinsically satisfying. Thus, what may transfer from arts lessons to the basic academic subjects is not the actual engagement elicited by a particular arts event but ability and willingness to help structure classroom events in general in intrinsically satisfying ways. This possibility may be clearer following the analysis in chapter four, where situations in which such transfer may have taken place are contrasted with situations in which it clearly has not.

There is some evidence in the field notes (bolstered by teachers' reports in the interviews) that this ability and willingness apply not only to cooperatively produced group instruction but to individually-structured seatwork tasks, allowing the teacher to depend on children to work independently without constant supervision to ensure that they stay on task. This allows for greater flexibility in the "rules" for classroom management and

appropriate classroom interaction than can be tolerated in a more traditional classroom.

Research Questions

What is aesthetic education (as variously implemented)?

What good is it (as variously perceived)?

These are the questions to which this dissertation is addressed, to the degree they can be answered through interviews with and close observation of program administrators and a few experienced teachers involved in one aesthetic education program in one urban school system. The basic methods used in answering them were those of ethnography and microethnography, supplemented by a series of relatively open-ended interviews with a cross section of people who have been involved with the Riverton aesthetic education program, as well as by documentary evidence. These methods are well suited to making such broad questions more manageable. Restated a little more precisely, with regard for the limitations of the research methods used, the key questions to which this study is addressed become:

1) What classroom and other school-based activities can be described as aesthetic education in the context of the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program? What range of such activities is observed in a few selected classrooms or described by a small cross section of program participants, and what inferences can be drawn about the general nature of the school activities fostered by the program? Do considerations discussed by philosophical and educational aestheticians add significantly to a comprehensive understanding of what is occurring in the classrooms that are observed?

2) How do program participants conceive of aesthetic education? How do students, teachers, and other

participants talk about the activities they perceive as aesthetic education? What do observed activities imply about participants' understandings, implicit as well as explicit, of the essential nature of the curriculum?

3) What are the educational values, if any, of aesthetic education activities a) in their own right? b) as they interact with other facets of school life, with which they may or may not be combined in practice? c) for individual students and teachers? d) for the collectivities involved in public education: classes, schools, and the school system as a whole?

4) How do program participants describe the educational values of aesthetic education, and to what extent are these descriptions congruent with observable or inferred educational outcomes of observed aesthetic education activities?

Organization of the Thesis

In the thesis which follows, chapters one and two lay the groundwork for consideration of these questions. Chapter one reviews theoretical literature concerning the nature of human learning, of schooling, of the arts disciplines on which the CEMREL curriculum is based, and of the role of the arts in education. Chapter two is a consideration of the focus of the research inquiry as related to the questions to which it is addressed, a discussion of the various research traditions on which the research design for this study draws, and a description of the techniques of data collection and analysis actually used in the study.

Chapter three establishes the context of the study with a brief description of Riverton, the midsouthern city in which the study was conducted; a brief history of the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program; and descriptions of the classrooms

which were the major sites for the observations on which much of the analysis is based. Chapters four and five present the evidence concerning the questions to which the study is addressed. Chapter four presents and discusses key features of various observed lessons, using the concept of dramatic structure (discussed briefly above) as the major analytic tool and introducing a method of charting the attentional structure of any lesson. Chapter five reviews the participants' experiences with the Riverton aesthetic education program and the meaning of these experiences to them, as viewed from their wide variety of viewpoints.

Chapter six is a summary of the meaning of the data presented in chapters four and five: a description of the range of activities found occurring under the aegis of the Riverton aesthetic education program; the significance of these activities from a variety of viewpoints; and suggestions for future research which might sharpen the concepts presented here and determine the degree to which the findings of this study are generalizable to other settings. Chapter six returns to the dilemmas just outlined briefly and analyzes them specifically in light of the data in chapters four and five. It also addresses the problems encountered by CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators in persuading schools that adopted the curriculum to implement it as intended by the developers. (These problems are described at the end of chapter one.)

Because the scope of this inquiry is so broad (encompassing

the perceptions of a cross section of participants in the Riverton program as well as those of CEMREL curriculum developers and disseminators; and including relatively intensive observation of two classrooms at different grade levels and less intensive observation of four more classrooms), the amount of information that is relevant at each step of the inquiry frequently becomes unwieldy. In order to make the narrative as comprehensible as possible and as coherent as possible, the supporting evidence given in the body of the report is a very highly selected portion of the data actually available to the researcher. In order to give the interested reader some opportunity to judge the appropriateness of the selection process, as well as additional information if desired, there are a great many appendices with additional relevant information, including verbatim excerpts from the field notes and additional analyses. There are also two appendices included primarily as orienting devices for the reader: a brief description of all the dramatis personae in Appendix G and a brief description of the twelve schools involved in any way in the study, followed by classroom maps of the two classrooms most intensively studied, in Appendix H.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> Of all the problems that we have to study in a philosophy of education, the problem of the educational value of art is one of the most difficult ones. From its first beginnings philosophy had to face this problem. But it seems as if we are still very far from a generally admitted solution. We are still confronted with the same fundamental dilemma that we find in the great systems of Greek thought; we are struggling with the same systematic difficulties as Plato or Aristotle (Cassirer 1943: 196).

The subject of aesthetics has been of passionate interest since at least the beginning of written history, the earliest known discussions being found in early Sanskrit writings in India. Over the millenia many divergent opinions have been expressed about the nature of the arts and their educational value or lack of it.

The dilemma of which Cassirer writes is the argument over whether the arts have moral value (and therefore are fit subjects of instruction for the young) or whether, on the contrary, they lead the audience into the temptation of giving sway to irrational, immoral impulses. Cassirer notes, "The history of aesthetics seems constantly to oscillate between two opposite poles -- between an intellectual and an emotional approach to art" (1943: 204). Classical and neoclassical aesthetic theories define the arts, he says, in terms of "imitation" (a cognitive approach) while romantic theories of art define the aesthetic as

that which is expressive (an affective approach). Cassirer contends (1943: 210) that every art form has both a subjective and an objective pole and that there is a necessary tension between the two.

Cassirer argues that one of the great values of art is the transformation of what is usually perceived as a passive activity (perception) into active engagement with the work. He observes (1943: 212), "Even the spectator of the work of art is not restricted to a mere passive role. In order to contemplate and to enjoy the work of art he has to create it in his measure. We cannot understand or feel a great work of art without, to a certain degree, repeating and reconstructing the creative process by which it has come into being." By this analysis Cassirer resolves to his own satisfaction the dilemma of whether or not the arts have educational value:

> All our passive states are now turned into active energies: the forms that I behold are not only my states, but my acts. It is this character of aesthetic experience which to my mind gives to art its special place in human culture and makes it an essential and indispensable element in the system of liberal education. Art is a way to freedom, the process of the liberation of the human mind which is the real and ultimate aim of all education, it has to fulfill a task of its own, a task that cannot be replaced by any other function (Cassirer 1943: 215).

Dewey expresses a similar vision of the nature of art, stressing that both creation and appreciation of art require a balance between "doing" and "undergoing:" "It is not so easy in the case of the perceiver and appreciator to understand the

intimate union of doing and undergoing as it is in the case of the maker" (Dewey 1934: 52). Like Cassirer, Dewey feels that every aesthetic experience involves active construction of meaningful form: "Through art, meanings of objects that are otherwise dumb, inchoate, restricted, and resisted are clarified and concentrated, and not by thought working laboriously upon them, nor by escape into a world of mere sense, but by creation of a new experience" (Dewey 1934: 132-133). "Expression is the clarification of turbid emotion" (Dewey 1934: 77), and, "The spontaneous in art is complete absorption in subject matter that is fresh, the freshness of which holds and sustains emotion" (Dewey 1934: 70).

This thumbnail sketch of one of the most venerable controversies in aesthetic theory and a possible solution to the problem can only suggest the many fundamental dilemmas which have been discussed over the years by aestheticians, as well as the many disputes over what seem minor details rather than substantive differences. Fine shades of meaning frequently lie behind strongly felt theoretical differences. Yet, as the substantial agreement between Dewey and Cassirer illustrates, there is also evidence of a fair amount of consensus in these discussions (for instance, on the idea that the arts are intellectually liberating and that they have to do both with the creation of a peculiarly human order and with the expression of emotions).

Space will not permit a full exploration of these dilemmas,

nor has the time available for this project allowed a comprehensive review of the voluminous literature on the subject. What follows is a highly selected discussion of considerations from a variety of theoretical perspectives which seem to bear on the problems actually encountered while studying aesthetic education in a few elementary school classes in one urban school system (including discussion of the aesthetic theory reflected in -- or omitted from -- the CEMREL curriculum which was the basis for the program). (To compensate for the severe curtailment of the discussion of aesthetic theory in this chapter, Appendix A consists of an elaborated literature review of aesthetic theories as they bear on the considerations discussed here.)

The theoretical perspectives discussed here need to account for the nature of human culture in general and of the institution of schooling, as well as for the nature of the art forms on which the aesthetic education curriculum is based.

Play Theories of Culture, the Arts -- and Schooling

> The word "school" has a curious history behind it. Meaning originally "leisure" it has now acquired precisely the opposite sense of systematic work and training, as civilization restricted the free disposal of the young man's time more and more and herded larger and larger classes of the young to a daily life of severe application from childhood onwards (Huizinga 1970: 172).

In Homo Ludens Huizinga makes a case that all human cultural advancement originates "in and as play" (1970: 17) and laments that in modern times activities which appear to be play

are often "puerile," as in the intense but all too real competition of professional sports (1970: 232). There is much in Huizinga's argument, as well as in the psychological and ethnographic research reviewed in chapter two, which suggests that an attitude of play is an important element in all except trial-and-error learning and should, therefore, make for productive, deliberate learning in school. Yet the compulsory nature of modern public schooling militates against the most characteristic quality of play, that it is undertaken for its own sake because it is fun, or intrinsically rewarding.

> First and foremost, then, all play is a voluntary activity.... By this quality of freedom alone, play marks itself off from the course of the natural process. It is something added thereto....
>
> Child and animal play because they enjoy playing, and therein precisely lies their freedom....
>
> Only when play is a recognized cultural function -- a rite, a ceremony -- is it bound up with notions of obligation and duty (Huizinga 1970: 26).

Play is the prototype of meaningful activity because of its innate metaphorical or "as if" quality. Bateson (1972, 1979) describes play in mammals as a type of interaction in which an animal engages in behavior which in everyday life signals one thing in order to signal something else, frequently its opposite. (This meaningful use of opposites is the non-human animal's only means of digital discourse and thus the closest approximation to natural language among non-humans.) Thus, Bateson (1972: 54-55) describes friendly play in puppies or dogs as a sort of mock

fighting, and he describes the metaphorical nature of all play even more precisely in a later publication:

> The given acts that constitute play in a given sequence may, of course, occur in the same persons or animals in other sorts of sequence. What is characteristic of "play" is that this is a name for contexts in which the constituent acts have a different sort of relevance and organization from that which they would have had in non-play. It may even be that the essence of play lies in a partial denial of the meanings that the actions would have had in other situations (Bateson 1979: 139).

Play can describe virtually the full gamut of human activities. Huizinga (1970) emphasizes that play is never chaotic or formless, it is always an activity bounded by freely accepted but absolutely binding rules. But not all these rules need be of the "right/wrong" variety, and in the arts the rules which determine the quality of the work of art are usually rather flexible compared with the rules of a game like baseball. In all cases, however, the players must transcend any immediate real-life exigencies and play by rules of the game which hold only for the duration of the game and are valid only because all players agree on them (or because a solitary player has chosen them). Only if this is the case can mock fighting be perceived as fun, although a "real" attack is cause for alarm.

The probable consequences of play are also different from the probable consequences of direct response to real-life exigencies. Young mammals, protected by their parents from the hazards of providing their own food and protection, have in play a psychological and social "learning space," inherently rewarding,

which allows them to practice the skills of adult life without having to suffer the real-life consequences. Players who lose a race or a wrestling match are not usually in any real danger of losing their lives, and girls who coordinate their actions through the rhythmic activity of jump rope are not faced at that moment with any of the real-life tasks which require close cooperation among a group of people for successful completion.

The metaphoric nature of play, which requires acting "as if" the rules of the game were generally valid when all the players know that they hold only within the strictly delimited confines of the game, may provide the earliest existential grounds for development of self-consciousness, or the ability to stand away from unconscious immersion in the stream of events, to be aware of one's experiences as bounded events, and to reflect upon one's own experience. Development of conscious awareness, ability to act mentally on events and ideas far removed from one's immediate existential situation, and ability to reflect upon as well as to remember past experience are self-evidently crucial components of the sort of learning children are required to do in school.

Montagu (1981) discusses play as the most neotonous of human and animal activities and relates man's extraordinary ability to evolve culturally to humans' ability to play long into adulthood:

> Animals when they play exult in the sheer pleasure of their romping and running, their mock chasing, waylaying, and biting each other.... It seems sheer joy, and yet it is more than that. It is clearly a training and preparation for the challenges and realities of the adult world they will have to meet and to which they will have to make appropriate responses. The play of children is essentially of the same nature as that of young animals, but the child is capable of a far wider range of play activities than is any other creature, for the child's play is a leap of the imagination far beyond the capabilities of other creatures. It is this vaulting capacity of the imagination in play that is one of the most valuable traits of the human species. It is this sort of play of the imagination, the challenge to "take a giant leap," that has been responsible for much of the invention and discovery, the great ideas that have benefited humanity (Montagu 1981: 155).

And play seems to give human beings a sense of control over the orderly structuring of their lives which may well have been a factor in the cultural flowering of mankind. As Huizinga (1970: 29) expresses it, "Here we come across another, very positive feature of play: it creates order, is order. Into an imperfect world and into the confusion of life it brings a temporary, a limited perfection."

That play would enter into an adequate theoretical framework for understanding the role of the arts and aesthetic education in schools seemed likely even before undertaking the research on which this study is based. Aesthetic theories describing the arts as a form of play have been common throughout history. However, it was not until the researcher was studying the videotapes which had been made in target classrooms that she realized the degree to which all classroom events (particularly in the sixth-grade

classroom) were pervaded by a spirit of play, of rules of the game established primarily by the teacher but willingly adhered to by the students because the events they structured were inherently satisfying. Reviewing the field notes she realized that this spirit of play pervaded all the observations of this classroom and was probably, in large measure, responsible for the unusual amount of self-discipline exhibited by the children. (For a routine example of this self-discipline, see the anecdote on the first page of the introduction. See Appendix J for an example of a lesson in which dramatic structure never did develop fully because of persistent interruptions which could not be ignored, but in which the students persisted in cooperating with the teacher in trying to put the lesson "in play.")

Most modern aesthetic theoreticians cited later in this chapter consider theories of the arts as play inadequate if not completely mistaken. There is an implication in most modern discussions of such theories that defining the arts in terms of play fails to account for the salient characteristics of the art forms and, between the lines, a feeling that the arts are serious human activities which are demeaned by being equated with play. In the theories of play discussed to date, however, play is perceived as a critical human capacity, not serious in the sense that real-life exigencies like having to work to support one's family are serious, but productive of cultural growth which enriches the everyday life of people. In light of these theories

the arts are seen simply as one of the types of human cultural activity engendered by the play impulse and are ennobled rather than demeaned by being seen as a form of play, since they are thereby classed with the most important scientific discoveries, the most profound philosophical insights, and the most inspired religious teachings.

However, modern theoreticians are correct in that describing the arts as play does not account for the special characteristics of the arts, fails to differentiate the composing of a poem from a game of jump rope. That the arts are a form of play is important in understanding their functions in schools, but their educational value lies not simply in their roots in play but in the particular kind of play in which they are rooted. Spelling bees are also play -- and their educational effectiveness largely stems from their play character, since, as Huizinga argues, the contest is in many ways the most compelling type of play -- but no one would argue that the educational values of arts lessons and of spelling bees are identical. Therefore, it is necessary to inquire more deeply into the essential nature of the art forms, in order to understand their potential as one component of a general education. Before proceeding to this discussion, however, let us consider ethnographic and sociolinguistic theory that bears on the nature of school learning and of the classroom events known as "lessons," for a more fully developed picture of learning "in and as" play.

Inquiry into the "task structure" of lessons and of learning in general seems to be the most promising approach for a structural understanding of human learning activities. Erickson (1979c) emphasizes that the meanings communicated in classroom teaching and learning must of necessity be simultaneously social and referential. He suggests (1979c: 5) that "what we are lacking is an adequate theory of classroom social life as the primary environment of classroom learning; of qualitatively differing kinds of task environments; of kinds of time on kinds of tasks." Doyle (1977) strongly advocates a new paradigm for research into teacher effectiveness, an ecological approach concerned with the nature of classroom task structures (overlapping sets of goals and operations each of which defines a "behavior ecology").

In Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms (1979) Bossert reports on a research project utilizing such a paradigm. Some of the structural features with which he is concerned are size of the work group (from single pupil to the whole class); the number of different tasks undertaken at the same time (from single task for the entire class to individualized instruction); the interdependence of task performance; and the degree of pupil choice or teacher dominance over the task.

> For example, recitation is a common classroom activity usually characterized by full class participation, one member at a time, a single topic and task, and teacher control over topic and student participation. By contrast, individualized instruction atomizes the work activity and often involves substantial pupil choice over the topic and method of completion (Bossert 1979: 10).

He emphasizes the negotiated character of the rules that govern classroom contexts and the enactment of lessons: "teacher authority depends, in part, on the definition of appropriate behavior and sanctioning associated with particular classroom task structures" (Bossert 1979: 12).

Bossert did a case study of two sets of elementary school classrooms with strongly contrasting task configurations: two classrooms in which teacher-dominated activities predominated and two classrooms in which there was a predominance of what Bossert labeled "multi-task environments." He demonstrated on the basis of extensive observations that the tasks teachers required varied systematically in the two different types of classroom. Even when a teacher made the attempt to solve some of her classroom problems by switching from one type of task environment to the other in midyear, this required a renegotiation with the class which apparently was far more difficult to achieve than the initial negotiation of classroom rules (Bossert 1979: 85-86).

Observations that Bossert made but did not attempt to explain in his task analyses were that the two teachers whose preferred classroom organization was the "multi-task environment" habitually gave students many visual and performing arts assignments, so that arts activities were usually taking place somewhere in the classroom, and that they scheduled a significant amount of time for what they and the students perceived as play. Teachers who preferred teacher-dominated activities, by contrast, assigned fewer arts activities, kept those they did assign more

segregated from activities in the basic subjects, and emphasized school "work," allowing little play except at designated periods such as recess.

Bossert records that teachers in the school he studied were convinced that students from the recitation-oriented classrooms were more responsive to external discipline (and thus were perceived as more "disciplined") while students from "multi-task environment" classrooms took more initiative in the classroom and worked more cooperatively with classmates (and thus were perceived as more "self-disciplined"). And he reports that even the teachers who preferred a "multi-task environment" became much more concerned with maintaining control and gave students more overt "desists" for disruptive behavior when they were leading lessons with a recitation structure than when engaging the class in individualized or small-group instruction.

Bossert does not discuss the task structure of play, particularly its character as a freely chosen activity with its own rewards and penalties but free of the constraints of more serious, goal-oriented pursuits. But it is tempting to speculate on the possible significance of his data. That arts and other play activities in the classroom were associated with activity structures which allowed children to engage in educational pursuits without the necessity for rigid teacher control over their behavior and that these pursuits stimulated children to become self-disciplined, if less responsive to external discipline, at the least suggests that play and school learning are not necessarily

incompatible and may even reinforce the notion that young humans, like other young mammals, learn best through play. The reader's willingness to engage in such speculations may well depend on his or her attitudes toward the values associated with the "multi-task environment" (not only in Bossert's study but also in the self-reports by teachers summarized in chapter five): independence, initiative in cooperation with peers, and self-discipline as opposed to obedience to external discipline and dependence on authority figures.

Erickson (1982b) relates classroom task structure to what Malinowski (1922: 18) calls "the inponderabilia of actual life," those habitual, mostly unconscious, culturally-based responses which allow participants in any social setting to "improvise" meaningful encounters. Drawing an explicit analogy between such interactive "improvisation" of variations on commonly understood classroom "themes" and improvisation in jazz, Erickson contends that the "themes" for classroom interaction are drawn from two sets of procedural knowledge, which must operate simultaneously as lessons are enacted in real time. These are knowledge of academic task structures (varying across subject matters) and knowledge of social participation structures (constraints on such patterns as taking turns at speaking, coordinating audience "listening behavior" with the performer's "speaking behavior," etc.).

Moore (1981), studying a non-traditional high school program emphasizing apprenticeship training in community agencies,

discovered a schematic activity structure which throws considerable light on the structure of human learning in general. He cites a number of socioethnographic and sociolinguistic studies of the ways classroom participants organize their interactions through the use of speech. He found that several of these studies propose very similar categories for classifying "moves" made by teachers and students "in the stream of classroom discourse."

> For example, at both the high school level (Bellack, et al., 1966) and the elementary school level (Mehan, 1979), teachers and students frequently engage in a sequence of utterances in the following form:
>
> Teacher: When was the Erie Canal opened?
> Student: 1825.
> Teacher: Very good. (Moore 1981: 291)

Labeling this sequence "I-R-E" after the terms Mehan had used to describe it ("initiation," "reply," "evaluation"), Moore discovered an activity sequence in his field notes which seemed to have close structural resemblances to the "I-R-E" discourse structure found in schools.

> Surprisingly, a structural analog of the I-R-E sequence did turn up in the analysis of the field notes, although not on the level of speech alone. In reviewing one batch of notes, we looked for encounters between supervisors and students that intuitively seemed to constitute instruction -- interactions where one person was trying to get some information or skill across to another. Frequently, that transaction seemed to involve the supervisor's identifying a task and showing the student how to do it. There seemed to be other occasions in which the supervisor was monitoring the student's performance to see if the task had been properly completed.
>
> In each encounter the student was faced with some identifiable <u>task</u>, a problem or operation that accomplished the work of the place. Both empirically and logically, we identified three phases to what we called a "task episode":

> The task is established for the student.
> The task is accomplished (or not) by the student.
> The student's performance on the task is monitored or processed.
>
> The task episode is similar to the I-R-E sequence not only in structure but also in function; it represents social processes by which a student encounters a problem, works on it, and receives information about the quality of the performance. The scheme provided considerable conceptual order in our attempt to identify the dimensions of the social structuring of educational encounters (Moore 1981: 291).

Intuitively, the sequence Moore describes appears to have the necessary structure for any "instructed" learning activity. Surely the essential structure of learning consists of being presented with a task (whether set by someone in the role of "teacher" or by environmental exigencies); of attempting the task; and of subsequently receiving some sort of feedback as to whether or not the task was accomplished and how well. A task may be accomplished and a problem solved, but without some evaluative feedback to the learner, it is difficult to see how learning (or stable change in potential for behavior) can occur. The learner must understand how the task was accomplished in sufficient detail and accurately enough to repeat the task under new circumstances which require a similar response.

What seems to distinguish conscious, deliberate teaching/learning events from trial-and-error learning is "I" ("initiation" in Mehan's terminology). I-R-E appears to be the essential structure of "instructed" learning, in which someone (sometimes the learner) sets a task with the intention of having the learner acquire new knowledge and/or skills. It is the element of

intentionality in instructed learning which establishes its essential character as play. Trial-and-error learning, by contrast, does not require intentionality on the part of instructor and learner. It happens, as a result of the exigencies of real life, regardless of the learner's wishes. Much current school instruction -- in which the instructor intends the pupil to acquire new knowledge or skills but the learner has no such intention -- is "puerile" in that it has lost the essential characteristic of play. And any teacher can testify that it is also ineffective: there is nothing more frustrating than trying to instruct the "unmotivated" student.

"Instructed" learning obviously is not confined to schools. Learner-initiated imitation of another's skilled behavior clearly falls into this category as does the sort of apprenticeship situation in which Moore discovered the analog between the I-R-E discourse sequence and the isomorphic sequence he labeled "task episode." This highly abstract schema, which appears to describe "instructed learning" quite in general, is particularly useful in thinking about aesthetic education, which is difficult to fit comfortably into many traditional learning theories. The values which teachers frequently attribute to aesthetic education -- sensitivity to one's own emotions and those of others, self-discipline, structuring one's own activity productively, cooperating more successfully with peers -- intrinsically cannot be taught directly through discourse. Rather, the process must be more akin to the task sequence described by Moore in the apprenticeship

situation: the teacher sets a task (or a standard of behavior); the student is given the opportunity to do the task or practice the behavior; and the teacher evaluates how well the task or standard of behavior was achieved. This may be a very formal process, reflected on report cards under some such category as "citizenship."

The Role of the Arts in Schools

While many educators are convinced that it is important to inculcate such values, the tendency in American public education to judge education as a process of production (analogous to agricultural or industrial production and subject to the same types of evaluation) has resulted in traditions of educational research and evaluation which make it difficult to deal with values in general and, in particular, with subject areas which do not lend themselves to clearcut "right/wrong" modes of evaluation.

Eisner (1982) analyzes this tradition in American education as one of the chief impediments to well-rounded cultivation of the human intellect in American public schools. Coming to Our Senses (American Council for the Arts in Education 1977) attributes the pervasive distrust of the arts in American education largely to America's Puritan heritage, a religious background discouraging the cultivation of the senses or of any worldly activities that are not immediately useful. And surely the need to assimilate wave after wave of both rural and overseas immigrants to American

cities has consolidated the pragmatic bent of American public education and helped develop the typically optimistic American spirit, the expectation that each generation will be better off than the one that preceded it. Critics like Bowles and Gintis (1976) go beyond these critiques, demonstrating that class differences among schools are reflected in their organization and curricula, so that schools for working class and lower class children inculcate the values management wants in the work force (punctuality, obedience, willingness to do fragmented, routine work); while schools for middle class and upper class children inculcate values appropriate to management (aggressiveness, taking initiative, pursuing independent interests), with the vast majority of schools organized to produce workers rather than management.

It is likely that all of these analyses help explain the historical focus in the United States on tangible, especially vocational, results in public education. It is a commonplace observation that educators with this traditional pragmatic attitude are more comfortable with school subjects that are amenable to straightforward, "right/wrong" evaluation than with those in which only qualitative evaluation is appropriate. Most students have heard an art teacher say something like, "Your colors are a little muddy; you need to work on getting cleaner colors. But I like the composition: do you see how this third of the painting balances the other two-thirds?"

Rule systems in general vary along a continuum that Eisner (1982: 63 ff.) labels "rule-governed" versus "figurative."

At the "rule-governed" end of the continuum a culturally determined, rigid set of codified rules tightly prescribes what must be done in any given circumstances, while at the "figurative" end there is a great deal of opportunity for combining commonly understood elements in novel ways, so long as participants stay within the universe of discourse to which these elements apply. An example of a universe of discourse close to the "rule-governed" end of the continuum would be grade school arithmetic, in which there is only one correct answer to a problem like, "2 + 2 = ___." (Even here, there is more flexibility than at first appears, for the problem is reversible, and there is more than one combination of numbers which will add up to four.)

Eisner argues strongly for the inclusion of the arts in the public school curriculum precisely because the arts are predominantly figurative, so that answers to most artistic problems may be better or worse but cannot be indisputably right or wrong so long as they stay within the boundaries of the appropriate universe of discourse. He feels that, if cultivation of the full potential of the human mind is the major goal of education, subjects at the figurative end of the continuum are an important balance to most of the present curriculum, such as the tool subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which are not only relatively rule-governed but are usually taught so as to emphasize their rule-governed aspects and de-emphasize their more figurative aspects.

Having to be content with relatively imprecise "figurative"

evaluation may be quite enough, together with the relative unimportance of the arts as vocations in the United States, to induce the pragmatically oriented educator to dismiss the arts as less than serious subjects of study. But the qualitative evaluation demanded by figurative activities lends itself to a process of "fine tuning" during the interactive teaching/learning situation, a fine tuning impossible for answers to problems which have only right and wrong answers. The visual arts teacher can help the student with color mixing techniques the moment he notices the colors are too muddy (rather than waiting until the student has produced an unsatisfactory product and then criticizing it). And the learner can initiate fine tuning, either by practicing a skill alone or approaching the teacher for help. It is probably the presence or absence of fine tuning (successive approximations to the desired level of performance) which distinguishes productive from unproductive rehearsal of arts or other skills. And the opportunity for fine tuning can help the learner develop sensitive critical skills concerning his or her own performance or that of others. Such skills may not have received sufficient attention in American public education (in comparison with European school systems, for instance) -- or may have been reserved for the education of the elite.

Appendix B is a brief history of the role of the arts in American schools. While the arts have never been quite as negligible in the curriculum as popular belief has had it for most of American history, they have certainly not had the prominent place

in American education that they have had in other civilizations. Modern interest in aesthetic education is traced primarily back to Schiller's Lectures Upon the Aesthetic Education of Man written in the late eighteenth century. Schiller's discussions of aesthetic education reflect many of the preoccupations of western European culture, especially a strong tendency to explain the characteristics of society in terms of the nature of the individual (presumably innate) rather than to explain the characteristics of the individual in terms of the way a particular society has culturally structured human development, knowledge, and dispositions.

Schiller, thinking about society in terms of an abstracted individual, believes that the arts serve as a synthesis, in the dialectical sense, between "physical" man and his opposite, rational or "moral" man and that this synthesis elevates human society from dependence on arbitrary laws necessary to constrain the brutality of "physical" man to a consensus based on moral law. Schiller's abstract "physical" and "moral" man is an apt metaphor for the development of western European children in western European families, but hardly the overarching general truth he seems to think it is.

> Now the term natural condition can be applied to every political body which owes its establishment originally to forces and not to laws, and such a state contradicts the moral nature of man, because lawfulness can alone have authority over this. At the same time this natural condition is quite sufficient for the physical man, who only gives himself laws in order to get rid of brute force. Moreover, the physical man is a reality, and the moral man problematical....

> The great point is therefore to reconcile these two considerations; to prevent physical society from ceasing for a moment in time, while the moral society is being formed in the idea; in other words, to prevent its existence from being placed in jeopardy, for the sake of the moral dignity of man. When the mechanic has to mend a watch, he lets the wheels run out, but the living watchworks of the state have to be repaired while they act, and a wheel has to be exchanged for another during its revolutions. Accordingly, props must be sought for to support society and keep it going while it is made independent of the natural condition from which it is sought to emancipate it.
>
> This prop is not found in the natural character of man, who, being selfish and violent, directs his energies rather to the destruction than to the preservation of society. Nor is it found in his moral character, which has to be formed.... It would seem that the physical character of the arbitrary must be separated from moral freedom; that it is incumbent to make the former harmonise with the laws and the latter somewhat more near to it; in short to produce a third character related to both the others -- the physical and the moral -- paving the way to a transition from the sway of mere force to that of law, without preventing the proper development of the moral character, but serving rather as a pledge in the sensuous sphere of a morality in the unseen (Schiller 1910: 225-227).

Most modern aestheticians reflect some of these same preoccupations, as in Santayana's discussion of the arts as the "objectification" of human feelings and ideas -- and as a synthesis of "mind" and "matter."

> Mind grows self-perpetuating only by its expression in matter. What makes progress possible is that rational action may leave traces in nature, such that nature in consequence furnishes a better basis for the life of Reason; in other words progress is art bettering the conditions of existence. Until art arises, all achievement is internal to the brain, dies with the individual, and even in him spends itself without recovery, like music heard in a dream. Art in establishing instruments for human life beyond the human body, and moulding outer things into sympathy with inner values, establishes a ground whence values may continually spring up.... (Santayana 1924: 13).

And Dewey, though he has in general a more realistic understanding of the relationship between individual and society (closer to the anthropological concept of "culture" as the condition in which all humans are rooted at every stage of development), reflects his intellectual heritage in the following passage:

> The imagination, by means of art, makes a concession to sense in employing its materials, but nevertheless uses sense to suggest underlying ideal truth. Art is thus a way of having the substantial cake of reason while also enjoying the sensuous pleasure of eating it (Dewey 1934: 258).

Sir Herbert Read, one of the modern proponents of aesthetic education who is most firmly convinced that children can learn any content through the arts, is in agreement with those who feel that the arts inculcate important values, including self-discipline. And he quotes Plato in making his case.

> True discipline is a spontaneously evolved pattern of behaviour. Any other form of behaviour that goes by this name is merely arbitrary constraint, imposed by fear of punishment, unstable in its equilibrium, and productive of individual and social tensions. The way to rational harmony, to physical poise, to social integration, is the same way -- the way of aesthetic education.... Plato meant exactly what he said: that an aesthetic education is the only education that brings grace to the body and nobility to the mind, and that we must make art the basis of education because it can operate in childhood, during the sleep of reason; and when reason does come, art will have prepared a path for her, and she will be greeted as a friend whose essential lineaments have for long been familiar (Read 1956: 283).

John Dewey, the major progressive educational philosopher, uses similar arguments in making his case that education should be based on the interests and present viewpoint of the child, if the child is to move from its present limited knowledge and world

view to more adequate understanding of the world, through "educative" experiences which ought to include the arts.

> Abandon the notion of subject-matter as something fixed and ready-made in itself, outside the child's experience; cease thinking of the child's experience as also something hard and fast; see it as something fluent, embryonic, vital; and we realize that the child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process. Just as two points define a straight line, so the present standpoint of the child and the facts and truths of studies define instruction. It is continuous reconstruction, moving from the child's present experience out into that represented by the organized bodies of truth that we call studies (Dewey 1902: 11).

And he sees a key role for the arts in this process of schooling:

> If we roughly classify the impulses which are available in the school, we may group them under four heads. There is the social instinct of the children as shown in conversation, personal intercourse, and communication.... The language instinct is the simplest form of the social expression of the child. Hence it is a great, perhaps the greatest of all, educational resources.
>
> Then there is the instinct of making -- the constructive impulse. The child's impulse to do finds expression first in play, in movement, gesture, and make-believe, becomes more definite, and seeks outlet in shaping materials into tangible forms and permanent embodiment. The child has not much instinct for abstract inquiry. The instinct of investigation seems to grow out of the combination of the constructive impulse with the conversational.... Children simply like to do things and watch to see what will happen. But this can be taken advantage of, can be directed into ways where it gives results of value, as well as be allowed to go on at random.
>
> And so the expressive impulse of the children, the art instinct, grows also out of the communicating and constructive instincts. It is their refinement and full manifestation. Make the construction adequate, make it full, free, and flexible, give it a social motive, something to tell, and you have a work of art....
>
> Now, keeping in mind these fourfold interests -- the interest in conversation, or communication; in inquiry, or finding out things; in making things, or construction;

> and in artistic expression -- we may say they are the natural resources, the uninvested capital, upon the exercise of which depends the active growth of the child (Dewey 1943: 43-48).

It is intriguing that the concerns which emerge from these highly divergent statements concerning the educational value of the arts are quite consistent with one another; with Bossert's observations in "multi-task environment" classrooms; and with the ideas of Riverton educators summarized in chapter five. The values are those of humans' learning to impose a human scale of order on their non-human environment (in Dewey's conception, using sensory materials to express underlying ideal truths); and of development of self-discipline as opposed to imposition of an arbitrary discipline with which the individual cannot reasonably negotiate.

These values are fully congruent with gestalt psychologists' view of the senses themselves as able to apprehend the world only by intuitively focusing on features of phenomena which demonstrate the inherent order -- and the meaning to the perceiver -- of the phenomena. In this view, the arts become one of the most fully developed expressions of a tendency built into perception itself (the conclusion of much of the argument in Arnheim 1969). Dewey (1934: 46) amplifies this notion, contending that aesthetic experience is "the clarified and intensified development of traits that belong to every normal complete experience." These cumulative concerns are also congruent with Huizinga's perception of play -- or freely chosen, meaningful activity enacted not from

immediate necessity but simply for enjoyment -- as the foundation of mankind's cultural development.

But How Do We Know If It's Art?

In order to think clearly about the role of the arts in the schools, it would help to have a taxonomy of art forms and arts experiences, which would differentiate the arts unambiguously from other types of human activities and artifacts, as well as differentiating the various art forms from one another and suggesting their potentials for conveying different types of meaning. If such a taxonomy could be devised, it should allow observers of school activities to determine whether any particular activity exhibits the defining characteristics of the arts; which of the art forms it represents ("integrated" with other school subjects or not); or whether it represents "aesthetic education" in a broader sense: activities which are aesthetic by virtue of exhibiting the defining characteristics but not clearly subsumed under a traditional, recognized art form.

While there are many areas of general agreement among theoreticians about the essential characteristics of the arts, no taxonomy has been developed to date on which there is consensus; and the taxonomies implied in various discussions of the arts and aesthetics vary considerably, depending on the interests and theoretical commitments of the authors. With no generally accepted taxonomy available, it is sometimes very difficult to know whether particular school activities exemplify aesthetic education or not.

Two different types of problem arise, suggesting that two types of definition of arts activities may be possible, operating at quite different levels of analysis.

An example of one type of problem is the unexpected finding that, in spite of teachers' constant talk about integrating arts activities into the academic curriculum, there were no unambiguous instances of such subject integration in the field notes for this study. And -- responding to the videotapes taken in the first-grade target classroom -- the teacher identified several activities and class discussions as exemplifying aesthetic education integrated with academic subject matter, even though the researcher, the aesthetic education program coordinator, and several arts consultants could not perceive any arts content at all in them. Apparently the teacher's concept of the aesthetic was so broad that she identified any discussion of the emotions or the senses, no matter how academically conducted, as aesthetic education. Moreover, the one activity on this videotape that the researcher and most consultants did identify as arts-based and as having aesthetic content (children dancing and singing to "their" music, as described in the introduction) was perceived by the teacher simply as recreation, and the researcher had to make a special request to ensure that this activity was included in the videotaping.

An instance of the second type of problem concerned the same videotaped activity (dancing and singing to a familiar record). When a CEMREL curriculum developer/disseminator was

shown this tape, he was so appalled by the lack of deliberate teaching of meaningful arts content (and by the implication that the teacher considered the arts only a recreational "frill") that he protested, "That's recess! That's not art!" But -- since the children were clearly singing and dancing -- if they were not engaging in an arts event, what were they doing?

Clearly, "art" can be used in at least two senses: 1) to denote any activity which clearly falls within the boundaries of one of the culturally recognized art forms (regardless of the quality of the experience); and 2) to connote the qualities of the experience which differentiate it from more mundane, non-arts human activities. Both types of definition appear to be inherent in the nature of arts activities (reminiscent as they are of Cassirer's distinction between the objective and subjective poles of the arts). Keeping both in mind, it is certainly possible to think of activities which fall into a limbo of "failed" arts projects: activities having the external form of the arts but lacking some critical minimum of the qualities which characterize the arts. And it is reasonable to anticipate that individual conceptions of an acceptable threshold for these qualities would vary considerably depending on the individual's experience and expectations (the presence or absence of professional standards of performance, for instance, or of the expectation that the experience be educationally significant).

It is also possible to conceive of activities which do not have the external form of the arts but which are so suffused with

the qualities characteristic of the arts that they are perceived as aesthetic. In this sense, the videotaped mathematics contest in the sixth-grade target classroom (see Figure 6 and Appendix I) might be considered aesthetic education in the broader sense because of its near-perfect dramatic structure. During a meeting of a CEMREL aesthetic education research advisory committee, one of the committee members made a plea for including this broader understanding of aesthetic education in the program's definition.

> [One member] made a strong case for considering another category of aesthetic education, a second prong, so to speak: the phenomenon of children's deep engagement in any disciplined content area leading, almost of necessity, to their self-initiated expression of the subjective meaning of that experience. He felt that, whenever a lively classroom produces that degree of student engagement, there is an aesthetic dimension to classroom life which should, in some way, be incorporated into the domain of aesthetic education (Coe 1979b: 3-4).

A Possible Objective Taxonomy

As Dewey (1934) suggests, it is the media used -- or, more precisely, the way in which information is channeled through media in each of the culturally recognized art forms -- which provides a basis for differentiation. A simple taxonomy is proposed and illustrated in Figure 2 below. It is based on the media used in particular art forms and their implications for the sensory modes in which information about the artistic event is concentrated.

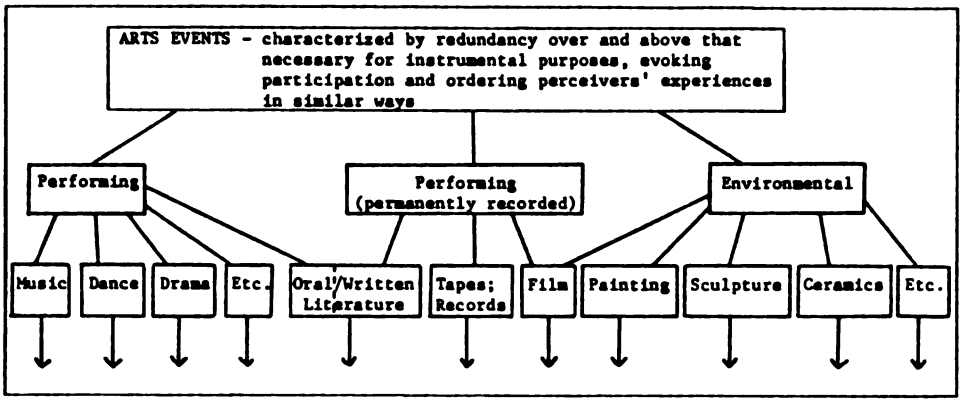


Figure 2. POSSIBLE OBJECTIVE TAXONOMY OF ART FORMS

Practically all who write about the nature of aesthetics emphasize the dichotomy between the visual or plastic and the performing arts. The ways in which various theorists describe this difference often betray differences in their theoretical orientations. Santayana (1924) contrasts the "internal" with the "external" arts, a contrast similar to the only dichotomy Dewey admits has any validity (since it is based on the nature of the media used rather than the purported experience): arts in which the mind/body of the human artist are the primary media, as opposed to those in which most of the media are materials external to the body (Dewey 1934). Langer contrasts the "plastic" arts with the "performing" arts, a descriptive distinction unrelated to her pioneering analysis of the "illusions" created by the various art forms, suggesting that these are two quite different ways of discussing art forms. (For a fuller discussion of Langer's "illusions" see Appendix A.) Read (1956), primarily concerned with the visual or plastic arts (like many modern

theoreticians), makes a cursory distinction between "visual" and "non-visual" arts.

Goodman (1968) and others associated with Harvard's Project Zero (for instance, Gardner 1973) distinguish between "allographic" art forms, in which the artist selects elements from an existing digital symbol system (such as musical notation) and "autographic" arts in which the artist acts on material to create a unique, continuous symbol -- a distinction which betrays the preoccupation of Project Zero with the symbolic nature of art. Chapple and Coon (1942), emphasizing the technical requirements of the activity as a basis for differentiation, have a unique, tripartite classification: arts of "space," arts of "time," and arts of "space and time." Others attempt no classification at all.

The trichotomy proposed here (and visualized in Figure 2 on the previous page) differs only in detail from most of the standard classifications distinguishing the visual or plastic arts from the performing arts. The <u>performing</u> arts (among them dance, music, theater, and oral literature) do not create longterm changes in the physical environment, but they appeal to those senses most closely attuned to the rhythms of the autonomic nervous system. They consist of highly patterned, often repetitive sequences of human action, with the human body as the principal medium of expression (although sometimes requiring material aids such as musical instruments). While performances can be repeated, they are never identical (at least until the advent of modern recording equipment). <u>Environmental</u> (or plastic) arts, on the contrary,

are those which cause a non-temporary change in the human environment (presumably to create a highly ordered environment, suitable for particular types of human activity). These art forms include a wide range of visual arts, from body painting and tattooing (as Chapple and Coon 1942 point out) through pottery, textiles, basketry, jewelry, sculpture, architecture, to two-dimensional drawing and painting. The specific media which may be used are unlimited, and these art forms are frequently used to intensify the performing arts, as in theatrical masks and costumes, set designs, lighting, etc.

The rapid advance of technology since the nineteenth century has created an intermediate type of art form, the performing art preserved in permanent form (motion pictures, records, audiotapes and videotapes, for instance). These forms are "bracketed" very differently from live performances, which is why they must be categorized somewhat differently. (For a discussion of the importance of "bracketing" in humans' perceptions of their experiences, see pages 94-95 in chapter two.) They can be perceived by only one person at a time (diluting the audience role considerably), and they rule out the possibility of direct interaction between performer and audience. Though music may be acoustically the "same" when played on a high fidelity stereo system as during the original performance, the perception of music is very different if one is a member of an audience (all of whom may be literally synchronized with the rhythms established by the music) or if one is at home, with all the potential distractions of that setting.

And the record is as portable as a painting, so that the particular setting in which the music is heard becomes largely irrelevant. Because of these differences in the bracketing of the permanently recorded arts event, the structure of film tends to be different from the structure of the same dramatic story enacted on the stage, and there will also be a profound difference between the same story told through oral literature or in a novel. The difference between literature and oral literature or drama is particularly striking because the "performer" role is internalized and combined with the "audience" role in written literature, which thereby loses much of its character as a performing art.

The problem with all of the distinctions on which the proposed taxonomy is based is that they do not -- yet -- differentiate an arts event from any other type of event in which the same media are used in somewhat the same way: the problem of knowing the difference between a dance and a game of jump rope or students lining up to return to class after recess. One can add that the art forms, in general, are characterized 1) by a <u>metaphoric</u> quality bracketing the event from the stream of ordinary life; 2) by a rhythmic, <u>highly patterned organization</u> of the event; 3) by being valued <u>intrinsically</u> and not for any instrumental purpose; and 4) by reinforcing <u>group unity</u>. (These observations are suggested by much of the aesthetic literature and are reinforced by quotations from that literature cited in Appendix A.) However, these observations hold true for most forms of play, so that while they differentiate between a dance and the instrumental activity of lining up after

recess, they still do not provide a clear difference between the dance and the game of jump rope.

What does seem to differentiate the arts from other forms of play is their rule structure and the particular way in which they reinforce group unity. In general, the arts are figurative rather than rule-based, in sharp contrast to contests such as races or baseball games (although there are exceptions, as when a musical score prescribes exact pitches, rhythmic organization, and the exact instruments to be used). Beyond this, what the arts are about -- their subject matter -- differs from other forms of play in that highly organized, intensified sensory information is valued for its own sake.

What jump rope is about, mostly, is smooth performance and orderly regulation of turns, even though the activity is characterized by highly rhythmic, highly ordered movement by participants. What gives jump rope its character as a game rather than an arts character is participants' suspense over whether any particular player is going to "miss" and spoil the smooth performance. When the players become so highly skilled at jump rope that skilled performance is no longer problematic and suspense disappears, jump rope loses its "game" nature and becomes entirely "dance." What betrays the "game" character of jump rope most completely is that, when participants reach this level of skill, they usually progress to a more difficult form of the game in order to restore the necessary suspense. In dance, by contrast, the greater the performers' skill in making the movements, the greater the pleasure

the audience will usually take in the performance. And few experiences are more excruciating than a dance performance which takes on the character of jump rope because the dancers' movements are so inept the audience is in suspense as to whether they will be able to make them properly or not. The difference between dance and jump rope is subtle, but the difference between dance and a race (or any other contest) is easy to perceive, because the dance is essentially figurative (in Eisner's terminology), while the race is rule-governed. The race is run -- if it is not "puerile" -- for the intrinsic satisfaction of engaging in a contest, but the movement which is a necessary part of the contest is not engaged in for its own sake but in an effort to win the game.

It is not only the intentionality of the performer but also the intentionality of the perceiver which determines when an activity is perceived as art. Whenever the perceiver focuses on the qualities of movement for their own sake and the movement itself is sufficiently patterned to allow its perception as dance, then the perceiver's experience is aesthetic regardless of the mover's intentions. Thus, slow motion film of animals or racers or micro-ethnographic analysis of humans' kinesic adjustments to one another can be perceived as a kind of dance. Indeed, the distinction between culturally recognized art forms and the more inclusive aesthetic experience which may not be related to an art form at all may lie primarily in the intentions of the performer. If an activity is not meant to be art, then it cannot be objectively identified as art, but this does not prevent the perceiver (who

may be a participant in the event, like the child in the math contest) from focusing on the perceptual qualities of the event, having a sense of heightened awareness of what is going on, and thus having an aesthetic experience.

Qualities Intrinsic to the Arts

Focusing on the qualities characteristic of arts events rather than on their objective characteristics requires a shift of interest and purpose rather than of subject matter. The qualities are those which have already been discussed as distinguishing the arts from other activities, but the question becomes the degree to which they infuse an object or event with ordered energy. Restated somewhat more fully for this purpose, the qualities with which we are concerned are: the intrinsic value of the activity for participants; its metaphoric character; manipulation of the formal qualities of media in highly patterned, usually rhythmic ways (simple or complex) which focus the attention of the participants on the perceptual qualities themselves, giving them a heightened awareness of the event; and reinforcement of group unity by bringing the perceptions of participants into harmony with one another (in different ways depending on the senses appealed to).

Arts events have the capacity to "stretch" tacit, taken-for-granted sensory information into explicit knowledge, making what is seen visible to conscious inspection; bringing what is heard to the foreground rather than the background of attention; making feelable what is usually not consciously felt or touched; and making movement

which is normally unconscious consciously kinesthetic. What the arts intensify through this "stretching" is the culturally determined patterning of both perception and interactional behavior that is not consciously perceived in everyday life (Malinowski's "inponderabilia").

What is "at play," the basis for the orderly form which characterizes the arts, is similar in both the performing and the environmental arts. The channel for the flow of information (as Weaver 1966 describes any communication system) consists of media -- the human body, the human voice, or a virtually unlimited number of physical objects -- whose formal qualities the artist manipulates to form a coherent whole work of art. In the performing arts rhythm, pitch, intensity, duration, direction, and the like are the manipulable properties. In the visual arts they are such attributes as line, color, shape, principles of design or composition. The degree and type of permissable manipulation of each formal property for each art form differ in different cultural traditions and change (often subtly) over time within a cultural tradition, through a process of negotiation between artists and their audiences. Meyer (1967) discusses the evolution of musical styles in western European music and relates this evolution to innate human perceptual capacities (discussed in the context of information theory as well as of gestalt psychology). He demonstrates that audiences learn over time (through a process of accomodation to stylistic changes) new expectations or rule systems for music, but he speculates that some modern musical styles (which

rely on random compositional processes) may be so complex as to require higher order ability to process sensory information over time than humans actually possess.

Langer (1967: 101) insists that "a work of art is a single symbolic form presented to perception, it has to encompass all its elements without losing its unity of semblance and sense." This is not so much to deny that the elements of a work of art may ever be meaningful in their own right (without reference to the whole work) as to assert that it is the relationship among "parts" (formal qualities such as line, color, composition in painting or sound quality and pitch in music) rather than the parts themselves which give a work of art its significance, or "vital import," in Langer's phrase. The analogy might be between the formal qualities of the media used in various art forms and the phonemes of a language: the phonemes are merely the building blocks of meaningful utterances; it is the way in which they are combined which creates meaning, not the sounds themselves.

Clearly, the audience's perception of the degree to which the qualities characteristic of the arts saturate an event is more critical than the performer's (or creator's) intention of presenting the audience with an art object or event. There are certainly events which can only be described as playing an instrument or dancing or painting (or attempting these activities) which fail to exhibit enough of the qualities intrinsic to the arts to be perceived as art. The grade school play in which actors exhibit no sense of timing in their interactions with one another is often

such an occasion. But audiences vary in their leniency, and the mothers of inept grade school actors may never question the worth of the grade school play as art from which their children benefit educationally.

It is the enormous variation in the skill with which the formal qualities of artistic media are manipulated by creators and performers and the enormous variation in the willingness of audiences to engage in the willing suspension of disbelief necessary to reconstruct actively the formal structure of a work of art which makes art criticism such a difficult undertaking. CEMREL curriculum developers and others interested in aesthetic education feel that one of the major benefits of such a curriculum may be that it enhances children's critical abilities, gives them practice in making informed judgments about figurative activities.

CEMREL Conceptions of the Role of the Arts in the Curriculum

The CEMREL curriculum developers, on the advice of various advisory committees, have taken a highly eclectic view of the role of the arts in a general elementary education. One of the major consultants to CEMREL made the following recommendation during the initial planning year for the curriculum:

> Objectivity, here, requires that the very multiplicity of competing ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs, styles, qualities, etc., be recognized as an essential "content" in deciding what shall be taught (Ecker 1969: 2).

The program guidelines for curriculum development include the following discussion of the essential nature of aesthetic education, for purposes of curriculum development:

> THE NATURE OF THE AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE has been debated through centuries. Some philosophers have argued that because one cannot predict the character of new forms in the arts or new phenomena in life and the environment, the "true" natures of the aesthetic object and the aesthetic encounter cannot be resolved. Although there is no acceptable definition of aesthetic experience (in terms of its necessary and sufficient properties), there is enough concensus among theorists to propose a functional concept of its nature:
>
> AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IS AN EXPERIENCE WHICH IS VALUED INTRINSICALLY, an experience which is valued for itself. Whether it be listening, looking, performing or producing, involvement in an aesthetic experience carries the desire to sustain and feel the full import of the moment for its own sake. In an aesthetic experience one perceives the integral interrelationships between the form and content of the experience. Such perception is what makes aesthetic experience different from other extrinsically valued experiences in everyday life.... Knowledge per se cannot create an aesthetic experience, but it does enlarge an individual's scope of awareness so that he can discover qualities which otherwise might escape his attention and close off opportunity for such experience....
>
> AESTHETIC EDUCATION SHOULD PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE, AND OPPORTUNITIES TO BUILD THE SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE necessary for significant aesthetic encounters. It follows, therefore, that the general goal for aesthetic education is TO INCREASE THE STUDENT'S CAPACITIES TO EXPERIENCE AESTHETIC QUALITIES (VALUES) IN MAN-MADE AND NATURAL OBJECTS AND EVENTS IN HIS ENVIRONMENT (Barkan et al. 1970: 7-9).

The guidelines go on to describe at length, under the heading "Rules for Playing the Curriculum Development Game," seven categories of "activity descriptor" which should characterize the curriculum: "analyze;" "judge;" "perceive;" "produce/perform;" "react;" "talk;" and "value."

As in most interactive processes, the commitments and theoretical perspectives outlined in these early documents have changed somewhat as a result of the practical tasks of creating a curriculum and installing it in schools. For instance, by trial and

error, the curriculum developers discovered that one of the expectations set by the curriculum guidelines simply would not work, the expectation that "the program will juxtapose the several arts in units of instruction to demonstrate that all the arts are potential sources of aesthetic experience" (Barkan et al. 1970: 1). Trying to base a curriculum unit on more than one primary art form was discontinued after the developers discovered that, for instance, children simply did not seem to be able to perceive visual and aural rhythms as instances of the same phenomenon.

Similarly, the developers' expectations concerning the intended uses of the materials in the classroom have varied from time to time in response to teachers' and educators' responses to the materials. The chief problem has been teachers' constant desire to integrate packaged activities into their normal curriculum in order to intensify children's awareness of academic rather than arts content. As described by the Director of the CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group in a 1980 interview with the researcher, the responses of the CEMREL staff have varied from using the curriculum's adaptibility for this purpose as a selling point to persuade school systems to try it to regarding the use of the packages to hype up normally dull content as bastardizing the curriculum and subverting the ideal that the arts are important enough educationally to be taught for their own sake. The directors of the aesthetic education centers scattered around the country (and united in a network coordinated by CEMREL) have all found that, when working with teachers, they must show them ways of integrating packaged

activities with their academic curriculum, in order to interest teachers in aesthetic education. Their insistence on continuing to help teachers integrate arts activities into the normal school content has caused some friction between the center directors and the CEMREL staff. As Mr. Tannenbaum (Director, CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group) put it, "If you start with the other curriculum areas, it won't happen. It won't happen because they get so engrained.... They get a warped view of aesthetic education, and ... they get so engrained in using it as a pedagogical vehicle for everything else that they never get around to doing the aesthetic."

Another continuing problem for the CEMREL curriculum developers has been elementary teachers' resistance to actively teaching arts skills and concepts. In fact, as teachers' comments summarized in chapter five demonstrate, very few elementary teachers in Riverton feel (or probably are) qualified to teach the arts, even after training in the CEMREL approach. Only those with specialist training or access to outside resources such as "artists-in-residence" seriously expect to improve children's arts skills or intellectual grasp of basic arts concepts. Instead, those who value the aesthetic education program talk consistently of "letting" children become engaged in arts events. They seem to depend on children's intuitive understanding of the interrelationships of form and content to structure these events in a way reasonably appropriate to the art form. To the CEMREL developers this approach

smacks of the arts instruction associated with the less rigorous progressive schools and reflects an unsound, romantic view of the arts as unrestrained self expression.

However, teachers who talk of "letting" children experience the arts in school -- even teachers selected as good practitioners of aesthetic education (the Riverton sample) -- vary among themselves in their apparent recognition that the freedom the arts make possible itself stems partly from restraints, essentially those inherent in artistic media. As Gide expresses the absolute requirement that there be constraints in art (Littlejohn 1971: 498): "I consider liberty as a fearful and disastrous thing.... The horrible thing is a slavery imposed without consent; the excellent thing is self-imposed slavery; and for lack of something better: the slavery to which one submits." What well organized, imaginative teachers without professional training in the arts seem to be able to do is not so much to instruct students in the arts as to encourage and channel students' intuitive understanding of the restraints imposed by the artistic media themselves and by the requirement for meaningful form in any work of art. Appendices P, R, T, U, V, and W are examples of lessons in which teachers appeared to "let" students teach themselves something significant about the arts.

The question whether the arts must be deliberately taught or whether exposure to arts experiences alone will give children a reasonable understanding of what the arts are about is a thorny problem for the CEMREL developers. As Mr. Tannenbaum pointed out,

if direct instruction in the arts is not necessary, there is little justification for developing carefully sequenced and designed curriculum units to impart concepts and skills to help children learn to have aesthetic experiences.

One of the staff's responses to the problem has been to give attention and credence to the work of Project Zero at Harvard, probably the only other major research and development project sponsored by the National Institute of Education in the area of the arts. The focus of Project Zero is on the symbolic nature of the arts -- on the apparent assumption that all symbolic activity is self-evidently appropriate for inclusion in the school curriculum and in the apparent belief that the symbolism characteristic of the arts is of a rather abstruse kind which has not been mastered by most Americans and cannot be mastered without direct, skilled instruction.

Some of the assumptions on which Project Zero seems to be based are directly contradictory to the statements about the nature of aesthetic experience found in the CEMREL program guidelines (based, as the guidelines make clear, on considerable consensus). For instance, the originator of Project Zero is committed to what he terms a "nominalist" philosophical position, frequently referred to but not explicated in detail in Goodman (1968). Belief that all human symbol systems are arbitrary in the way they are organized and related to referents emphasizes the character of symbol systems as play -- or "games" -- but entails denying the human need to perceive and express essential rather

than accidental qualities of phenomena. (For a more detailed discussion of Arnheim's arguments that this need is built into the very perceptual mechanisms of human beings, see pages 83 - 84 in chapter two.) Thus, Goodman (1968) refuses to recognize a musical performance as an instance of a given work if it deviates from the written score by so much as a note, even though he notes that this definition violates musicians' intuitive understanding of the relationship between score and work. His theoretical concern with the "notationality" of music overrides any consideration of the essential nature of the phenomenon.

This focus on the arbitrariness of organized symbol systems may be what allows the research projects associated with Project Zero to proliferate according to the theoretical interests of the researchers with no apparent attempt to build coherently toward findings that could conceivably be of use in schools. It may also explain some apparently contradictory foci in different inquiries: for instance, contrast the article by Roupas (1977) devoted to the problem of whether or not the optical array from a pictorial representation can be identical with the optical array from the objects represented, with Gardner's more common-sense observation (1973) that literal illusion is not the point of pictorial representation.

There is also a strong tendency in the literature of Project Zero to subject phenomena to intense analysis with little or no counterbalancing tendency to create new and better syntheses on the basis of the new knowledge. In the eighteenth-century metaphor

of human society as clockwork, this approach leaves the pieces of the clock scattered on the table, clean and well-oiled but not in working order. Goodman (1968: 206) in fact denies the relevance of the traditional dichotomy between analysis and synthesis, ignoring the everyday meaning of "synthesis" (in the sense of combining elements into a larger, meaningful whole) and denying that there is a comprehensible difference between the supposedly synthetic statement, "All men are featherless bipeds," and the supposedly analytic statement, "All men are rational animals." Interestingly enough, Arnheim (1969: 173-174) uses the same two statements from traditional Greek philosophy to demonstrate the difference between defining a phenomenon adequately but according to inessential properties and defining it according to essential properties.

Gardner is the one researcher associated with Project Zero who does appear to feel the need to synthesize, although he quotes Goodman in denying the usefulness of the analysis/synthesis dichotomy. (See Gardner, 1973 and 1977, both synthesizing efforts.) His syntheses, however, are less immediately applicable in schools than they might be because of a preoccupation with developmental psychology which allows for only the most fleeting glimpses of the social nature of school learning (and of human development in general).

Thus, in the opinion of this researcher, the dilemma which the CEMREL curriculum developers have faced as they tried to put into practice the precepts of the curriculum guidelines remain

genuine dilemmas, unresolved by the less than practical foci of the Project Zero efforts. They need to be reconsidered after a careful look at what is actually going on in some Riverton elementary school classrooms in the name of aesthetic education. And the considerations in this chapter about the essential nature of the arts suggest that the following list of questions about classroom and school activities might help the observer take a sharper look at what is going on in those classrooms.

-- Is the activity subject to the "real life" pressures that can exist in classrooms (such as test anxiety or fear of being "put down" by classmates or by the teacher), or do students and teachers engage in the activity in a spirit of play, respecting the metaphorical nature of the experience and the rules which make such "psychic distance" possible? (A typical rule in observed classrooms is that criticism of other students' work may be tough but must be constructive. Peer pressure and "put down" are forbidden.)

-- To what degree is the experience intensified, as contrasted with everyday situations? And <u>how</u> is the experience intensified as contrasted with an everyday situation calling for similar behavior?

-- How orderly is the activity, and what rules does it follow? If there is an atmosphere of freedom, is it the type of freedom involved in voluntary acceptance of rules of the game or the type of freedom in which any behavior is acceptable? If there is a noticeably orderly atmosphere, is it the type of order involved in voluntary acceptance of rules of the game or imposed order, coercively enforced?

-- Is the work of art to which the students are responding or their own creative work primarily meaningful as a whole? To what extent do students and teachers appear to be aware of the possibilities for manipulating the formal elements of the media so that a different organized whole would have been possible?

-- How consistently do participants receive evaluative feedback on the quality of their efforts, and is this feedback the "right/wrong" type characteristic of

rule-governed activities or the qualitative feedback characteristic of figurative activities? Do they receive feedback while they are engaged in the activity, to allow them to "fine tune" their responses? Do they receive feedback from an arts expert, the teacher, and/or peers?

-- What evidence is there that group solidarity is enhanced by the experience? And precisely what group is involved, the classroom community or some larger or smaller unit?

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

Research Questions

As outlined in the introduction, the questions to which this inquiry is addressed were developed with consideration for the most informative level of analysis (or focus) and for the capabilities and limitations of the research methods used, ethnography and microethnography.

1) What classroom and other school-based activities can be described as aesthetic education in the context of the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program? What range of such activities is observed in a few selected classrooms or described by a small cross section of program participants, and what inferences can be drawn about the general nature of the school activities fostered by the program? Do considerations discussed by philosophical and educational aestheticians add significantly to a comprehensive understanding of what is occurring in the classrooms that are observed?

2) How do program participants conceive of aesthetic education? How do students, teachers, and other participants talk about the activities they perceive as aesthetic education? What do observed activities imply about participants' understandings, implicit as well as explicit, of the essential nature of the curriculum?

3) What are the educational values, if any, of aesthetic education activities a) in their own right? b) as they interact with other facets of school life, with which they may or may not be combined in practice? c) for individual students and teachers? d) for the collectivities involved in public education: classes, schools, and the school system as a whole?

4) How do program participants describe the educational values of aesthetic education, and to what extent are

these descriptions congruent with observable or inferred educational outcomes of observed aesthetic education activities?

Classroom Focus

The focus of these questions is clearly the classroom and the interactions among participants in classroom events. The questions are an accurate restatement of the overarching questions (what is aesthetic education, as variously implemented, and what good is it, as variously perceived), but they could have been focused at a very different level and remained an accurate restatement. (See Pike 1967: 98-119 for a penetrating discussion of possible levels and kinds of focus in any discussion of human interaction, which is by its nature hierarchically organized, with coordination of multiple hierarchies.) Focus on questions at the level of the school system or of the individual school building is, in fact, typical of research into dissemination and institutionalization of innovations. For example, Berman and McLaughlin (1975, 1977, 1978) have focused primarily on questions at the program, school system, or even state or national level, as have Herriott and Gross (1979); Miles (1964); Havelock (1973); and Schön (1971). Researchers who have focused on building-level questions in accounting for the success or failure of educational innovations are Goodlad (1975); Goodlad, Klein, and Associates (1974); Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971); Sarason (1971); and Smith and Keith (1971). The typical focus on school building, school system, or even higher levels of organization is responsive to the need of innovators and change agents for

information about all the organizational levels at which change must occur, if a particular innovation is to be made.

In Hall, Loucks, Rutherford, and Newlove (1975) and in Hall and Rutherford (1976) there are discussions of "levels of use" and "levels of concern" instruments which focus on the teacher as implementer of educational innovations. These discussions deal only indirectly, however, with students' role in producing instructional processes jointly with the teacher, a factor which inevitably affects the teacher's ability to implement an instructional innovation.

Florio (1978) and Dorr-Bremme (1982) offer analyses of the nature of classroom interactions which contrast in an important way with all the literature on dissemination of innovations cited above. Their focus is on the interactive teaching/learning process itself, and their analyses of that process clearly demonstrate that neither the teacher nor any other individual is in sole control of the way in which instruction takes place in the classroom. Analyzing two different regular classroom events in the same kindergarten/first-grade classroom, both Florio and Dorr-Bremme show how instruction is constituted by the interactions of all the participants (teacher and students) and is essentially, therefore, mutually produced. In his meticulous analysis of interactions during the regular instructional event known as "first circle," over a period of two years in the same classroom, Dorr-Bremme demonstrates that the teacher's instructional strategies changed in small but interactionally significant ways during the second year of observation,

in apparent response to differences in interactional competencies and styles in the two groups of children as groups. Thus, the level at which an innovative curriculum is actually implemented in the classroom (the mutually produced teaching/learning event) is not addressed directly in most of the literature on curriculum innovation and adaptation but must be inferred from statements at a higher level of generalization.

If program and school system level questions were the focus of this inquiry, the obvious site for major participant observation would be the aesthetic education program based in the central administrative offices of the Riverton school system, for documentation of the program staff's interactions with other administrators and consultants, with teachers and children, and with supportive outside resources such as arts-related community groups, CEMREL (the educational laboratory which developed the curriculum), and the national network of aesthetic education centers sponsored by CEMREL. These alternative foci cannot be ignored in the present inquiry, because they suggest important explanations of how and why classroom teaching and learning occur as they do in the Riverton school system. However, if the primary interest is the nature of the educational processes and the impact of the curriculum as actually implemented on classroom participants, major focus on classroom-level questions is essential. Thus, the site for major participant observation in this study has been selected classrooms in which teachers were engaging students in arts-related activities and were using the aesthetic education program staff as consultants.

The CEMREL curriculum has already been carefully observed and described during the phase of curriculum development and also during the early stages of implementation in other school systems. For examples of CEMREL curriculum evaluation reports, at the early stages of curriculum dissemination, see Mikel (1976); Rosenblatt, Mikel, and Manis (1976); and Smith and Schumacher (1972). For detailed descriptions by program staff of the curriculum development process, see Council for Research in Music Education (Bulletin No. 43, 1975). The initial motivation for this study was to observe and describe the same curriculum at a later stage of implementation: as it operated after a period of institutionalization in one of the earliest school systems to adopt the curriculum.

The CEMREL reports themselves suggest a classroom focus, since for the most part they are concerned with documenting the educational effects of the curriculum on children and teachers rather than adjustments at the building and school system level which take place in order for adoption of the curriculum to occur. Another important reason for the classroom-level focus of this study is that, as the CEMREL reports document, a major problem in studying aesthetic education is the inherent ambiguity of the subject area. This ambiguity becomes particularly difficult to deal with once participating teachers feel comfortable enough with the packaged curriculum labeled "aesthetic education" to move beyond it and supplement or supplant it with teacher- or consultant-developed aesthetic education activities. That the packaged

materials constitute "aesthetic education" has not been unambiguously demonstrated, and there has been disagreement among various participants in the curriculum innovation (who agree that the packaged curriculum is properly labeled) as to whether or not teacher-developed activities can reasonably be considered to be "aesthetic education." This disagreement among participants with different perspectives on the program is documented in chapter five, which summarizes the conceptions of aesthetic education elicited from a cross section of participants in the Riverton program.

Since the essential nature of the curriculum has not been clearly established by earlier curriculum evaluation, the most feasible focus for an initial description and analysis of the institutionalized curriculum is the nature of the curriculum as understood and practiced by participants. That this approach to the curriculum is sensible is suggested by Robert C. Smith's contribution to a panel discussion of aesthetic education during the early phases of curriculum development at CEMREL. Addressing the problem of defining the aesthetic education curriculum, Smith said:

> What is aesthetic education? does not call for information, but rather a definition. But before we venture toward a definition, we might do well to ask Why is one needed? What purpose might it serve?
>
> I think the question What is aesthetic education? has arisen in this manner. In a time of change many people become doubtful about the value of what they are doing and the effectiveness of the way they are doing it. In teaching the arts in schools we have been increasingly troubled by questions like: Are our programs in art, music and theatre related to each other properly -- or at all?... Implicit in such questions, which express our doubt and discontent, are the general questions: What purposes are we serving? and, more pointedly, Whose purposes are we serving?

> .... When people start to define the term "aesthetic education", each person's definition is, either explicitly or implicitly, a set of proposals or recommendations about what we should be doing. We don't get the same definition from everyone. So the attempt to define the term "aesthetic education" leads directly to the original differences from which a definition was to rescue us.
>
> .... In our answers to these hard questions -- both the answers we propose in words and the answers we act out in practice -- we are deciding what aesthetic education is. We don't start with a definition and then bring practices into conformance. We make the definition of "aesthetic education" by what we do (Smith 1971: 11-13).

Since the description and analysis in this study are so firmly grounded in a particular program as implemented at a particular time and place, conclusions based on these data alone are not generalizable to other times and places or to similar but not identical curricula. Moreover, because of the inherent ambiguity of the field, the data themselves are difficult to perceive and describe accurately unless the researcher can frame the inquiry in terms of a broader conception of the phenomenon than any one instance of it can possibly allow. Accordingly, the description and analysis which follow are justified in part by the discussion in chapter one of philosophical analyses of aesthetics, of the role of the arts and of aesthetic theory in education historically as well as currently, and of a body of educational theory which takes its point of departure from the structural analysis of human behavior by gestalt psychologists and by linguists, especially sociolinguists. They are also, of course, rooted in the patterns of action and interaction actually observed in a few classrooms in the Riverton City Schools.

Research Methods

The inherent ambiguity of the curriculum, to date, is also one of the chief reasons for selecting qualitative research methods as most appropriate for this inquiry. Most educational research is organized according to a quantitative paradigm: relatively precise procedures for description and evaluation, requiring the researcher to work with predetermined units of analysis which are observed in some fashion and then counted and evaluated statistically. Ethnography is both holistic and qualitative: capable of describing any qualities of phenomena that can be stated in propositional language, not only their discontinuous or countable aspects. Relying on a qualitative method inevitably entails some loss of precision but avoids the hazard of trivializing the inquiry through premature precision. The latter easily occurs when one subdivides a phenomenon which is understood only intuitively and as a whole into discontinuous units of analysis for purposes of research, without a careful preliminary, qualitative analysis and justification of the units of analysis that have been chosen. Such precision may be irrelevant or even false.

None of the more quantitative approaches to the study of aesthetic education has been productive to date of more precise understanding of the essential nature of the curriculum, although such methods have been useful for studying the more quantitative aspects, such as how many students have been exposed to a particular approach. (Many of the CEMREL evaluation reports already cited

take a qualitative, descriptive approach to the curriculum, but none to date has produced a reasonably precise, generally acceptable definition of aesthetic education. One of the final meetings of the CEMREL aesthetic education research committee set as one of their most urgent priorities for future research defining the curriculum more precisely, for the benefit of students and educators as well as researchers. See Coe, 1979b, for a description of the research priorities defined at that meeting.)

Using a holistic method like ethnography, which gives the researcher the ability to record events whole and then analyze them at leisure according to either continuous or discontinuous scales, is a way of exercising prudence. It is especially advisable in a field like aesthetic education in which there is not even a commonly accepted definition of the phenomenon, much less a large pool of experimental or correlational research data.

Ethnography

As Magoon (1977) points out, ethnographic techniques stem from a constructivist rather than from a reductionist view of the social sciences. That is, "the constructivist perspective holds as a chief assumption about much complex behavior that the 'subjects' being studied must at a minimum be considered as knowing beings, and that this knowledge they possess has important consequences for how behavior or actions are interpreted" (Magoon 1977: 651-652). Magoon points out that this assumption is based in large part on the perspective of the phenomenologists and of the

gestalt psychologists. Ethnographers and other constructivists would assume that behavior, analyzed into predetermined elements and then controlled by the researcher through laboratory experimentation or statistical methods for "washing out" random variation, may not be readily interpretable. They perceive social phenomena as context-specific and would, therefore, assume that, when complex social behavior is studied out of its normal context, it is apt to be so radically changed that it cannot be assumed that research results can safely be generalized to the same behavior in a more usual context. Thus, constructivists prefer recording phenomena in their natural state, to the degree possible, even though this may entail loss of control over variables.

The researcher attempts to discover appropriate units of analysis rather than to impose them arbitrarily. At a minimum, such units should not be in conflict with the essential nature of the phenomena; at best, they might be totally congruent with informed intuitions of participants in the phenomena under study. Linguist Kenneth Pike sums up much of this point of view in his rationale for a "unified theory of the structure of human behavior:"

> The activity of man constitutes a structural whole, in such a way that it cannot be subdivided into neat 'parts' or 'levels' or 'compartments' with language in a behavioral compartment insulated in character, content, and organization from other behavior. Verbal and nonverbal activity is a unified whole, and theory and methodology should be organized or created to treat it as such (Pike 1967: 26).

Pike was the first to make a distinction which has become one of the most important tools in the ethnographer's conceptual toolkit: the distinction between the emic perspective (that of the

participant in the social setting, reflecting the insider's complex knowledge of how to act appropriately in various known contexts) and the etic perspective (analyzing phenomena objectively, from outside the social system being analyzed, and comparing these phenomena with phenomena from other contexts that seem similar by objective criteria). Drawing on the linguistic analogy which suggested the terms (the distinction between "phonemic" and "phonetic" analysis), Pike labeled the emic viewpoint "structural" and the etic viewpoint "nonstructural or classificatory" in the first edition of Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior.

> The emic approach is a structural one, in which the investigator assumes that human behavior is patterned, with the patterned system itself, the units of that patterned system and the structural classes of such units all constituted by the actions and reactions of the members of that particular society (without them being aware of many of the units which they so build), not constituted by the action of the analyst merely to obtain constructs which can be "applied to" data to describe it. Thus the goal of the emic approach is to discover and describe that behavioral system with its structural units and structural classes of such units (Pike 1954: 8).

Harris (1979: 29-45) devotes a full chapter to an elaborated analysis of the emic-etic distinction, making the case that Pike had understated the value of the etic viewpoint in his preoccupation with human systems of meaning. Much of Harris' work is devoted to demonstrating that etic analysis, while it may be "classificatory," is not necessarily "nonstructural;" he would argue that the interaction between humans organized in societies and their nonhuman environment is critical to understanding the

lawful nature of cultural development and reflects inherent structure. As Arnheim (1969: 239) points out, the most useful classifications or taxonomies are those whose organization reflects the essential nature of the phenomena they categorize: "Often language does better than merely assigning an arbitrary tag to a kind of object. It can give to an individual or species a name that indicates its belonging to a broader category. For example, by calling a group of animals 'insects' one defines them as being insecta, namely segmented creatures."

Keeping an appropriate tension between the emic perspective and the etic perspective is essential to pursuing an ethnographic inquiry successfully, as most ethnographers now recognize. The importance of being able to take both points of view, in rapid succession, underlines the importance of the ethnographer's not only becoming a participant in the community of interest but taking local roles which do not violate the values of the local community and which provide as good a basis as possible for developing the emic perspective of the insider. Some ethnographers have observed that those who choose to become ethnographers have typically grown up in socially marginal situations, so that the habit of moving back and forth between two or more perspectives was developed early in life.

Powdermaker's candid autobiography Stranger and Friend (1966) confirms the truth of this observation, at least in her case. Whether such marginality will be as characteristic of educational anthropologists as it has been of traditional ethnographers remains

to be seen. Both roles, that of "stranger" and that of self-conscious "friend," are difficult to take in a situation with which one has long been familiar (such as school classrooms for most Americans). Much of the challenge for educational ethnographers is to learn to perceive the familiar as strange, so that one can bring into conscious perception what Malinowski (1922: 18) calls "the inponderabilia of actual life," the habitual, mostly unconscious mechanisms by which one lives one's life and engages in social interactions, which participants take for granted but which ethnographers find particularly useful for understanding what is going on. It is also extremely difficult to articulate one's own emic viewpoint -- as a former member of classroom communities -- and differentiate it from the emic viewpoint of the "strangers" with whom one is working.

In general, the researcher begins with relatively general research questions (such as those posed at the beginning of this chapter) and depends on operationalizing the research strategy in the field, on the basis of what is observed at a particular time and place with particular participants, developing more specific questions which are capable of verification or disproof. The researcher makes use of the redundancies of everyday life (reflecting the tight, hierarchical ordering of social interaction) for triangulation of evidence about what is going on. From these observations it is possible to infer rules of the social game -- usually tacit rather than explicit -- which structure interaction for a particular social group. These rules are generally extraordinarily

fluid and require detailed knowledge of the locally appropriate contexts for accomplishing the interactive work of both groups and individuals.

> The communicative competence necessary to participate in face-to-face interaction with others is an extremely complex package of knowledge and skills. Anthropologists and sociologists have shown that the content of this shared knowledge varies greatly from one human group to the next. This is true not only among large-scale groups, such as ethnic groups, social classes, or nations, but also among small-scale groups -- between one family and another within the same ethnic, racial, or social class group, between one neighborhood friendship network and another, and between one school classroom and another next door within the same school.... (Shultz, Florio, and Erickson 1982: 89).

Rules can change rapidly over time within the same group, not only from the general process of cultural change, but because the rules that apply shift with every shift in context, no matter how subtle.

> These interactionally constituted environments are embedded in time and can change from moment to moment. With each context change, the role relationships among participants are redistributed to produce differing configurations of concerted action.... (Erickson and Shultz 1981: 148).

Accounting, in part, for this flexibility is that these rules, which enable people to structure their interaction with one another, vary along the continuum that Eisner (1982: 63 ff.) labels "rule-governed" versus "figurative." (For a more detailed discussion of Eisner's continuum see pages 38 - 39 in chapter one.) The linguist's distinction between "rules" (prescriptive codes) and "maxims" (general guidelines, flexible in their application) is very similar to Eisner's dichotomy. An example of a linguistic rule would be noun-verb agreement in English. Linguistic maxims

govern those aspects of English speech that indicate whether the occasion is formal or informal and whether terms of respect and deference are used or terms connoting social equality. As with most cultural and linguistic rules, both types of rule are normally enacted without conscious attention to the rule. (As it happens, it is possible to bring the rules just cited to the conscious attention of a competent English speaker, particularly when they have been violated.) The emic systems manifested by verbal languages differ in the ways in which rules and maxims are organized: there are languages, for instance, in which it is impossible to address someone without using a term denoting social equality or inequality, so that this aspect of speech is rule-governed rather than maxim-governed as in English; and there are languages in which tense and number are not conveyed syntactically, as in English, so that maxims govern whether or not and how such information is conveyed.

The complexity of all cultural roles as local actors enact them in time and space allows for a great deal of play in any human social system, leeway which actors generally try to take advantage of by invoking rules that are in their interest and trying to avoid enactment of those which are not. This general observation about the nature of human culture seems entirely congruent with Arnheim's observations about focus and intentionality in human perception:

> In order to interpret the functioning of the senses properly, one needs to keep in mind that they did not come about as instruments of cognition for cognition's sake, but evolved as biological aids for survival. From

> the beginning they aimed at, and concentrated on, those features of the surroundings that made the difference between the enhancement and the impediment of life. This means that perception is purposive and selective (Arnheim 1969: 19).

He emphasizes that, even in such fundamental processes as focusing the eyes, human beings tend to focus on that which is important to them in a situation (what "matters") and to grasp essential features -- generalities -- before they comprehend the object well enough to grasp particulars. Later, discussing language, Arnheim notes (1969: 173): "In principle, any trait or group of traits establishing such distinctions would suit the purpose of definition, regardless of whether these traits pointed to essentials or not. Actually, however, the human mind endeavors to define things by what is important about them."

In general, people hold each other accountable for abiding by shared cultural rules through sanctions, many of which are so subtle that they usually fall into the unconscious "inponderabilia" of everyday life (for instance, the repetition of questions that require but do not receive answers). These sanctions vary contextually, just as the rules themselves do. A potent source of misunderstanding among members of different social groups is that, operating under even slightly different rules in a particular context, each may fail to recognize the other's sanctions and contextualization cues. For a discussion of a particular type of such culturally based miscuing, which affects the life chances of some community college students, see Erickson and Shultz (1982).

The ethnographic researcher must attempt to reconstruct the

rules governing unfamiliar interactional contexts and to bring to conscious attention and formulation those rules which govern familiar contexts. He or she also usually tries to describe accurately the relationship between those rules and maxims which are explicitly stated and available for conscious inspection (which often are honored in practice in some contexts but not in others) and implicit rules and maxims. The researcher must review, interpret, and re-interpret the evidence constantly, in order to generate tentative hypotheses that can be confirmed or disconfirmed. The analysis is comparative: evidence of one type compared with other types of evidence (what people say about a situation compared with what they do about it compared with historical documentation, for instance); and comparing evidence from one emically organized social group with social dynamics known to have occurred elsewhere. The constant tension between taking the emic and taking the etic viewpoint, while still in the field and participating in the local situation, provides much of the energy of ethnographic research.

Specific techniques for finding out what the social dynamics are are limited only by the ethnographer's imagination. A method that virtually defines the approach is that of participant observation: establishing a local role for oneself and developing an emic viewpoint by being socialized into the group almost as children of the group are socialized, while maintaining the adult ability to step psychologically outside the situation and take the etic viewpoint. (The researcher knows that it is impossible to be socialized precisely as children are socialized: just as one

learns "how to" deal with language when one learns one's native tongue and later transfers that knowledge of "how to" -- what Bateson 1979 calls "learning two" or "learning to learn" -- to the task of learning a second language, so one learns "how to" deal with human culture when one is first socialized as a child and later transfers that knowledge to the task of being socialized as an adult ethnographer.)

The participant observer role may be either relatively active or relatively passive, the more passive type of participation sometimes being referred to as "non-participant observation." Other techniques which are appropriate in ethnographic research include library research; surveys or other quantitative techniques; systematic interviewing; analysis of videotapes or other forms of microethnography; or historical research. These are only the most common techniques; virtually none are ruled out if the ethnographer can make a sound, constructivist argument for their use.

Including both insiders and outsiders to the local group on the research team is an effective method for establishing an appropriate tension between the emic and etic perspectives. At the minimum, the researcher must seek out key informants among the local participants to check the adequacy of the emic perspective the researcher is developing, to make sure it is recognizable and makes sense to local participants, whether or not they have ever given conscious attention to the rules the researcher has discerned. If the researcher's emic perspective fails to make sense to local participants, he or she may be able to determine the ways in which

the dynamics of cultural interaction in which the researcher participates in other settings may be interfering with development of an accurate emic perspective on this setting.

Cultural and social anthropologists, especially those of the culture and personality school of which Margaret Mead was a leading exemplar, have always taken a particular interest in the processes by which children are enculturated or socialized into their birth groups. Spindler (1973) traces this interest in educational processes at least as far back as Franz Boas, the founder of American academic anthropology. In Boas' early discussion of the fluidity of the relationships among race, language, and culture and of the relevance of anthropology (a probabilistic social science) to the problems of twentieth-century man, he claims, "Physiologically and psychologically the child does not function in the same way as the adult, the male not in the same way as the female. Anthropological research offers, therefore, a means of determining what may be expected of children of different ages and this knowledge is of considerable value for regulating educational methods" (Boas 1962: 168).

Because anthropology is a holistic and qualitative discipline, anthropologists have often dealt more straightforwardly with the dilemmas posed for education by unconscious thought processes than researchers who use more quantitative approaches. For instance, Bateson emphasizes that relatively little human communication takes place at the level of focused attention labeled "consciousness" and that very little of what a human being has learned

can be the focus of conscious attention at any particular moment in time.

> The processes of perception are inaccessible; only the products are conscious and, of course, it is the products that are necessary. The two general facts -- first, that I am unconscious of the process of making the images which I consciously see and, second, that in these unconscious processes, I use a whole range of presuppositions which become built into the finished image -- are, for me, the beginning of empirical epistemology (Bateson 1979: 34-35).

Some ethnographers hope to derive general laws of human behavior from their work but not through experimental research, the paradigm which has had such success in elucidating physical science problems. Rather, if ethnographers can find them, such laws will be discovered by maintaining the emic-etic distinction, by comparing a number of studies of apparently similar phenomena ("the family" or "school learning") in different contexts, and determining, in constructivist fashion, what changes and what remains constant or relatively constant (the same method used by humans to construct all relatively stable mental concepts, according to Arnheim 1969). Instead of hoping to build a complex picture of human behavior from a number of relatively simple experiments or comparative quantitative studies, the ethnographer hopes to distill some relatively simple generalities from the complexities of human life.

Ethnography has few or no simplifying assumptions. Thus, the problem of analyzing ethnographic data, once collected, is exquisitely difficult. Malinowski's advice (1922, chapter one) to reduce as much of one's information as possible to chart form

(or, in other words, to digitalize data in order to clarify the structure of human social life) is well taken. However, the ethnographer has no rules of thumb allowing particular analytical procedures to be taken for granted. Everything is open to question, and conclusions must be justified by as much evidence and reasonable argument as the ethnographer is able to bring to bear. The link between the quality of evidence and the conclusions reached must, of necessity, remain extremely close in ethnographic inquiry, there being no methods for "washing out" inaccuracies. In fact, the link must be closer than that required for reasonable decision-making in everyday life. And there is no elegantly succinct method for reporting and verifying one's findings, no matter what graphic or other summarizing devices one has devised. The dilemma of the traditional ethnography is always how to report interrelated aspects of the problem in a coherent manner that does not violate the complex interactions actually present in the data.

In addition, a credible summary of findings should be reinforced by some report on the reliability of the research instruments and especially of the researcher who is the major instrument: relevant background, experience, values and commitments, roles played in the field (and the access to or limitations on access to relevant information implied by these roles). Otherwise, the reader cannot make an informed judgment as to the quality of the evidence on which the findings are based. Few ethnographers, educational or otherwise, have attended adequately to this criterion for reporting results. A happy exception to this generalization

is Florio and Walsh (1976), a paper presented at a professional meeting in which the researcher and the teacher whose classroom was the site of the researcher's participant observation discuss the collaborative relationship which developed between them during the course of the research and the effect of this relationship on their individual perceptions of what was going on in the classroom and on their approaches to classroom problems. Appendix C is a summary of the present researcher's background and relevant experience.

In general, ethnography is not an appropriate technique for educational research if less intensive techniques would serve the purpose. Because ethnography is so labor intensive, it is the most expensive of the approaches typical of educational research and, for that reason alone, ought to be reserved for problems that defy more traditional inquiry. If ethnography is considered simply as observation -- a natural human talent that presumably does not require extensive training or practice -- researchers may devote large amounts of scarce resources to it and receive only disappointing returns. There are natural observers -- and part of the skill of the ethnographer is in identifying such people and using them as key informants. However, any observer must understand the intensive, often painful analysis necessary during the data gathering phase as well as afterwards, in order to be considered an ethnographer.

Microethnography

To the ethnographic techniques just described microethnography adds another dimension: the ability to retrieve precise behaviors as often as desired, so that analysis of the behaviors can be as fine grained as necessary to address any particular problem.* While some ethnographic questions -- both empirical and theoretical -- are too broad to make such an instant replay capacity useful, and while most ethnographic questions require more contextual evidence than can be provided through machine-recorded behaviors alone, microethnographic analysis adds power and depth to the study of those questions for which it is suited.

Because microethnographic techniques allow fine grained etic analysis and, in addition, allow the subject of the research to provide emic analysis of what was going on through the viewing session technique, they lend themselves particularly well to the type of inquiry pursued here. The viewing session technique, also known as stimulated recall, consists of showing the subjects of the research (in this case teacher and students) videotapes of events in which they were actors and getting detailed feedback on the subjects' perception of the event, as well as answers to any particular questions about the event in which the researcher has special interest. Not only does viewing the videotape or movie presumably trigger subjects' memory of the events, but it

*"Microethnography" has been defined differently by different researchers. I follow Erickson's usage in confining the term to research using machine-recorded behaviors, to allow extremely fine grained analysis.

allows the subjects to view the event from outside -- more objectively than they could when immersed in the stream of action and interaction. In this way they may observe aspects of the event of which they were not consciously aware at the time when they were interactively engaged in it or aspects that were outside their field of perception at the time of the event.

Many microethnographic studies strongly suggest a global finding: that, the more closely one examines everyday behavior, particularly interactional behavior, the more orderly and patterned it appears to be. For evidence suggesting this generalization, see Carrasco, Vera, and Cazden (1982); Erickson (1975, 1977, 1979b, 1982b); Erickson and Mohatt (1982); Erickson and Shultz (1982); Griffin et al. (1978); Mehan (1979); and Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982). This finding appears to reflect culturally determined social "rules of co-occurrence" that seem to be the source of the cues structuring face to face interaction. Ervin-Tripp (1972: 233-234) calls these rules either "horizontal" (sequential, determining what appropriately follows what) or "vertical" (simultaneous, determining how the actions of the participants are coordinated, especially vocally and kinesically, and how the actions of the various individual participants articulate with one another, as when all shift position in the same general direction when a change of subject is signalled). Such "co-occurrence" rules make possible the reciprocity (or lack of it) which ensures that all participants in an event take part in some way in its mutual enactment.

The more one views isolated segments of behavior, the more patterned and the more integrated with other people's behavior these segments appear to be: people seem to sing to one another, to dance with one another, and, in general, to act in rhythmic, patterned ways which are highly reminiscent of the performing arts. These patterns are perceptually enhanced by the "bracketing" of very small segments of behavior from the stream of interactional acts which provides the matrix for any particular event and by the efficiency of concentrating on information from one sensory channel at a time when recording tiny segments of behavior. This type of perceptual heightening is highly reminiscent of the intensification of perceptual awareness that is so frequently reported by participants in both the visual and the performing arts.

Several microethnographers have, in fact, begun to use the regularity of the rhythmic "beat" in ordinary conversation as a tool for both recording and analyzing speech events, even going so far as to use musical notation for the purpose. (See Erickson 1981, 1982b. Scollon 1982 is an analysis of the way in which ensemble is achieved in face to face interaction; his use of the term ensemble is not intended as an analogy to musical ensemble but is meant to refer to precisely the same rhythmic coordination of interactive work and is based on extensive analysis of everyday talk by himself and others, using musical notation.) Erickson (1982b) draws an explicit analogy between classroom discourse and

arts activities by discussing "classroom discourse as improvisation."

The importance of the interactional "bracketing" of events is particularly suggested by Goffman's discussion of Frame Analysis (1974). Goffman discusses at length the way in which participants structure social events by perceiving them as entities having more or less permeable boundaries, creating weak or strong "frames," and conveying these perceptions to one another according to culturally determined maxims. A characteristic of most art forms is that, by channeling the experience of an event into only one or a few salient sensory modes, perceptual awareness is heightened and often what is processed unconsciously in everyday life becomes accessible to consciousness for the perceiver, through the arts event. Goffman addresses the analogy between his analysis and what occurs in the art of drama:

> Because the language of the theater has become deeply embedded in the sociology from which this study derives, there is value in attempting from the start to address the matter of the stage.... All the word [sic] is like a stage, we do strut and fret our hour on it, and that is all the time we have. But what's the stage like, and what are those figures that people it? (Goffman 1974: 124).

He suggests (1974: 125) that the interactions of everyday life can be distinguished from theatrical performances primarily by the degree of bracketing: "Performances can be distinguished according to their purity, that is, according to the exclusiveness of the claim of the watchers on the activity they watch. Dramatic scriptings, nightclub acts, personal appearances of various sorts, the

ballet, and much of orchestral music are pure. No audience, no performance."

Enjoyment of perception for its own sake, as well as deliberately bringing to conscious attention what is normally unconscious, is frequently suggested as a defining characteristic of the arts. (See the discussion of the nature of the arts on pages 53 - 59 in chapter one. Dewey 1934, for instance, describes vividly some of the ways in which arts products or events enhance humans' perceptions of the experiences they undergo. Langer, 1953 and 1967, describes ways in which the various art forms are organized so as to produce "organic form," readily perceivable, which is isomorphic with the form of various life experiences expressed through the arts.) With the bracketing of art from other types of social events that has developed in western civilization over the past several centuries, this enjoyment of perception for its own sake has crystallized in the concept of "art for art's sake," an idea not found in most of the world's cultures. But surely the heightened perception art invokes must be at least part of the reason art forms have developed in all known human cultures; why else would people expend energy that serves no purpose except to make an object or an event more aesthetically pleasing?

Another consistent finding of microethnographers involved in cross-cultural research suggests another interesting analogy with the arts. Specific patterned actions through which people appear to cue one another to their intentions, often without conscious sending or receiving of the signals, vary from cultural group to

cultural group, and some of the miscommunication between members of different groups appears to stem from misreading of these unconscious cues. (For documentation of this point see Cazden 1979; Cazden, Carrasco, Maldonado-Guzman, and Erickson 1980; Erickson 1975, 1979b; Erickson and Shultz 1982; Erickson and Mohatt 1982; Hall 1959, 1966, 1976; and Scollon and Scollon 1981.) The ways in which formal properties of artistic media are manipulated to produce aesthetic objects and events communicate to some degree across cultural boundaries, so that it is possible to have the sensation of understanding an unfamiliar cultural setting through its arts. At the same time art forms (particularly the performing arts) which challenge one's habitual patterns of perception too radically may profoundly alienate the perceiver. These processes appear to be very similar to processes of communication and miscommunication across cultural boundaries that have been documented in microethnographic studies.

Both communication and miscommunication through the arts might reasonably be explained through congruity or incongruity in the relationship between the "marked" art forms, accessible to consciousness, and the body of very similar but "unmarked" culturally patterned behavior which takes place below the threshold of conscious awareness, the "inponderabilia" of everyday life. In this case "marked" and "unmarked" take the meaning they have in describing a linguistic phenomenon found in most human languages, in which pairs of words which appear to describe contrasting categories in fact are used so as to describe categories one of

which (the "marked" category) is actually subsumed within the other ("unmarked") category. A clear example of this phenomenon in English is the use of the word "man," which can be used at one level of generality to refer to humanity in general (inclusive of both sexes and all ages) and at another level of generality to contrast with "woman" or "child." "Woman" and "child," by contrast, are used only in contexts in which they clearly denote sex and age respectively. "Man," being the term found in the widest range of contexts, is the "unmarked" term and "woman" and "child" the "marked" terms.

In general, use of the "marked" term requires conscious attention to the implied contrast with the "unmarked" term, while use of the "unmarked" term need not be accompanied by conscious attention to the contrast which holds at another level of generality. As we normally think about human social life, any experience of "art" (at least the performing arts) clearly contrasts with experiences of everyday social interaction. But microethnographic studies suggest that, at a more inclusive level of analysis, the performing arts are subsumed under a category of interactional behavior in general and that the arts are distinguished from other interactional behavior primarily by the degree of perceived bracketing of this behavior from the stream of everyday events in which people take part at a primarily unconscious level. Documentation of the role of the arts in elementary classrooms in chapters four and five may help clarify the character of the arts as the "marked" forms of human interaction.

The close relationship postulated between the performing arts and the "inponderabilia" which guide people through their daily lives was suggested initially by observing classroom events on videotape, and this impression was reinforced by the major finding of this study, that "dramatic structure" (the cooperative focusing in on the "point" of a lesson followed by disengagement with the content) characterizes not only classroom lessons in the performing arts (at least those lessons that "work" for the participants) but also any intuitively successful classroom lesson. Looking for explanations of the effects of the arts in elementary schools produced the serendipitous effect of discovering an interactive structuring of classroom events which seemed to account for many of the qualities embodied in the common sense notion of "quality of instruction."

In the present study videotapes were made and analyzed to provide more detailed evidence than was possible in field notes about classroom events that the teacher or researcher or both intuitively identified as "aesthetic education" as contrasted with events that clearly did not exemplify "aesthetic education." The videotapes served primarily as catalysts in the research process, and relatively little of the information contained in them will be discussed in the factual chapters of this report. However, the concept of dramatic structuring of classroom events was suggested initially by careful scrutiny of the videotapes from the target classrooms. The progressive focusing of the classroom group (whole class or small group) on the content of a lesson and the group's subsequent

disengagement with the content were far more apparent on videotape than in field note descriptions of lessons. Further analysis indicated that there were clear symptoms of both engagement and disengagement (for instance, ignoring or willingly attending to the many minor interruptions that punctuate the elementary school day) which were evident both on the videotapes and in the field notes and seemed to provide adequate information about the focus of group attention to allow charting a lesson's dramatic structure.

In spite of an initial expectation that fruitful analytic concepts discoverable in the data would provide a basis for differentiating between aesthetic education and non-aesthetic education, it was quickly apparent that the concept of dramatic structure applied equally to both types of event which had been documented. In fact, the videotape of a creative writing lesson in the sixth-grade classroom exhibited flawed dramatic structure because of factors outside the teacher's control (primarily lack of time occasioned by technical problems with the videotape equipment) while the videotape of an extended mathematics contest in the same classroom exhibited almost perfect dramatic structure. (Charts of these two lessons are found in Figure 6 and in Appendix U.)

The proposed resolution of this dilemma is that dramatic structure -- intrinsically desirable in any classroom event -- is self-evident in arts events but may be considerably less self-evident in lessons in basic school subjects (in which the object of the lesson is what it will enable the learner to do in the future rather than valuing the event for its own sake). If this

supposition is correct, then work in the arts might well be used to introduce learners to the interactional structuring of events which seems most productive in all lessons. In this study it was not possible to document this possibility rigorously, but chapter five contains testimonial evidence from teachers that their learning to incorporate the arts into their curriculum had had the effect of making students more cooperative and more efficient learners of all subject matter. In theory, the proposition that it is the inherent structuring of the arts which transfers to other subject areas could be confirmed or disconfirmed, but it would require a far more ambitious research project than has been possible here, probably one following children and teachers for a period of some years. The present study does suggest the likelihood that such a full-scale, longitudinal study might be fruitful.

In addition to yielding the primary concept that has come out of this study, the videotapes suggested that the original expectation that the place to look for exemplary aesthetic education would be the elementary classroom (with no outside stimulation except for the CEMREL curriculum materials and program consultants) was somewhat naive. It implied, for instance, that the elementary school teacher would be able to have enough control over classroom variables to teach an exemplary aesthetic education lesson on demand. In view of the interactive nature of classroom teaching and learning, such a demand may be unreasonable in any subject matter, and it is likely that the arts are more vulnerable than other subject areas to random events that prevent the development

of dramatic structure in a lesson. At any rate, the carefully planned videotaped lessons proved not to exemplify aesthetic education as well as selected excerpts from the field notes, recording instances when the field worker happened to be present for a lesson that went particularly well or for which outside resources of unusual quality happened to be available.

Moreover, there are field note excerpts that suggest that events which appear to exemplify aesthetic education can occur without the teacher's intentional teaching of aesthetic education. See Appendix P for an instance of such a lesson in the first-grade target classroom, when the teacher happened to present a challenge which sparked the children's aesthetic curiosity and the lesson happened to proceed in ways that allowed the children to develop an event with dramatic structure without assistance from the teacher. The field notes also suggest that lessons which teachers (who have training in aesthetic education) identify as examples of aesthetic education may, in fact, exemplify arts-based content in only the most trivial aspects. Thus, it is the field notes that serve as the basis for most of the analysis in chapters four and five. Excerpts from the field notes are given <u>verbatim</u> in Appendices I - W.

Research on Teacher Thought

Regardless of whether qualitative or quantitative methods are employed, a basic assumption underlying research on teacher thinking, or cognitive information-processing research, must be

that teachers' knowledge, thoughts, and intentions are critical components of the teacher's role as dispenser of information and learning opportunities to students. This field of educational research, then, is most directly applicable to the questions addressed by this study which have to do with teachers' and others' conceptions of the arts, of aesthetic education, and of the role of the arts in schools. Because the essential data sought are internal cognitive events, this approach to educational research is inevitably constructivist, as Magoon (1977: 651-652) uses the term.

Both quantitative and qualitative inquiries about teacher thought have been highly congruent in their findings, including such unexpected findings as that more effective teachers tend to spend less time on formal planning for instruction than less effective teachers and that teachers seldom consciously attend to more than one potential instructional strategy when planning. Yinger's ethnographic, qualitative study of teacher planning (1980) replicated experimental findings on these questions by Peterson and Clark (1978) and Peterson, Marx, and Clark (1978). Yinger went beyond the experimental research cited, however, in his detailed study and analysis of planning processes used by the particular teacher he studied. For instance, the teacher paid a great deal of attention to establishing teaching routines, to simplify the children's learning tasks as well as the teacher's managerial tasks. And, as other teachers had reported earlier in self-report research, the teacher consistently reported "fine

tuning" instructional strategies when they did not achieve desired results, rather than changing strategies while engaged in the interactive teaching situation. This report is reminiscent of the process of "fine tuning" through which learners perfect their skills in the arts, discussed in chapter one.

A number of studies (for instance, the work by Taylor and that by Zahorik cited in Clark 1979; Peterson, Marx, and Clark 1979; and Yinger 1980) suggest that the rational, prescriptive model of teacher planning initiated by Tyler and elaborated by Taba and Popham has little relationship to the reality of teacher planning prior to instruction or during the interactive teaching process (Clark 1979: 233). Instead of specifying objectives, selecting appropriate strategies from the universe of potential strategies, organizing learning activities, and specifying procedures for evaluation, in that order, teachers typically focus on materials and activities, seldom consider more than one strategy (even when instruction is going poorly, in their opinion), and give least attention in planning to behavioral objectives, generally having more global goals in mind. Teachers typically report that they do more planning in their heads than on paper (Yinger 1980).

Teachers pay little attention to formal evaluation procedures but, instead, report that they judge the success of an activity largely according to their perceptions of students' "involvement" level (Clark 1979: 243-244, citing work by Marx, Joyce, Morine-Dersheimer, and McNair). Yinger's (1980) work confirms

teachers' use of "involvement" as a major criterion for judging the success or failure of lessons during the interactive teaching process. Such judgments may reflect teachers' intuitive understanding that they are not in sole control of an inherently interactive process, which must have the appropriate structure (requiring a great deal of cooperation from the audience, the learners) if it is to be effective, a requirement for ensemble work analogous to that required in music, theater, or dance.

These findings suggest that fears expressed by CEMREL curriculum developers that children will fail to learn "arts objectives" if the arts are integrated with curriculum the teachers consider more important or basic, should be stated more sharply if they are to express actual teaching/learning dilemmas and not simply a too rational model of teacher planning and evaluation. Perhaps it would be more accurate to anticipate that, if teachers' major concern is to increase students' "involvement" in academic lessons, and if they give aesthetic education credit for being "involving," teachers may label any content which involves students as "aesthetic," regardless of whether it represents an art form or is saturated with arts qualities or not. As already suggested in this chapter and illustrated in some of the lessons discussed in chapter four, there is some evidence in this study that this does sometimes occur. Ironically enough, as the dramatic structure charts in Figure 8 and in Appendix Q illustrate, these lessons were successful in attracting student interest but far less effective in focusing students' attention on the academic content than

straightforward academic lessons in the same subject matter in the same classrooms.

Research Procedures

The researcher had considerable information about both the site (the Riverton City Schools) and the research problem, since she had grown up in Riverton and attended the local public school system and had also helped develop the CEMREL curriculum packages on which the Riverton aesthetic education program is based. Prior to developing a research proposal she had had detailed interviews with the Riverton Aesthetic Education Area Specialist (Ms. Raines) and with two key CEMREL staff involved in teacher training and curriculum dissemination, Mr. Tannenbaum and Dr. White.

Beginning field work in January, 1981, the researcher had written permission from the research and evaluation staff of the Riverton school system and assurances of cooperation from the staff of the aesthetic education program and from Dr. Thomas, the Riverton State University professor responsible for the annual summer training program in aesthetic education. In January the researcher asked Ms. Raines to find some short term program activity in which she might participate, in order to become acquainted with some of the schools and teachers with whom she might work. Ms. Raines suggested the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery poet-in-residence program which she was currently facilitating (a project documented in Tickle 1981). The poet (Ms. Dancer) and two actor/mimes from the local theater for the deaf had already held a series

of multi-sensory exercises (sometimes at the art gallery and sometimes in the classrooms) with children in selected fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade classes. During January they were visiting the classrooms for the penultimate time, to work with the children and give them specific criticism on poems the children had written as part of the project. During the week of January 18 the researcher accompanied Ms. Raines and the three artists-in-residence to about half the classrooms they visited and observed the exercises they did with the children.

The following week the researcher began a series of full-day observations in the classrooms of four teachers recommended by Ms. Raines and her staff as potential candidates for intensive observation: two first-grade teachers (Ms. Anderson and Ms. Beauvoir) and two sixth-grade teachers (Ms. Youngblood and Ms. Abbott). In recommending these teachers Ms. Raines had in mind the following description in the research proposal of the characteristics which would be desirable in the two classrooms to be selected for in-depth participant observation:

> The target classrooms for more intensive research ideally should have the following characteristics:
>
> 1) Contrasting grade levels (preferably first and sixth, to see the same materials and similar activities at as different grade levels as feasible);
>
> 2) Similar teacher skills (preferably two good teachers, since this is an initial summative attempt to study the role and function of aesthetic education in the classroom and we can expect to learn more about this in the classrooms of successful teachers than in the classrooms of unsuccessful teachers);

3) Two different schools but similar principal leadership (supportive of aesthetic education, though it might be interesting to observe two different styles of support);

4) Similar socioeconomic level (preferably the typical desegregated, middle class school in which I understand the program has been most successful).

As it happened, these ideal conditions could not be met in their entirety. (Discrepancies should become apparent in the description of the target schools, teachers, and classrooms that follows in chapter three.) After observing for a full day in each of the four classrooms, the researcher selected two of them (Ms. Beauvoir's and Ms. Abbott's) on the basis of her observation that, in those two classrooms, the children participated enthusiastically in arts-based activities and seemed to be members of cohesive classroom communities. That the students in the other two possible classrooms had established less cohesive classroom communities does not, in itself, reflect on the teaching ability of the other two teachers (as the descriptions of the four classrooms in chapters three and four should make clear).

The researcher asked Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Abbott if she might continue full day observations, one observation every other week in each class. Both teachers agreed to this arrangement, and the researcher proceeded to become familiar with the children in each class, the classroom routine, and the amount and type of aesthetic education activities in each classroom. Altogether, over a period of about four months, she conducted six full-day observations in each of the two target classrooms and, in addition, a half-day videotaping session in each target classroom.

In late February and early March the researcher, with the assistance of the aesthetic education program staff, negotiated formally with Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Abbott (and their principals, Mr. Evergreen and Mr. Croft) and came to agreement in both schools that she would observe regularly and would make videotapes in each of the two classrooms during March or April. (In fact, videotaping took place during the last week of April in Ms. Beauvoir's room and on May first in Ms. Abbott's room.)

Part of the understanding was that each of the teachers and at least some of the children in each classroom would observe the tapes after they were made and would give the researcher feedback on the significance of the videotaped activities. Originally the plan was to select a few children to interview in each class (contrasting children who seemed to understand and enjoy aesthetic education particularly well with others who did not particularly like aesthetic education). However, the preliminary field notes yielded no evidence that this was a meaningful contrast (children who were not particularly good at arts activities seemed, according to the notes, to enjoy those activities as much as those who were very good at them). Since the same notes yielded considerable evidence that one of the effects of aesthetic education seemed to be to create a particularly tight gemeinschaft classroom community, the feedback was eventually solicited from the students through teacher-led, whole class discussions. (Gesellschaft, describing complex, hierarchical social organization, and gemeinschaft, describing face to face, "family-like" social organization, are

terms introduced by Tonnies and popularized by Weber, generally accepted by social scientists as describing contrasting methods of organizing human behavior for tasks requiring group cooperation.)

Prior to undertaking the study the researcher anticipated that it would be desirable to make at least a few full-day observations in classrooms that contrasted in interesting ways with the target classrooms:

> During this phase of the research, it may also be desirable to do occasional observations in settings which contrast in some significant way with the target classrooms (different grade levels, socioeconomic backgrounds, or phase of implementation of aesthetic education) in order to do "quick and dirty" testing of the generalizability of what appear to be significant regularities in the target classrooms.

This proved to be the case. The preliminary full-day observations in Ms. Anderson's first-grade classroom and in Ms. Anderson's sixth-grade classroom provided some interesting contrasts with the more in-depth observations in the two target classrooms. And, toward the end of the spring of 1981, the researcher conducted two more full-day observations in other classrooms to look at several types of contrasting situations: Ms. Gladstone's fifth-grade language arts classroom in a fully departmentalized school (that attracted children from a higher socioeconomic level than either of the two target schools, Vineland Elementary and Pine Manor Elementary); and Ms. Fellows' fifth/sixth-grade classroom in an optional "open" school, the first magnet school in the school system. In addition, because Ms. Youngblood was the only one of

the six teachers who emphasized the visual arts over the performing arts in her curriculum, the researcher asked and received permission to continue to observe Ms. Youngblood's regular weekly art lesson, even though she did no more full-day observations in that classroom. All of these observations are reflected in the field note excerpts in Appendices I - W.

Prior to beginning the study the researcher had also arranged to be a participant in the 1981 summer aesthetic education workshop at Riverton State University, in order to experience firsthand the type of training opportunity available to the teachers who participate in the program. An account of this workshop is given in Appendix D. Throughout the field work period the researcher also kept in close contact with the aesthetic education program staff and observed them working with children in various contexts. At one time she observed an activity conducted for a gifted class on a field trip by the two resource teachers (Ms. Vinson and Ms. Yarrow) at the Aesthetic Education Learning Center at Carver Elementary School.

The results of these various involvements with the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program are summarized in chapters four and five. Chapter three gives necessary contextual information: a brief description of Riverton, a capsule history of the Riverton aesthetic education program, and descriptions of each of the six classrooms where full-day observations were made.

CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND AND SITE DESCRIPTIONS

Study Site

Riverton is a sprawling midsouthern city of about 700,000, located on the Mississippi River. It is a market center for a large rural hinterland, a distribution center for cotton, lumber, and cattle. Its location on the river makes it a natural transportation center, and it is the site of the state medical school and has the largest and most complex medical center in the state, possibly in the midsouth. There is considerably more heavy industry than there was before the second world war, but the industrial infrastructure and job opportunities in general have not kept pace with the very rapid expansion of population since World War Two.

As the agricultural areas of the lower Mississippi delta have become relatively depopulated, especially since the second world war, Riverton has become a "staging area" for rural emigrants, many of whom settle in Riverton and then, as they acquire the skills for urban living, move on to northern and midwestern cities where there have always been greater opportunities for industrial employment than in Riverton. Many of these families accomplish the move in stages, sending pre-school children to

live with grandparents or other relatives "on the farm," bringing school-age children to Riverton to live with middle-aged relatives and take advantage of the opportunity for an urban education. Young adults -- educated as well as the family can afford -- go to northern and midwestern cities to find employment and gradually save enough to bring other family members to live with them.

While the Riverton economy is stagnant compared to that of other "sun belt" cities, the growth of population has been rapid, far more rapid than the growth of urban amenities. In 1880 the population was 33,592; by 1930 it was 253,143; and in 1977 (the most recent date for which figures are available) the population was 668,443. Population has more than doubled since the second world war. The city is one of those southern cities that has annexed suburban areas as soon as they were built up, extending its boundaries frequently, so that these population figures are a pretty accurate index of actual population growth in the metropolitan area. The number of square miles within the city limits has increased even more dramatically than the population over the same time period.

From early in the twentieth century until his death in the mid-1950's, a local insurance executive, Mr. Daniels, was the political "boss" of Riverton, even though he served only one term as mayor. During this period Riverton changed from a small, disreputable, brawling river town to a large city, and Mr. Daniels took credit for the increased respectability of the city. However,

many institutions became ingrown and stagnant during the Daniels era, among them the city schools. When the aesthetic education program was begun in the Riverton City Schools in 1972, the school system was the tenth largest in the United States but had no visual arts and few music specialists at the elementary level. The visual arts coordinator position at the secondary level was still new.

Although Riverton has historically been a center for folk and popular art (especially in music, with both blues and rock), the fine arts have never been cultivated to any great degree. Until the last several decades only a few community groups sponsored either visual or performing arts: the four local colleges (three small church-sponsored, liberal arts colleges, one of them established shortly after the Civil War for the newly freed black population of Riverton and its rural hinterland; and Riverton State University, part of the state university system); the Crichton Mèmorial Art Gallery; the Beethoven Club; the Riverton Little Theatre; the Riverton Academy of Arts; and a now defunct repertory theater which flourished during the 1950's and 1960's. The Metropolitan Opera has included Riverton in its tours for many years.

The possibilities for involvement in the arts in Riverton have expanded considerably more recently, with the development of three repertory theaters; an independent dance company and two struggling ballet companies (that have had to merge management in order to remain solvent although they are still artistically

separate); and the establishment of a county community college with an active visual arts department and theater group. The Junior League of Riverton helped establish the local educational television station and initiated the Riverton Arts Council, which provides financial support for the two ballet companies, two of the repertory companies, Theatre Riverton (of which the Riverton Little Theatre is now part); the Beethoven Club; Opera Riverton; the Riverton Academy of Arts; Crichton Memorial Art Gallery; and a professional children's theater associated with Riverton State University. Affiliated with the Arts Council but receiving no funding are several small community theaters; Riverton Blues Brass Band; Riverton Heritage; Youth Concert Ballet; a private art gallery and gardens; and eleven other community groups. To the surprise of local residents, Riverton was rated surprisingly high on a "liveability scale" developed on the basis of a recent national poll, primarily because of its lively cultural and arts environment.

Brief History of the Aesthetic Education Program

The Junior League of Riverton provided much of the impetus for the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program. The following brief history is based on information provided by the director of the school system aesthetic education program (Ms. Bella Raines); by the 1972-1973 Community Arts Chairman of the Riverton Junior League (Ms. McNeil); and by a national publication of the Junior League (Shuker 1977). At the end of this brief history a time line summarizes milestones in the program's development.

In 1970 the Junior League established a steering committee to investigate the possibilities of establishing some arts-based educational activities in the Riverton City Schools. The committee consisted of three representatives of the city school board, one representative of the county school board, the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Riverton State University, a representative of the Riverton Academy of Arts board, the director of the Riverton Arts Council, a representative of the broadcast media, three prominent lay people, and five representatives of the Junior League. Ms. McNeil, who took much of the initiative to get the aesthetic education program started in 1972, was at first primarily concerned to find some way to eliminate duplication of effort by finding an efficient way of scheduling and coordinating the services various arts groups were already providing the Riverton City Schools. Among these groups were the Symphony League; the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery; the Riverton Academy of Arts; the Junior League Children's Theatre, etc.

However, when the committee learned about the newly developed CEMREL aesthetic education curriculum packages, they appeared to offer the opportunity to introduce an arts-based curriculum into the regular elementary classroom, without requiring lengthy special training for the teacher. Therefore, the CEMREL program was the basis for the aesthetic education program which the Junior League steering committee negotiated with the Riverton City Schools during the spring of 1972.

As a result of the League's proposal to the city school

system, the Assistant Superintendent of the Riverton City Schools made a visit to CEMREL, Inc. during the spring of 1972 and ordered a set of the initial five CEMREL aesthetic education packages, to be evaluated by the school system and the Junior League steering committee. The county school board chose to cooperate with the Riverton City Schools in the pilot program for aesthetic education during the 1972-1973 school year. The first five units of the CEMREL curriculum were provided to eleven city schools and two county schools during that school year.

At the request of the city schools' Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, the Junior League steering committee helped recruit a person with a strong arts background for the newly created position of Aesthetic Education Area Specialist. The committee recommended Ms. Raines, then a graduate student at Riverton State University. She had been involved in theater in Riverton for some years and in professional theater elsewhere in the country. She was hired for the position and still (as of fall 1982) holds it. Volunteers were recruited from the Symphony League and the Riverton Little Theatre, as well as the Junior League, to assist teachers as they became familiar with this new approach to the arts in the elementary curriculum. The use of the Junior League volunteers has gradually diminished and finally stopped altogether, as the program has been institutionalized as an optional program in the Riverton City Schools elementary curriculum.

Ms. Raines and Ms. McNeil attended a training workshop out

of state, conducted by CEMREL, in August, 1972. Later, CEMREL staff came to Riverton to conduct a two-day, in-service training program for administrators, curriculum consultants, and teachers in the thirteen pilot schools. During the 1972-1973 school year, the program was initiated in these pilot schools, with teacher training; placement of eleven Junior League volunteers and one parent volunteer in some of the schools; and follow-up visits by Ms. Raines to the classrooms where teachers and volunteers were using the curriculum packages.

Plan X, the first court-ordered school busing plan, was a major distraction for the school staff during the first year of the aesthetic education program. The staff expected Plan X to be implemented in September, 1972, and a good bit of white flight took place in anticipation of busing for desegregation when school opened in September. Implementation of Plan X was delayed until January, 1973, because of a court appeal by the school board. When it did take effect at the beginning of the second semester, massive white flight from the public schools took place. It was partly for this reason that the use of volunteers to man the program never worked as well as originally intended. Ms. McNeil, who was responsible for coordinating the Junior League's participation in the aesthetic education program, recalled the confusion caused by starting the program at a time of such turmoil in the city school system.

> The minute everything ... started, then it was impossible until the very last minute to know who to train, what schools would have the program -- this was one of the worst things about it.... There was no way the school board could even tell us what school they might choose until the last minute and school was about to start....

> We were trying to assign the volunteers to the schools according to who would fit best with what teacher ... but, because all the upheaval in the school system made it impossible to even know what schools would be involved ... or what teachers, it was really hard to know what we were doing.

By the fall of 1972, when the pilot year for the program began, the Riverton City Schools were already nearly seventy percent black. Even before that, the proportion of black students in the school population had been greater than that of blacks in the general population (45 - 50%) because of the migration patterns described earlier, which meant that the city absorbed more school-age rural migrants than young, productive workers. Plan X exacerbated an already polarized racial situation in the city schools and, no doubt, focused some resentment by school personnel on the Junior League volunteers, most of whom had had their children in private schools even before desegregation. The number of volunteers dwindled to nine during the second year of the program, to five the third year, and to only three the fourth year, although it rose to eight during the fifth year, as the role of the volunteers was clarified. A report prepared for a national Junior League meeting noted:

> In the program's first year, it was difficult to assess the volunteer requirements and impossible to clarify the volunteer role in a situation new to both teachers and aides. Volunteers were nonplussed to have the teachers take a break and leave them completely in charge of the students. Since the board stressed that the program was classroom teacher oriented, total reliance on the volunteer seemed inappropriate.... League members with teaching experience proved to be more useful than those with only arts backgrounds (Shuker 1977: 39).

During the summer of 1973 the Deputy Superintendent of the

Riverton City Schools and the Assistant Superintendent attended an administrative workshop in Aspen, Colorado, sponsored by CEMREL and designed to assist public school administrators in implementing aesthetic education programs. It was at this conference that the Superintendent made a deeper commitment to the program: a Memorandum of Understanding was developed between the Riverton City Schools and CEMREL. The Memorandum of Understanding resulted in Riverton's being selected by CEMREL as one of its original seven Aesthetic Education Learning Center sites. CEMREL agreed to supply five of the cooperating schools with materials (ten curriculum units had been published by this time) and to provide furnishings and materials for the Learning Center. The Riverton City Schools contributed appropriate space and necessary remodelling for the center. CEMREL established a network of the Aesthetic Education Learning Center sites, and participants in the Riverton program regularly attended networking meetings with participants from the other sites until these periodic meetings were discontinued when the curriculum development effort had been completed.

During the pilot year (1972-1973) art, music, and language arts specialists from the Riverton City Schools visited CEMREL to examine the materials. The Orff Music Program and the elementary physical education program (two other "special" programs that the school system has never been able to implement in all elementary schools) and the Reading Center of the Riverton City Schools (now phased out) were very supportive of the concept of interrelating

their disciplines with the CEMREL aesthetic education curriculum.

In 1973-1974 the county school system withdrew from the program for lack of resources. In spite of major upheavals in the city school system (brought about in part by implementation of Plan X) fifteen elementary schools were involved in the Riverton program during its second year. In early 1974 the College of Education at Riverton State University agreed to work with the Riverton Board of Education in implementing the program, and an education professor (Dr. Ernie Thomas) was designated as the university's representative. He has worked closely with the program staff since then, teaching the summer aesthetic education training workshops and attending CEMREL networking meetings with the Riverton program staff.

The Aesthetic Education Learning Center was completed in the spring of 1974. It was installed in Carver Elementary, a recently built, air-conditioned elementary school building in a low-income neighborhood, that later proved to be very difficult of access for most teachers. The center was planned primarily as a teacher training center, in response to the observation that most untrained teachers were intimidated by an innovative curriculum in the arts, an area in which few teachers had much prior experience. When the Learning Center opened, two additional staff members (resource teachers, selected because they had implemented the program well in their own elementary classrooms) joined the program, in addition to Ms. Raines. Professional leave time was provided by the school

system for teachers to take two full days of training at the Learning Center. During 1974-1975, 330 teachers took the course, and the program staff made follow-up visits to participating classrooms.

Personnel from many special classes became involved in the program at the center during 1974-1975: teachers of the gifted, of the hearing impaired, Title I remedial mathematics and reading teachers, and day care center staff. The Learning Center was used as a performance area for small groups of children to observe professional musicians, actors, and dancers at work. Classes at Riverton State University and other community groups (for instance, docents at the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery) asked for workshops at the Learning Center. Public schools that were not affiliated with the program asked for field trip visits to the center. The Learning Center was also used as an exhibition gallery for children's visual artwork from the Riverton Academy of Arts.

In addition to the training provided by program staff at the Learning Center, Riverton State University provided an annual summer workshop. In July, 1974, a three-hour undergraduate and graduate credit workshop was held for thirty students. The sessions, which lasted for two weeks, involved the students intensively with CEMREL and other aesthetic education curriculum materials. These workshops have been held every summer since then, led by Dr. Thomas with Ms. Raines' assistance. An account of the 1981 summer session, based on the researcher's workshop participation, is found in Appendix D.

From the beginning the basic budget of the aesthetic education program has been provided by the Riverton City Schools. During the first year of the program the state Arts Commission and the Riverton Junior League provided supplementary funding (matching grants of $5,000 apiece). The second year the Arts Commission matched a $3,500 grant from the Junior League. These grants were used to purchase CEMREL materials, to train League volunteers (with the use of CEMREL consultants), and for program publicity. By 1976-1977 this supplement had been discontinued, and the 1976-1977 aesthetic education program budget of $50,000 was the sole responsibility of the city school system.

The 1975-1976 school year was marked by severe budget cuts. Released time for teacher training was no longer provided. Nevertheless, the number of schools affiliated with the aesthetic education program grew to twenty-two. The new schools bought their own curriculum materials. In general, teacher training was limited to classroom visits from the program staff and to professional-growth workshops: courses given after school for which teachers received professional-growth credits. Since 1975 the Aesthetic Education Learning Center has been used primarily for storage and coordination of the wide variety of arts-related materials staff has accumulated. In fact, the program staff has established a sort of lending library of these materials, distributing them to schools and teachers on request. The center has remained a popular site for school field trips, particularly for the classes of teachers who participate in the program. The center has also continued to

serve as a center for teacher training, whenever Ms. Raines has been able to obtain small amounts of money for this purpose. She has been consistently successful in soliciting small grants: a total of approximately $50,000 since 1975-1976.

By 1975-1976 the Riverton Arts Council and the city schools had worked out a cooperative program for scheduling performing arts groups throughout the school system. The Riverton Ballet Society, Ballet South, Crichton Memorial Art Gallery, Brooks Playhouse, Theatre Riverton, The Little Symphony, Southern Opera Theatre, Riverton State University Theatre, the Riverton Academy of Arts, The Junior League Children's Theatre, and Operalogue all provided school programs or performances.

These events were set into motion without the necessity for a Board of Education vote or State Department of Education approval, both normally required before any new curriculum may be implemented. Normal procedure could be bypassed because the aesthetic education program was planned as supplementary to the regular curriculum, implemented by teachers on an entirely voluntary basis (even in the schools designated as cooperating schools).

From the beginning program staff has recommended that aesthetic education activities be integrated with other subject areas, especially reading and language arts, rather than being reserved for a separate portion of the school day. However, during the first several years of the program, when teachers were first learning how to use the materials and often had volunteers assigned to work with them, cooperating teachers did set aside a special

time period, one or two hours a week usually, for aesthetic education. This practice has virtually ceased as teachers no longer rely on volunteers who are assigned to the classroom for only a few hours each week.

The aesthetic education program has remained small scale, though it has become institutionalized as one of the city school system's specialized offerings. In 1981 there were thirty-two elementary schools (approximately one-third of those in the school system) affiliated with the program, all served by the three full-time staff members. During the time the program has been in operation teachers have been transferred from school to school constantly, primarily to comply with the desegregation plan. Ms. Raines estimates that there may be as many as 200 teachers who have transferred out of cooperating schools into schools that are not affiliated with the program, who may call on program staff from time to time for technical assistance or to borrow materials.

The program has been in severe danger of being cut out of the budget entirely during each budgeting process, at least since 1976-1977, and has sustained the unspectacular but steady growth reported here against considerable odds. As Ms. Forrest (the Junior League Community Arts Chairman for 1975-1976) said in her interview for this study:

> They have sweated that every year, I'd say for five years: <u>every</u> year it's been threatened to be cut....
>
> They've been sweating bullets for years. <u>Every</u> year I've seen them go through this, every spring, about March or April or whenever it is.

The spring of 1981 was a period of most severe budget crisis for the Riverton City Schools. In the budget the superintendent submitted to the school board in June, all programs that could be considered frills were eliminated completely. Most of these were primary and elementary programs that the school system had not yet been able to fund for all of the schools in the system. Among them (in addition to aesthetic education) were the elementary physical education program, the Orff Music Program, the string music program, the elementary guidance program, and the junior high intramural athletics program. After considerable controversy and an unsuccessful attempt by the school board to persuade the city or county government or both to raise taxes to provide more local revenues for the schools, the school board adopted a compromise: they maintained token staffs for most of the threatened programs and cut a larger number of classroom teaching positions than originally proposed.

In the case of the aesthetic education program, the result is that the program administrator, Ms. Raines, is once again the only staff member as of September, 1981. The two resource teachers have returned, of necessity, to classroom teaching. Ms. Raines has been forced to cut back the services she provides. Ms. Forrest, one of the few participants interviewed during the fall of 1981, after the cut had taken effect, commented:

> I'd love to see it ongoing again. I'd do whatever I could to help it. And I know a lot of other people who would too.

A schematic time line of the program's development follows.

1970 Junior League appoints a broadly representative committee to investigate arts-based curricula for the Riverton schools and make recommendations.

1972 Central school administrative staff become committed to the idea of aesthetic education and agree to hire an aesthetic education specialist, then ask the committee's help in recruiting the specialist.

Junior League committee members visit another large city with a Junior League sponsored aesthetic education program affiliated with CEMREL, to see the earlier program in operation. Committee members and administrators visit CEMREL for hands-on training with materials then available.

Aesthetic education area specialist is recruited by the Junior League steering committee and hired by the Riverton City Schools.

White flight takes place in September, in anticipation of implementation of Plan X, the first court-ordered busing plan for desegregation.

Aesthetic education area specialist and volunteers recruited by the Junior League begin work with 13 schools already selected as pilot sites (including two in the county school system).

1973 Plan X is implemented in January, and massive white flight ensues.

Two key central administrators attend a CEMREL workshop in Aspen, Colorado and come back "sold."

Riverton State University agrees to provide academic credit for summer workshops in aesthetic education.

A representative group from Riverton goes to CEMREL for hands-on training and planning for an aesthetic education program in Riverton.

The Director of the CEMREL Aesthetic Education Program comes to Riverton. An ambitious plan for program implementation is drawn up, and a formal Memorandum of Agreement between the Riverton City Schools and CEMREL is signed.

1973 County school system withdraws from the program for lack of resources.

Riverton staff begin attending CEMREL sponsored networking meetings.

1974 An Aesthetic Education Learning Center is established in Carver Elementary School in January, with staff and space provided by the city schools and materials, modular equipment, and technical assistance provided by CEMREL.

Two resource teachers are added to the program staff, to help the area specialist train teachers to implement the program and to help provide services to teachers in their classrooms.

Dr. Thomas (with area specialist's assistance) leads the first aesthetic education summer workshop sponsored by Riverton State University.

330 teachers are trained at the Aesthetic Education Learning Center during the 1973-1974 school year.

1975 Severe budget cuts force curtailment of special teacher training (except for after-school professional-growth workshops). Staff concentrates on providing services and materials to cooperating teachers and on enlisting assistance of community arts groups. (Two- to four-day training workshops at the Learning Center are possible in the future only when area specialist can raise special funds for the purpose.)

22 schools are now affiliated with the program. (New schools must buy their own materials.)

The Riverton Arts Council and program staff work out a cooperative program for scheduling performing arts groups throughout the school system.

1976 All initial supplementary funding for the program ends. Program is sole responsibility of Riverton City Schools.

1980 Networking meetings end as the CEMREL curriculum development project ends.

1981 There are now 32 elementary schools affiliated with the program (new schools still buying their own materials). There are still three aesthetic education program staff members.

In June, in response to a severe budget crisis, two of the three staff positions are cut.

In September the area specialist is forced to cut services, as she is the only aesthetic education staff person serving 32 schools.

General Description of Two Target Classrooms

Ms. Beauvoir's First-Grade Class

Both Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Anderson (the two first-grade teachers recommended by Ms. Raines as possible target teachers) taught at Vineland Elementary, a large primary school in a white working class north Riverton neighborhood. The immediate neighborhood is relatively low income. During 1980-1981 the school served 43 children in kindergarten (all white since kindergarten is the only grade level at which children are not bused in Riverton) and 551 children in grades one and two. About eighty percent of the first and second-grade children were black, bused to the school from a nearby housing project and low income black neighborhood. Substantial white flight seems to have taken place, judging by the low percentage of white children in grades one and two. Since Vineland's student population is predominantly low income, Vineland is a Title I school. The principal, Mr. Evergreen, encouraged a pleasant but extremely businesslike atmosphere in the school, with a strong concentration on the "basics."

Ms. Raines has suggested that, by and large, the aesthetic

education curriculum has been implemented most successfully in schools with the best racial balance. She cannot account for this observation, but she did observe, "They are the middle class schools, where they've maintained a pretty middle class feeling and atmosphere." And Ms. Yarrow (one of the two aesthetic education resource teachers) pointed out another factor, school size. She felt that the smaller schools are generally more open to allowing children to participate fully in arts activities and to be creative. She added:

> The larger the school, say, if ... it's a big Title I school, they have Title I reading, Title I math, POPS, PE, Orff, library, [a pull-out program for the gifted], ... so the teacher's saying, "I never have them all in here. I think when I do something like that they all need to be in here." I said, "Well, just do it and let those few get it...."
>
> It sometimes appears to depend on the geographical location. Some schools you can go in, where the principal or the teachers will have this philosophy: "This school is in this neighborhood. These children ... need reading, writing, arithmetic, they need clothes to go on their backs, and every once in awhile a program in, but don't you teach a lot of the arts."

Vineland Elementary is not racially balanced, has not maintained a "middle class feeling and atmosphere," and has all the problems Ms. Yarrow associates with the large Title I school. There is a wide variety of specialized programs not available in most Riverton elementary schools: not only Title I reading and mathematics but also an ungraded special education component, a free breakfast program in which at least half the students participate, and a well child neighborhood clinic, held on designated days in the room which otherwise serves as the teachers lounge.

In addition to being affiliated with the aesthetic education program in 1980-1981, the school had a half-time Orff music specialist, who worked with each class for half an hour each week, and a part-time elementary physical education teacher, who worked with each class once a week in an improvised gymnasium (a large room with borrowed exercise equipment). As in all Riverton elementary schools, each class also had one period in the school library each week, receiving instruction from the librarian as well as checking out books.

Mr. Evergreen (the principal) was proud of all the special programs his school received but did not appear to understand the aesthetic education program well. Ms. Raines reported that when he came to Vineland as principal the school was already affiliated with the aesthetic education program. Mr. Evergreen called her to ask her to come get the CEMREL curriculum materials because the school needed the storage space for other purposes. Apparently he did not realize that the materials belonged to the school, not the program, or that they were required for implementation of the program, then more than now. Ms. Raines removed the materials, as requested, but arranged with the librarian and participating teachers to have a supply of curriculum packages on permanent loan in the school library.

During the spring of 1981 only two teachers (Ms. Anderson and Ms. Beauvoir) ever called on the aesthetic education program staff for assistance. The only rewards a Vineland teacher could expect for being involved in the program were intrinsic (such

benefits as improved classroom climate) rather than extrinsic. Teachers were not encouraged to give their primary students recess, at least until late in the school year when they could be sure that the students were working at or above grade level. Ms. Beauvoir frequently used music and movement activities to allow students a break from instruction and an opportunity to work off excess energy (in other words, as a substitute for recess). The field notes always included intervals of singing, listening to music, and dancing during the full-day observations in February and March; but music and dance were observed much less frequently in April and May, when Ms. Beauvoir normally gave her class a long afternoon recess, weather permitting.

With these constraints operating, it is hardly surprising that Ms. Beauvoir was not as effective in teaching the arts as other teachers who were observed. In fact, as the four professional artists and teacher educators who viewed the videotapes of her classroom surmised, she scheduled music and movement activities but made no clear attempt to teach the art forms. Ms. Raines explained during a videotape viewing session that finding an exemplary teacher of aesthetic education at the first grade level was difficult: "First grade was really hard ... because that is the year that they are so determined to get those little boogers reading and weaned away from kindergarten -- and play."

Ms. Beauvoir had a large repertoire of choral response activities that took place regularly in her classroom, for instance, having the students read in unison the daily "room news" written

on the chalkboard while Ms. Beauvoir acted as "conductor." These activities appeared to be a factor in the high level of reciprocally smooth interaction observed in the conduct of classroom activities and in a feeling of strong group solidarity among the students.

The choice of Ms. Beauvoir as target teacher at the first grade level was made primarily on the basis of the children's enthusiastic participation in the performing arts activities Ms. Beauvoir gave them to do and their creative use of the extensive free time she allowed them, when they were encouraged to structure their own learning activities, after they completed their assignments. (Ms. Beauvoir frequently assigned visual arts projects to "reinforce" academic lessons, but these assignments did not feature in the decision, as all those observed were of a highly routine, "rule-governed" nature. Even so, the children occasionally made something meaningful of these assignments, as illustrated in the field note excerpt in Appendix P.)

As the field notes excerpted in Appendices P and Q indicate, much of what seemed, on an intuitive basis, to be good teaching in Ms. Beauvoir's room took place during the free time periods and was accomplished by children teaching themselves or one another, through play activities. The children's self-structured learning activities made Ms. Beauvoir's room an interesting place to look at the intrinsic values of exposure to the arts and the question of the extent to which children must be consciously instructed in arts concepts in order to learn them. It is more difficult to

examine this question at the sixth-grade level, by which time children have almost inevitably been drilled in the idea that school is work, not play, and that learning through play is not permissable.

Ms. Abbott's Sixth-Grade Class

Pine Manor Elementary School, where Ms. Abbott taught, is closer to Ms. Raines' description of the school "where they've maintained a pretty middle class feeling and atmosphere" than Vineland. However, this rather large upper elementary school (serving over 400 children in grades four through six, in addition to more than 100 in kindergarten) is in the process of changing from a predominantly middle class neighborhood school to one serving a large suburban area (south Riverton) where both racial balance and socioeconomic level are changing rapidly. Pine Manor serves a mixture of middle and lower income students and, even though the area is changing, has retained a higher proportion of white students than any other school observed except for Roseglade Magnet, the optional "open" school. At that, racial balance is only average for the school system; Pine Manor has about 26% white students compared with about 25% for the school system as a whole. The minority population in the school includes a substantial minority of Southeast Asian students, as Pine Manor buses children in from all over the school system for a bilingual/counseling program for Southeast Asian refugees. Pine Manor also houses the school system's Hearing Impaired program (accounting for the high proportion of kindergarten children).

Mr. Croft, the Pine Manor principal, was thoroughly convinced of the value of aesthetic education and not only encouraged teachers to participate in the program but also booked as many artist-in-the-school events as he could through the good offices of the aesthetic education program. Even so, Ms. Abbott was one of only four teachers at Pine Manor who frequently used the resources of the program. While morale was generally high at Pine Manor, there were a number of pressures on teachers. As a result of Mr. Croft's willingness to try to deal with virtually any problem, Ms. Abbott not only had three mainstreamed special education students in her class of thirty but also accepted into the class in January, 1981, a brother and sister who had recently immigrated from Korea and spoke only Korean. Kim and Lisung (the two Korean students) were accepted at Pine Manor even though the school system's special program for Korean-speaking immigrants was in another elementary school. Chun, one of the brightest students in Ms. Abbott's class, was bilingual in Korean and English and served as the new students' interpreter while they learned English. The special education students were Brian, an academically retarded student; Eric, a hearing impaired student; and Ana, a recent immigrant from Laos.

Ms. Abbott gave her class a great many arts-based activities, especially creative writing. She reported that she made sure her class had at least one creative writing assignment each week, but it was the observer's impression that the class had more than one such assignment most weeks. On every day of observation the

students either wrote or rewrote some creative writing assignment, and sometimes they were working on two assignments, writing one and rewriting the other. There were also occasional activities based on dance, drama, or music; and the students were expected to write one thank-you letter each week to a "Fabulous Friday" guest.

Ms. Abbott was clearly more comfortable exposing her students to the performing arts than to the visual arts. She had extensive music training during her childhood, and her baby grand piano (which her father had had to moonlight to afford) still provided much of her relaxation and recreation at home. She did not feel competent to teach the visual arts and self-consciously avoided giving students any evaluative feedback on assignments in that area (such assignments as making "get well" cards for ill classmates or illustrating their creative writing). But she was convinced of the educational importance of the visual arts and exposed the class as often as possible to resource people in the visual arts.

Of all the classroom teachers observed or interviewed, Ms. Abbott went to by far the most trouble to supplement her own teaching skills with those of community resource people, in a number of curriculum areas, not only the arts. Each Friday she and a fifth-grade teacher (Ms. Roberts, one of the four teachers working with the aesthetic education program) had a cooperative "Fabulous Friday" program, during which a guest speaker or performer worked with both classes. For instance, not only did

Ms. Abbott participate in Ms. Dancer's poet-in-residence program, but, when she learned that the researcher had been involved in the CEMREL curriculum development, she asked the researcher to tutor several children in connection with that project. (The field notes describing this tutoring session are in Appendix S.)

Ms. Abbott had the most ethnically diverse classroom observed: eighteen black students (58%); eight white students (26%); and five Oriental students (16%). At least four of the five Oriental students were immigrants who had spent their early school years in their Asian homelands, Korea and Laos. In spite of this diversity the classroom community was extraordinarily cohesive and well-ordered. The degree to which the children approached all school tasks (even the most mundane or difficult) in a spirit of play was particularly striking in contrast to other sixth-grade classes. Contributing to this remarkable classroom atmosphere were Ms. Abbott's frequent use of contests between the boys and girls (the division she found least disruptive at the sixth-grade level); the frequency with which she exposed the class to arts events and other enrichment activities like "Fabulous Friday" in which there was no evaluation of students' individual performances; her comfortable "joking" relationship with the children; and her stringent enforcement of rules of fair play, not only between teacher and class but also among the students.

Even in this cohesive classroom community there was one student who did not always play by the teacher's rules: Brian (the mainstreamed, academically retarded student). Brian never

constituted a discipline problem, and he appeared to enjoy the atmosphere of play as much as the other students. During the videotaped mathematics contest that exemplified dramatic structure so well (see Appendix I), Brian entered wholeheartedly into the spirit of the contest, even though he and the other children were obviously aware he had greater difficulty working the mathematics problems than any of the other children.

But, although he entered into the play community in most respects, Brian consistently failed to meet Ms. Abbott's expectations for self-disciplined attention to the academic tasks she set. Even after Ms. Abbott appointed Tonya (who sat just ahead of Brian) to "look after" Brian and make sure he had what he needed to do the assigned work, Brian generally failed to complete in-class assignments and to hand in homework. He was the only student who was kept in at recess on every day of observation to make up assignments. Although Ms. Abbott encouraged Brian profusely when he did meet her expectations, her overall judgment was that he "doesn't have much to work with" but also was "not trying."

Several close observations of Brian at seatwork revealed that he would start out working about as quickly and accurately as his near neighbors (none of them the most advanced students in the class) but would gradually slow down and become less accurate, never completing the task even though he was never clearly "off-task." Brian had spent most of his school career in special education classes and still spent most of each afternoon working with a special education teacher. It is possible that the only academic

"game" he understood and accepted involved a great deal of one-to-one interaction between teacher and student and that he was unable or unwilling to give up this special education "game" for Ms. Abbott's "game" requiring him to structure his own learning. He was the only student in the class who actually regressed in his achievement test score in the spring of 1981; the rest of the class all scored above grade level, and two students (Marsha and Chun) "topped out" with consistent twelfth grade equivalents on all subtests of the California Achievement Test. At the end of the school year Brian was reassigned to a special education class for the coming school year, assuring him of returning to the classroom "game" rules he appeared to understand and accept.

Ms. Abbott carefully monitored the relationship between the students in her class and the researcher (a clear indication that it was important to her to maintain the strict but playful classroom atmosphere). Clearly, if the children had reacted negatively to being observed, Ms. Abbott was prepared to call a halt to the observations. But she also took care to try to make their participation in the research a positive experience for the students and consistently reinforced their expressions of feeling "special" because of the interest the researcher was taking in them. This deliberate use of the Hawthorne effect as an educational strategy (also evident when Ms. Abbott used the videotaping to review the mathematics content for the entire year) is similar to that of doctors who make deliberate therapeutic use of the placebo effect rather than using drugs.

For classroom maps of both target classrooms (with the students' names on their assigned seats) see the conclusion of Appendix H, which consists of brief descriptions of all the schools involved in the research for this study. Two classroom maps are given for each classroom, one representing the room at the beginning of the observations and the other at the end of the year.

Brief Descriptions of Contrasting Classrooms

Ms. Anderson's First-Grade Class

Like Ms. Beauvoir, Ms. Anderson taught first grade at Vineland Elementary School. During a long teaching career she had had varied experiences (having taught on an Indian reservation earlier), and she had taken the two-week summer training institute given by Riverton State University, of which she spoke enthusiastically. (By contrast Ms. Beauvoir had taught only at Vineland, for the past ten years, and had had only a short-term in-service workshop for professional-growth credit.) Ms. Anderson incorporated the arts into her curriculum in a far more self-conscious way than Ms. Beauvoir and was comfortable with a greater variety of art forms (the visual arts as well as mime, role playing, and singing). And, in years past, she had used arts activities successfully to establish a harmonious classroom atmosphere.

However, the relationship between Ms. Anderson and her class during the year of observation (1980-1981) was civil but conspicuously lacking in cooperation and reciprocity. The overall impression derived from several short visits to the classroom and an

all-day observation was that Ms. Anderson and the class were "out of sync." Ms. Anderson perceived that as many as one-third of her present class were academically retarded, emotionally disturbed, or both, and that several of the students were being permanently harmed by being assigned to a regular rather than a special education classroom. She felt that she and one other teacher were being asked to shoulder an undue proportion of the first grade's "problem" students this year. Whether or not this perception was entirely accurate (which the researcher was in no position to judge), observations in Ms. Anderson's room strongly suggested that the class was not willing to play the classroom "game" according to the rules Ms. Anderson wanted. Observations of the same class working with the Orff music teacher suggested that they were willing and able to play the music teacher's "game." (See Appendices M and N for accounts of this class during lessons with Ms. Anderson and with the music teacher.) One suspects that the rather dramatic lack of reciprocity and cooperation between Ms. Anderson and the class had been growing worse rather than better over the course of the school year, exacerbated by repeated attempts and failures to establish a more cooperative relationship.

Ms. Youngblood's Sixth-Grade Class

Ms. Youngblood taught sixth grade at Far Oaks Elementary, a midtown school in which the elementary school (kindergarten and grades 4 - 6) shares a large campus and imposing building complex with a high school and a votechnical school. It is located on

one of the busiest east-west streets, directly opposite one of the most prestigious older subdivisions in the city. The large building in which both the upper elementary and the high school are located is very ornate, having originally been built as a "showcase" twelve-grade school serving the affluent subdivision. Far Oaks, which had about 515 students in grades four to six in 1980-1981 (as well as over 40 in kindergarten), was then more than ninety percent black, having suffered even more white flight than most Riverton schools. Most of the parents in the elite subdivision could afford to send their children to private schools, and only a few had kept their children at Far Oaks as a gesture of support for public education when the school was desegregated. Most of the current students in 1980-1981 came from a nearby low and middle income black community, a cohesive neighborhood that had had a school of its own prior to desegregation. Ms. Youngblood's sixth-grade class had four white students (15%), and they were the only students in the room who were bused. The black students all lived within walking distance of the school.

Ms. Youngblood was one of very few teachers at Far Oaks who valued and worked with the aesthetic education program. A new principal appeared to be unfamiliar with the program and seemed unconcerned about it; and, with her advent, the school's organization had been drastically altered. Until 1980-1981 the sixth grade had been departmentalized, and Ms. Youngblood had been a reading/language arts specialist. Ms. Youngblood reported that she was having difficulty readjusting to a self-contained

classroom after teaching in a departmentalized situation for many years. She felt unable to give the slower students in the mixed-ability group as much personal attention as she felt they needed in order to achieve. The readjustment she was undergoing may well account for the relative lack of esprit de corps in her room, as well as a relative lack of arts-based activities in the room of a teacher who obviously valued them. Nevertheless, her weekly visual arts lesson (on Friday afternoons, predictably) produced artwork of unusual quality, which enlivened the classroom all week and made it bright and cheerful.

Ms. Youngblood's very low key teaching style was effective in keeping the general level of affect in her classroom very low, without inhibiting her ability to present students efficiently with a great deal of academic content. Of all the classrooms observed, more academic content was covered in her room than in any other (according to rough time-on-task analyses the researcher made of all full-day observations). The deliberately low-affect classroom atmosphere appeared to be related to Ms. Youngblood's discomfort with the responsibility for teaching all school subjects to a heterogeneous class. Ms. Youngblood's art lessons became "looser" (reciprocity between teacher and students and among students becoming smoother and more relaxed) as the year progressed.

At the same time the relationships between the teacher and the students became more comfortable. This was especially noticeable in the case of Bernard, a very bright boy who got into a great deal of mischief, apparently out of sheer boredom. When the

observations began in February, Ms. Youngblood discussed Bernard's behavior simply as a nuisance, all the less acceptable given his obvious intelligence. By the end of the school year Ms. Youngblood had become more responsive to the boredom that seemed to be at the root of Bernard's misbehavior and had begun to find ways of occupying his time more productively. She also encouraged him to participate in a variety of schoolwide activities, such as the art club, which may have challenged him and helped stave off boredom. She learned to tolerate and even encourage divergent behavior from Bernard that did not disrupt classroom activities, while Bernard learned to curb divergent behavior that did disrupt classroom activities. Thus, while there was never a high level of cohesiveness in Ms. Youngblood's classroom, the field notes suggested that there was increasing reciprocity between teacher and class as the year progressed and Ms. Youngblood readjusted to the role of self-contained classroom teacher.

Ms. Fellows' Fifth/Sixth "Open" Classroom

Ms. Fellows taught a fifth and sixth-grade class at Roseglade Magnet School, a school-within-a-school in an extremely low income black neighborhood. Roseglade occupies half of the rather old school building, and one principal serves both the magnet school and the regular neighborhood school housed in the same building, trying to create a cohesive faculty and student body even though the schools operate under different rules and serve different student populations.

Roseglade is a relatively small school of about 450 students, of whom nearly seventy percent are black. The neighborhood portion of the school is predominantly black, reflecting the racial makeup of the immediate neighborhood, while the magnet school (which offers kindergarten through grade six) is close to fifty percent white and fifty percent black. Of the twenty-one children in Ms. Fellows' class in 1980-1981, thirteen (or 62%) were white. Members of the low income black community in which the school is located have expressed considerable hostility from time to time to the "open" magnet school.

The magnet school appeals primarily to middle class families, white and black, who prefer something other than a traditional public school education for their children and can afford to provide their own transportation to the school, since the magnet school draws children from the entire school district and the district does not provide busing to the voluntary school. Roseglade was the first alternative school offered in the Riverton school system, was started in response to persistent lobbying by parents, and remains a stepchild in the school system, relying heavily on parental support (volunteer as well as financial help) to offer an alternative, enriched program. Children are not only allowed but required to take major responsibility both for decisions about classroom organization and for decisions about what content to study and when. The required basic curriculum is offered in alternative modes (without using any of the standard texts, for instance) and is supplemented by mini-courses. Parents and

teachers expect this "open" organization of school life to result in a freer classroom atmosphere and a more creative educational experience than children would have elsewhere in the system.

Ms. Fellows' classroom provides the clearest contrast with the more traditional rules for the classroom "game" observed in most of the other situations. In fact, it seemed to represent a rather frequent misinterpretation of progressive education, that an "open" classroom connotes an absence of rules rather than rules freely chosen by the members of the classroom community. During the full-day observation in May the class was preparing for an activity that inherently required coordinated action: presenting a musical comedy to their parents and the other classes from both sides of the school later in the morning. Yet, during the planning circle, the first activity of the school day, Ms. Fellows discouraged the students from volunteering for specific activities in preparation for the play. Rather, she insisted that each of them "find something that would appeal to you" and do it. Given this organization of the work, it was hardly surprising that some students assumed the brunt of the preparations while others took jobs which allowed them to do very little.

It is a tribute to the children in Ms. Fellows' class that, for most of the period before the play was presented, a rather large percentage of the students were, in fact, concentrating on one or more of the tasks the teacher had suggested to them. Their perseverence in the face of a social organization that made it

difficult for them to work as a group helps explain how, earlier in the year, when Ms. Dancer had reprimanded the class for their undisciplined behavior as they took part in the poet-in-residence sensory awareness exercises (warning them that it takes discipline to produce art), some members of the class (and their teacher) had become angry enough so that class members wrote some excellent, disciplined poetry for the poet-in-residence program.

Ms. Gladstone's Fifth-Grade Language Arts Class

Ms. Fannie Gladstone taught at Trapeer Junior High School, which, in addition to the junior high grades, has an elementary component (kindergarten and grades four through six). The elementary school boasts a number of language arts specialists, especially at the fifth and sixth-grade levels, who are particularly skilled in aesthetic education, in the judgment of the aesthetic education program staff. Ms. Gladstone is considered to be one of the three or four best practitioners of aesthetic education in the school system, along with Ms. Abbott at Pine Manor and several others.

Trapeer in recent years has had a succession of excellent principals, and it is located in a naturally desegregated, middle class midtown neighborhood, where a strong biracial parents group has developed to support Trapeer and the nearby primary school with which it is paired. Grades five and six are departmentalized. In 1980-1981 the elementary school had about 550 students, of whom nearly 85% were black, as well as over 50 kindergarten students.

During the full-day observation of Ms. Gladstone's class in May, she worked with two fifth-grade language arts classes, one low track class working on average below grade level and one high track class working on average well above grade level. With both her heterogeneous homeroom and with the lower ability students, she used a great many choral response routines that set a rhythmic pattern for classroom activities. With all three groups (homeroom, low track, and high track) her responsiveness to students' signals and theirs to her signals made for a harmonious classroom in which a great deal of reciprocity in interactional behaviors was evident. One of the best examples of this reciprocity happened during a penmanship exercise with the lower achieving class. No sooner had Ms. Gladstone announced that the class was going to have their last opportunity to practice several letters that had been giving them trouble than a number of students called out (correctly) which letters these were. Ms. Gladstone used the technique of "air writing," having the children trace the letters in the air, imitating the motions she made as she wrote them on the chalkboard. One child who came to class late started "air writing" in unison with the rest of the class as he walked from the hallway to his seat to join the lesson.

A Brief Example of Dramatic Structure

The clear rhythmic patterning of classroom activity and the mutual responsiveness of teacher and class illustrated by the anecdote about the penmanship lesson in Ms. Gladstone's class seem

to be key ingredients of the organic development of lessons that is labeled, for the purposes of this study, dramatic structure. And, in fact, the penmanship lesson -- though hardly an intense learning experience for participants so far as the observer could tell -- did have the shape characteristic of lessons with good dramatic structure (a smooth increase in the curve of group attention and engagement with the content of the lesson, rising to an identifiable climax and then dropping away more or less abruptly).

While a full discussion of the concept of dramatic structure (and its relevance to what goes on in classrooms where teachers expose students to the arts) must wait until the next chapter, a foretaste is in order here. The following description of a brief, arts-based event in Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade classroom at Pine Manor is an example of a complete event with good dramatic structure (but even in such a short occurrence there is one break in the smooth organic development of the event). It can also be perceived as a warm-up exercise for a creative writing lesson that followed it immediately, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

> At the end of a mathematics lesson during which Ms. Abbott has introduced the class to division of decimals, she says, "Okay, put your paper, please, behind 'Math' in your notebook, and clear your desk." She comments that they have used so much chalk during the math lesson that she will let them go to the restroom and wash their hands before lunch.
>
> As the students clear their desks, Ms. Abbott tells them, "When you get back, we'll sing the song." A number of students cheer softly, and Shontelle comments, "Make fools of ourselves again." The students begin to leave the room for the restroom break.

> A minute later the first students begin to come back into the room from the break. Carolyn comes into the room, followed by Lisung, Washington, and Cassandra. They are talking and laughing about the graffiti that students have written on Ms. Abbott's "graffiti wall" decorating the classroom door. Kim comes in and returns directly to the bookshelf. Norman, Morris, and Dave come in laughing, all practicing Irish jig steps, and sit at their desks.
>
> Ms. Abbott comes in and shuts the door behind her, saying, "All with two left feet, stay in your seat. Ready?" All the students except Brian go to the center of the room and prepare to dance, but Brian stays in his seat. Ms. Abbott says hastily that she was just kidding, and Brian joins the rest of the class. (Observation of Brian -- a main-streamed special education student -- working with a small group in another dance class confirmed his self diagnosis that he had "two left feet." He had obvious difficulty with both coordination and timing.)
>
> Ms. Abbott and the class sing an Irish song, doing a jig as they sing. When they finish, one of the students asks Ms. Abbott, "What about 'Harrigan'?" Ms. Abbott asks if they think they can sing that and then comments that they can try. She and the students sing a spelling song about "H-A-R-R-I-G-A-N" which ends with a dramatic flourish and the phrase, "Harrigan, that's me!"
>
> Ms. Abbott tells the class, "Okay, have a seat."

Invulnerability to interruptions is one of the diagnostic signs that an event with good dramatic structure is developing; and, as the event develops, participants give more positive evidence that they are deeply engaged with the content of the event (as, for instance, when a student requests the opportunity to do another song and dance). Ms. Abbott was the only teacher observed actually using a routine break in classroom instruction (in this case a restroom break) to heighten the suspense of an event that otherwise would have been so short that any sustained build-up of tension and attention would have been difficult. She repeated the same tactic a few minutes later when she gave the class a lunch break

in the middle of a creative writing assignment, and the class in fact sustained their interest in the assignment over the longer, more obtrusive break.

A chart of the short classroom event just described looks like this.

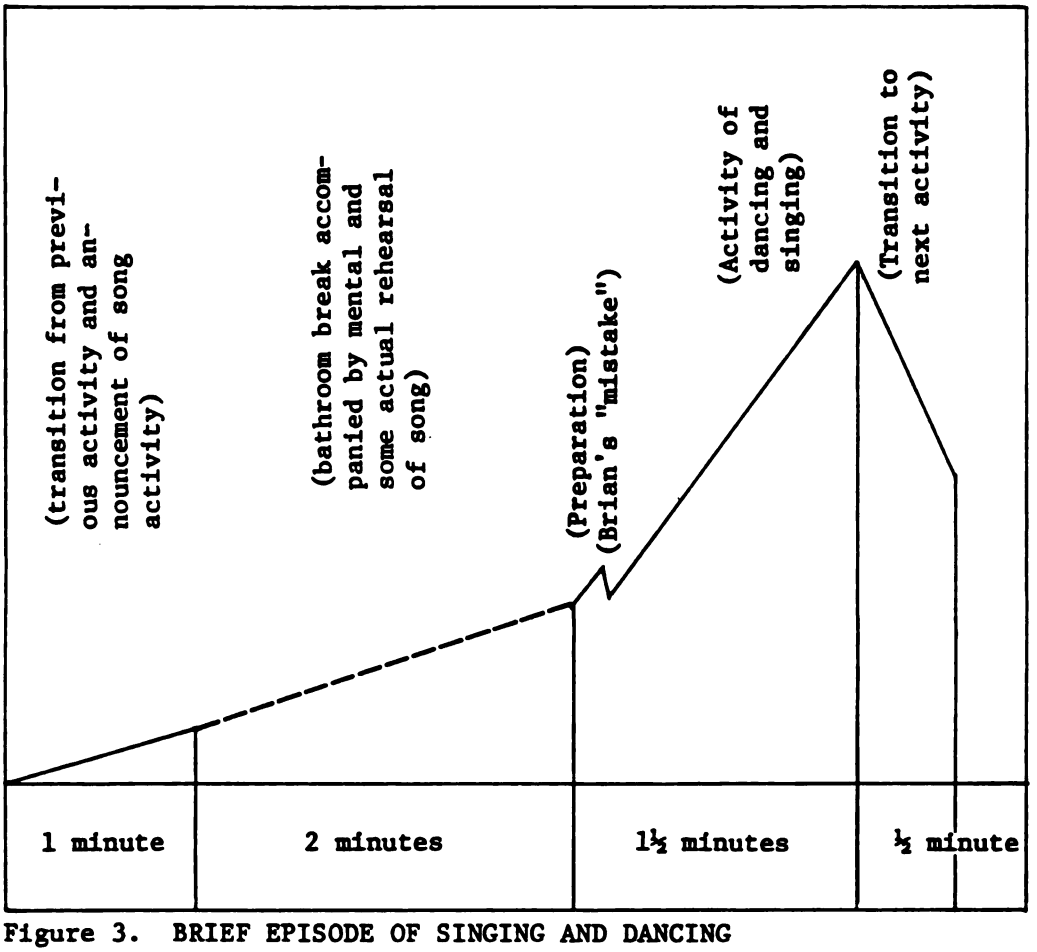


Figure 3. BRIEF EPISODE OF SINGING AND DANCING

CHAPTER FOUR: LESSONS OF BEAUTY AND DRAMATIC STRUCTURE

Manifestations of aesthetic education as variously perceived and as variously practiced in Riverton are so diverse they remind one of Proteus, the Greek sea god who changed his form incessantly. In analyzing the field notes and the interviews in which participants in the Riverton aesthetic education program commented on a wide variety of such manifestations, perhaps the major problem was discovering commonalities that would make it possible to perceive the rich and bewildering diversity of what was observed as a unified phenomenon, a recognizable type of classroom event. Simply identifying lessons with some obvious arts content as aesthetic education did not greatly reduce the dilemma. Even focusing on the performing arts in the classroom (which was necessary if only because so few successful visual arts lessons were observed) was not quite successful.

The clearest unifying theme, identified in both the videotapes of classroom life and in the field notes, is that of dramatic structure. This characteristic way of organizing participants' experience of a lesson seems to account for the "shape" of students' engagement in all subject areas. In that sense, this structure underlies all curriculum, not just aesthetic education. But the charts of this structure with which this chapter is concerned

suggest that performing arts experiences are prototypic. The clearly perceived structuring of the shared arts experience appears to be partially constitutive of the arts event, so that if the experience fails to engage participants deeply in a common perception of what is occurring, it will generally be perceived as not "working" for participants.

One of the earliest written discussions of this phenomenon is still one of the best. It is Aristotle's analysis of tragic drama:

> We have laid it down that a tragedy is an imitation of an action that is whole and complete in itself and of some magnitude; for a whole may be of no magnitude to speak of. Now a whole is that which has beginning, middle, and end. A beginning is that which is not itself necessarily after anything else, and which has naturally something else after it; an end is that which is naturally after something itself, either as its necessary or usual consequent, and with nothing else after it; and a middle, that which is by nature after one thing and has also another after it. A well-constructed Plot, therefore, cannot either begin or end at any point one likes, beginning and end in it must be of the kind just described. Again: to be beautiful, a living creature, and every whole made up of parts, must not only present a certain order in its arrangement of parts, but also be of a certain definite magnitude. Beauty is a matter of size and order.... (Aristotle, found in Fyfe 1940: 21-22).

The observation that any narrative or plot must have a beginning, a middle, and an end has become commonplace, even trite, since Aristotle first made it, and we tend to forget that this apparently simple idea is embedded in a conception of beauty -- or art -- as requiring the type of structure Langer describes as organic, a structure in which the relationship of the parts is necessary, not arbitrary or accidental. That this structure

characterizes the performances of everyday life as well as those of the theater (vide Goffman) is strongly suggested by Ms. Abbott's use of a classroom break to give an arts event sufficient suspense (or "magnitude") to have a clear organic structure, in the short classroom anecdote which ended chapter three. Without the period of anticipation that occurred as students took their restroom break, one and a half minutes of singing and dancing would probably have been of too short a duration to allow the students to focus on the event and experience it as a coherent whole. Even so, it came close to the lower limits of magnitude for a coherent classroom event, which is why some critics of the field notes from which this incident was taken prefer to read it as a warm-up exercise for the more extended creative writing lesson that followed.

Aristotle's elaboration of the necessary magnitude of an organic whole throws more light on the relationship between structure and size (of an event or of an object);

> Just in the same way, then, as a beautiful whole made up of parts, or a beautiful living creature, must be of some size, and of a size to be taken in by the eye, so a story or Plot must be of some length, but of a length to be taken in by the memory (Fyfe 1940: 22).

This consideration is reminiscent of Meyer's (1967) discussion of musical style, in which he postulates, on the basis of both gestalt psychology and of information theory, that the complexity of some modern musical styles must be approaching the upper limit of magnitude, beyond which the human memory cannot perceive the structure of the musical event as a whole.

That the necessary structure of the whole event requires the

rather rigid rules characteristic of the arts (indeed, of all forms of play) is suggested by a professional poet's overall response to watching the videotapes taken in Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade classroom: "Without the rigid classroom teacher you can't do anything aesthetic." (This was the comment of Ms. Dancer, the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery poet-in-residence, who had worked closely with Ms. Abbott and her class prior to viewing the videotapes. Later -- in response to viewing videotape of classroom routines in Ms. Beauvoir's first-grade classroom -- Ms. Dancer added that there are "ways and ways" of achieving rigid classroom rules and that some are more playful, therefore more aesthetic, than others.)

And that this rigid rule structure is necessary to allow a class (or a theater audience) to focus its attention on the dramatic event as a whole is suggested by Ms. Dancer's comment on the videotaped mathematics contest in Ms. Abbott's room (see Appendix I): "It's a matter of teaching kids how to focus, anyway." She related this ability to focus to the remarkable self-control of Ms. Abbott's class, which she had experienced firsthand: "The first day that I went to do pre-visits [for the poet-in-residence program], Dorothy [Abbott] was somewhere, I don't know where she was. Anyway, they were all sitting there working, and I just came in and started, and we worked about fifteen minutes before she came back ... just started [and the] kids were right with me!" Ms. Raines, who was present at the same viewing session, remarked that this classroom visit had occurred about the second week of school, by which time Ms. Abbott had "already set it up."

The Concept of Dramatic Structure

An instructional sequence with dramatic structure is characterized by attention to academic content which is experienced as unified and coherent, and by the following general sequence of events:

1) the setting of expectations and/or statement of a problem to be solved (tension arousal);

2) a more or less gradual focusing in or concentration of attention by the entire group of learners on the content and/or on the solution of the problem, as evidenced by their talk and/or actions (the action phase);

3) a climax or resolution, which is sometimes but not always followed by less focused "work" to dissipate the tension that has been aroused and then released (tension release).

There is a genuine analogy between the sequence of events in group lessons that appear, on an intuitive basis, to be successful in engaging students with academic content and the sequence taught in one of the CEMREL aesthetic education packages, Constructing Dramatic Plot: a tension-producing problem; conflict (or, perhaps, suspense and uncertainty in general) as protagonists struggle with the problem; action, or a series of incidents; ended by a tension-releasing climax or resolution of the problem, which may or may not require the more gradual tension release of a denouement. Recognition that a lesson can follow this general progression, with a recognizable instructional climax, is found in a chart of a mathematics lesson in Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982: 99).

An even closer analogy is with what Montagu (1981: 96-97) calls the "basic vital sequences." He diagrams the sequential

order of such events as follows: 1) some warning mechanism or activator produces some 2) physiological tension or "internal excitation" which is equivalent to an "urge" or "need" or "craving;" 3) this "urge" leads to the neuromuscular act that produces 4) homeostasis or equilibrium. Montagu demonstrates that this general sequence applies to such basic organic processes as breathing, eating, sleeping, copulation, or working (expending energy). Except that these "basic vital sequences" are generally processes characterizing the individual organism rather than the group and are usually very limited in duration, they appear to be analogous to the "dramatic structure" outlined in the CEMREL package. Successful completion of the "neuromuscular act" and the "homeostasis" that follows are rather literal equivalents of "climax" and "resolution," as applied to either school lessons or to literature and theater.

Successful development of coherent dramatic structure in a classroom lesson at the very least gives the students the opportunity to focus in unison on the content of the lesson in order to learn what the teacher intends them to learn. The external cues that an event has perceived dramatic unity for participants seem to be precisely those cues to which teachers consistently attend in order to judge students' involvement level (the criterion by which teachers assess the success or not of a lesson while it is in progress, according to a number of studies of teacher cognition as reported in chapter two). These include, initially, concentration level, or the degree to which students resist distraction

from the task at hand and are able to ignore the many minor interruptions that characterize the typical elementary school day; and, once the "action" is well underway, responsiveness by the students not only to signals from the teacher but to one another and to the content with which they are dealing.

While resistance to interruption is potentially an objective (even countable) criterion, in practice there are some problems with its operationalization: 1) the unpredictability of the number and the level of disruption of interruptions that will take place in an elementary classroom at any given time, and 2) the complication that some interruptions cannot be ignored (for instance, a fire drill, at the most extreme). When the unavoidable interruption occurs, the measure of the group's concentration level is not total resistance to being interrupted but the alacrity and energy with which the group returns to the task when the interruption is over, an inherently qualitative criterion since it involves tacit comparison with some standard of the least feasible interruption given the inherent distraction. Responsiveness to other group members is a potentially quantifiable criterion in a microethnographic study but can only be a qualitative judgment under the time and other practical constraints of the interactive teaching situation (or of taking ethnographic field notes).

Appropriateness of the students' responses in the total context of social situation, nature of subject matter, and particular activity is inherently a qualitative judgment of the degree of fit between the task demands and the students' task performance. The

same objective behavior can be exactly appropriate or exactly inappropriate to the context. For instance, the evidences of excitement during the videotaped mathematics contest in Ms. Abbott's room (students cheering, jumping up and down when critical points were won or lost, and occasionally screaming) were an appropriate response to the tension produced by the contest but would have been entirely inappropriate if they had been responding to a football game taking place on the playground (seen out the window) rather than to a contest in which they were engaged and to which they were supposed to be attending. And their cheering was appropriate, whereas calling out the correct answer to a student on one's own team who was about to make a fatal mistake in an arithmetic problem was the most inappropriate behavior that might have occurred, because it would violate the rules of fair play. (And, in fact, the teacher when viewing the tape commented on every instance when students gave the slightest hint to their teammates, usually by rather subtle body language, that they were making mistakes. Later, when the class was viewing the tape, the teacher pointed out these behaviors as inappropriate.)

The fact that these symptoms of excitement did not occur during the videotaped creative writing lesson in the same class was, in itself, no indication that that lesson had poorer dramatic structure. The task demands of creative writing frequently require sitting and staring into space (an indication of boredom on most occasions but not necessarily when about to start writing). Writing itself is a low-key activity which gives few clues to the mental

activity of the writer (the thinking, imagining, and organizing that determine whether the writer is experiencing a coherent, meaningful event or not). In fact, the deepest engagement actually observed in any creative writing lesson was indicated by students' actually going into a state of trance, to the best of the observer's belief (during a lesson described in somewhat greater detail on pages 197 - 198).

However, qualitative judgments about both resistance to interruption and the appropriateness of students' responses to the situation are fairly easy to make, and there is a good deal of inter-rater agreement in these judgments. When developing the concept of dramatic structure and methods for charting lessons in a way that would reveal dramatic structure or its absence, the researcher gave rather general directions to two other persons who were unfamiliar with the classrooms she had observed and asked them to chart several sets of field notes of whole lessons. When she compared their charts to her own charts of the same lessons, the similarities were more striking than the differences, there being remarkable similarity even in the slopes of lines to indicate deepening of engagement or loss of concentration on the lesson (slopes which have no precise meaning according to the guidelines for charting lessons). And, while some charters appeared to be "lumpers" and recorded fewer segments for the activity while others were "splitters" and segmented the activity more finely, there was very substantial agreement on the major junctures of structural change in the lessons.

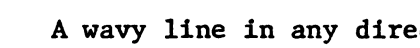
In microethnographic analyses of lessons, observers of permanently recorded behaviors usually agree in identifying major shifts in the structure of the event. People seem innately to perceive events as wholes -- and as wholes that exemplify a certain type of event, for instance, /lesson/ or /recess/, with inherent structural characteristics. Moreover, researchers have found transitions between structurally differentiated parts of the whole event to be particularly useful in analyzing events, since it is apparently at these moments that participants in social events use redundant, culturally defined but generally unconscious cues to alert one another to the shift in context. (See Erickson, 1975 and 1979, and Erickson and Shultz 1981.)

Charting Dramatic Structure

What the charting records is the group level of involvement with the content of the lesson over the time of the lesson, as indicated by overt signs of 1) resistance to interruption; 2) reciprocal responsiveness among participants (to both social context and content messages); and 3) appropriateness of students' responses, in terms of the total context of the lesson.

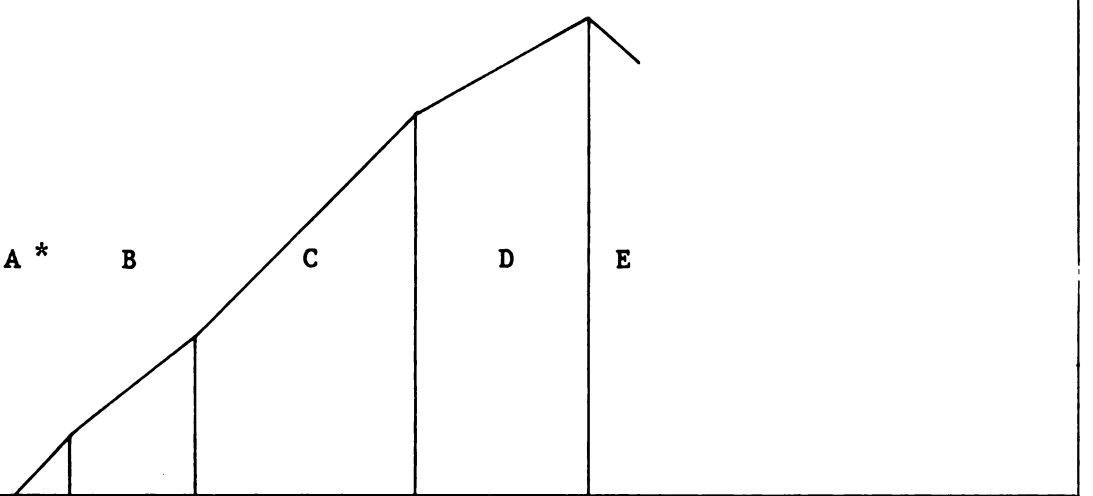
In the charting a rising line represents steadily increasing or deepening engagement with the lesson; a horizontal line indicates a constant level of engagement; and a falling line represents a group losing their focus on the lesson (either being distracted or turning their attention to something else as the classroom activity shifts). (This convention is somewhat anti-intuitive, as one thinks

of concentration on a lesson as "deepening," of centering "down" into the lesson; but the curve that results from the convention as stated is easier to interpret than a curve below the baseline.)

A wavy line in any direction () indicates a mixed attention pattern (enough students are acting bored or disruptive to affect the concentration level of the group as a whole, but with at least a significant minority of students trying to focus on the lesson). It may also represent a situation in which there can be no clear focus of group attention because no clear task has been set for the group. Wavy lines are usually horizontal, because of the inherent difficulty of determining the direction of the general engagement level when there is a mixed attention pattern, but can be ascending or descending if there is reasonable evidence about the attention level of the students who are trying to focus on the lesson.

The charting also indicates major shifts in content, emphasis, task structure, or engagement level: any one of these shifts in a lesson usually entails some change in the direction of the line representing engagement level. (Brief descriptions of the action that takes place in each segment defined by a change in the direction of the line can also serve as a skeletal account of what was occurring in the lesson.) In general, the scale used in this charting is ordinal: the charts reflect changes in the general direction of the line representing group engagement level (greater focus on the content of the lesson or less), but no attempt can be made to measure or chart the precise degree of the change.

Before analyzing actual lessons in this way, it might be helpful to take another look at the schematized chart of a /lesson/ with good dramatic structure that was introduced briefly in the introduction. Figure 4, below, consists of the same S-curve but shown in the straight-line form in which actual lessons will be analyzed, with constituent phases of the event specified more exactly. The characteristic S-shaped engagement curve of a lesson with good dramatic structure rises more sharply here than in the introduction.



A: Preliminary expressions of excitement by students (*only occurs when students have reason to anticipate an exciting lesson)
B: "Getting ready" -- teacher or group leader explains the lesson, prepares class for a more active phase (characterized primarily by resistance to interruption)
C: "Doing" -- students become actively engaged with the content of the lesson (characterized by active expressions of involvement as well as resistance to interruption)
D: "Assimilation" -- task environment becomes more difficult as students are asked to demonstrate assimilation of the content in some way (characterized by resistance to interruption, appropriateness of students' responses)
E: Disengagement (may be rapid or slow)

Figure 4. SCHEMATIC LESSON ENGAGEMENT CURVE

The activity segment labeled "A" is found only in lessons in which the students have some reason to anticipate that the event will be particularly exciting or interesting. Students frequently greet the announcement of such a lesson with expressions of interest or excitement, then calm down for the "getting ready" phase. The segment marked "D" or the "assimilation" phase is also found in only some lessons with good dramatic structure. This phase or a structural equivalent does appear to be necessary to instructed learning whenever students are presented with a new concept that they will be asked to apply in future lessons. Lessons can be differentiated into those with a clear "assimilation" phase (or equivalent) and those without. In the lessons that were observed, those which had good dramatic structure but lacked an "assimilation" phase were never lessons in which students had to deal with new content or with problems which were new to them.

It is interesting to contrast Figure 4 (a schematized chart of a lesson with good dramatic structure) with Figure 8 on page 183, the chart of the lesson with the least dramatic structure of any observed. There are "highs" of engagement on both charts, but the "high" in Figure 4 comes at the necessary high point of the lesson, the instructional climax, whereas those in Figure 8 do not lead to a clear climax and denouement and have no necessary, easily perceived relationship to the thrust of the lesson as a whole.

Most of the lessons charted demonstrate clear dramatic structure, but only the lessons taught by an arts specialist (an Orff music teacher) or by a professional artist (a mime or Ms. Dancer,

the poet-in-residence) had as straightforward and coherent a "plot" as that outlined in Figure 4. The most skilled of the classroom teachers (Ms. Abbott and Ms. Gladstone) managed lessons with clear dramatic structure during classroom events of great complexity, such complexity that it seemed impossible to find a coherent structure in them. In general, lessons in the elementary classroom led by the classroom teacher always appeared to have to deal with much greater complications than those led by artists who did not have responsibility for the ongoing life of the classroom. A great many of these complications seemed to stem from the teachers' network of rights and obligations as members of an educational community (as, for instance, when Ms. Gladstone left her reading group temporarily to deal with noisy students in the hall outside). These complexities should become apparent during the discussion of charts of actual lessons that were observed.

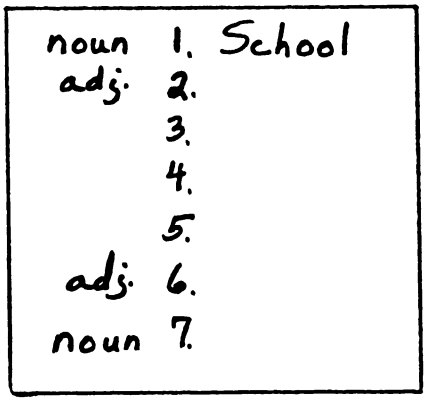
A specific example of a lesson with clear (if somewhat complex) dramatic unity may help clarify the concept of dramatic structure as observed in classroom lessons. The following long excerpt from the field notes describes a lengthy creative writing lesson in Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade classroom. This lesson took place immediately following the brief interval of dancing and singing discussed at the end of chapter three.

LEARNING HOW TO WRITE A DIAMANTÉ

> Ms. Abbott tells the class, "Okay, have a seat." She tells the students that she wants them to think about something during lunch, explaining that this afternoon, "if there's time," they will do something called a "diamanté," from the French word for "diamond." She says that a "diamanté" is a

diamond-shaped poem. Ms. Abbott draws a diamond shape on the front chalkboard and writes on the board, "diamanté -- diamond shaped poem that contrasts two nouns!" As she writes, she explains, "You couldn't do this before because you have to know two parts of speech very well. I think you can do it now." She asks, "What does 'contrast' mean?" When no students answer immediately, Ms. Abbott tells the class to look it up in their dictionaries. The students bring their dictionaries out from the storage area under their desks and look up the word. Ms. Abbott asks, "What's a one word synonym for 'contrast'?" Students call out answers (some of them conflicting). Ms. Abbott calls on Kevia, who says, "Compare." Ms. Abbott agrees and writes "contrast" and "compare" side by side on the chalkboard, commenting to Washington, "Think before you speak or people will think you don't have any brains." (The observer had not heard his response.)

Discussing "contrast" and "compare," Ms. Abbott draws the conclusion that nouns which contrast should be antonyms and asks what "antonym" means. The class choruses (quickly and loudly), "Opposites!" The teacher tells the class she thought of two words last night they will love to contrast. She adds that they are going to write a diamanté together. Reminding the class that the first and last words of the poem must be contrasting nouns -- a noun and its antonym -- Ms. Abbott says that one of her words is "school" and asks what its antonym is. A number of students quickly respond, "Home," but Ms. Abbott gives them further hints about the word she has in mind: "You're in school nine months of the year, what do you do the other three months?" Several students suggest "vacation," and Ms. Abbott says good, that was the word she was looking for. On the chalkboard Ms. Abbott writes "school" in the upper corner of the diamond shape she has already drawn and "vacation" in the lower corner. Then she writes the following on the board, to the left of the diamond shape, explaining it as she writes:



Ms. Abbott explains that in slots two and six you need adjectives -- "two good adjectives that describe 'school'" in the second slot and "two good adjectives that describe 'vacation'" in the sixth slot; she adds that these adjectives must not end in "-ing." She asks the students for suggestions of adjectives that describe "school" and writes the students' suggestions on the board: from Dave, "good;" from Morris, "terrible;" from Marsha,

"dull." Another student suggests, "boring." Tonya suggests, "unuseful," but Ms. Abbott does not write this on the board. Instead, she explains to Tonya that "unuseful" is not a word, the appropriate word would be "useless," and "useless" does not really describe "school," because school may be dull and boring, but what you learn in school is not "useless." Wade suggests, "educational," and Ms. Abbott starts writing the suggestions on the board again. Other students suggest "horrible," "fun," "hard," and "dreadful." One student suggests, "votechnical," but Ms. Abbott responds, "No, that is a type of school, but we're trying to describe our school, and our school is not votechnical." Another student suggests, "nice."

The school secretary makes an intercom announcement asking whoever parked a white Citation in the school parking lot to move the car. Teacher and students pay no visible attention to the announcement. Eric suggests the word "creative" to describe their school, and Ms. Abbott questions this. She discusses the point with the class as a whole, and they agree that this is a creative classroom but that "school" is not creative. The last words the teacher writes on the board to describe "school" are "nice," "beautiful," and "creative." Ms. Abbott says that, when the students come back from lunch, they will decide on two words from this list to "go with." She adds, "And when we come back, you can help me think of two words to describe 'vacation.'"

The students immediately start making suggestions of adjectives to describe "vacation," and Ms. Abbott writes some of them on the chalkboard (ignoring some and rejecting one word because it ends in "-ing"). She writes on the board: "terrific," "wonderful," "fantastic," "lovely," "super," "joyful," and "neat," but then erases "joyful" as inappropriate. A student suggests, "boring," and one of the other students immediately questions this, "Boring?" Ms. Abbott rejects the suggestion because the word ends in "-ing" but points out that at one time or another she has heard every one of them say that vacation was boring because they didn't have anything to do.

Ms. Abbott says that it's time for lunch and begins organizing the class to leave the room for their lunch break. The lunch break lasts forty-five minutes, and Ms. Abbott, as usual, gives the class a restroom break after lunch. Nearly fifty minutes after the end of her discussion of adjectives to describe "vacation," Ms. Abbott comes back into the classroom and tells the students to "have a seat." Steven and several other boys are showing the observer a "leprechaun" exhibit, and the observer hurries back to her seat as the children hurry to theirs. (Ms. Abbott quickly assures the observer, "Not you.") The teacher urges Cassandra to put up

the individual social studies project she has been working on: "Time's up, lay it up there." She then checks with Tonya to find out if Tonya has been able to reach her father to ask him to bring a tape recorder for a project in reading that Tonya's group will do later in the afternoon. Then she says, "All right, clear your desk and let's go back just a minute." Cassandra asks what she should do with her project, and Ms. Abbott tells her to put it under the teacher's desk.

Ms. Abbott then asks the class to attend to the diamanté on which they were working before lunch. She suggests, "For 'school' let's put 'hard.'" Students agree and suggest other possibilities for the second adjective: "fun," "dreadful," and "dull." A number of students object that it is not "dull" in this classroom, to which Ms. Abbott responds, "That's the message I keep getting." A student insists that it is fun in this classroom "and creative." Ms. Abbott suggests that the class "go with our room, I don't know your pasts." She suggests "hard" and "dull," and students suggest "fun" and "creative." Ms. Abbott writes down "hard" and "dull" by the number two, then erases them and writes "hard" and "fun."

Ms. Abbott asks which two adjectives they should use to describe "vacation," and the students quickly agree on "fantastic" and "wonderful." Ms. Abbott writes these words beside point number six.

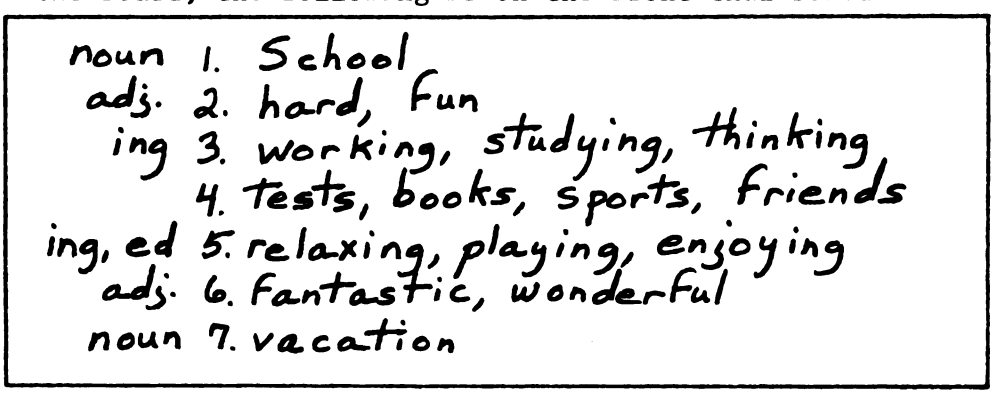
Ms. Abbott explains to the class that for points three and five they need three words ending in "-ing." Students call out suggestions, but so many are talking at once that it is impossible to hear most of these suggestions. Ms. Abbott asks what the first rule is, and Tonya says, "Talk one at a time." Ms. Abbott tells the class to remember that.

Ms. Abbott rejects a word beginning with "f" because the next word in the poem is "fantastic" in line six. A student suggests "boring" as an "-ing" adjective describing "vacation" but other students disagree heatedly. Ms. Abbott says, "Let's try to make a positive diamanté." She adds that she is "pulling ideas" from the same people over and over, while others have not contributed any ideas. Ms. Abbott urges, "I want to get feedback from everybody; help me do this so it'll be easy to do your own later." She calls on Kevia (a bright student who had not been contributing), and Kevia suggests, "enjoying." The teacher asks if anyone can think of a better word, and Harry suggests, "rejoicing." Ms. Abbott says she thinks "enjoying" is better.

When the discussion ends, Ms. Abbott has written down three words to describe "school" -- "working," "studying," and "thinking" -- and three words to describe "vacation" --

"relaxing," "playing," and "enjoying." As an afterthought when considering words to describe "vacation," Ms. Abbott has told the class that, in lines three and five, they could use words ending in "-ing" or words ending in "-ed" or both.

Ms. Abbott explains that in line four they need four nouns. The first two nouns should apply to "school" and the second two should be related to "vacation." Wade and Norman immediately raise their hands. For "vacation" students begin by suggesting specific sports such as tennis or swimming. When one student suggests "sports," Ms. Abbott says she will use that because it is a more inclusive term than a word like "swimming." Norman suggests "summer," but Ms. Abbott rejects that in favor of a word several other students suggest, "friends." When Ms. Abbott finishes writing the diamanté on the board, the following is on the front chalkboard:



Ms. Abbott tells the students, "Close your eyes and listen to the poem you've written." The students close their eyes, and the teacher reads, with emphasis and expression: "School, hard, fun, working, studying, thinking, tests, books, sports, friends, relaxing, playing, enjoying, fantastic, wonderful vacation." She points out, "You've written a poem!" She adds, "Okay, open your eyes. Now, what I want you to do when you finish in your reading groups is -- first, think of all the things you could compare." (She interrupted herself in mid-sentence.) Ms. Abbott suggests several sorts of contrast they might want to use but warns them that "you are more successful when you talk about things you know." She tells them not to use "Cadillac" versus "Chevrolet" if they don't know anything about cars or "physics" versus "astronomy" if they don't know anything about science. Again she urges them, "Use your own experiences."

Ms. Abbott then goes systematically around the room, starting with Norman, asking each child to give her a contrast they might use in a diamanté. Norman says, "Winter and summer." Tonya says boys and girls. Brian says, "Mens and womens." Ms. Abbott takes some time to correct several grammatical mistakes in this response and finally persuades Brian to

accept "men and women" as the correct usage. She tells Norman to scoot his desk away from Eric's, they have gotten too close. Then she calls on Shontelle, who says, "Baseball and softball." Ms. Abbott says these two concepts are too close; when Shontelle does not come up quickly with an alternative, Ms. Abbott says she'll come back to her later. She calls on Wade, who says baseball and another sport; again the teacher says the concepts are too close. Wade says, "Sweet and sour," and Ms. Abbott rejects these because they are adjectives, not nouns. Wade says, "Streets and sidewalks," and the teacher responds, "Great!" She calls on Eric, who says, "Night and day."

Two boys from another class come into the room and tell Ms. Abbott that their teacher sent them to ask if she has the typewriter. Ms. Abbott responds, "No, I've never had it." The boys leave the room, and the teacher continues calling on each individual child to name possible contrasts. She comes back to Shontelle, who names two different types of jewelry, and again Ms. Abbott tells her the concepts are "too close." She calls on Steven, who says, "Doctors and lawyers." Another student says, "Big and little," and the teacher rejects these because they are adjectives. She calls on Lisung (a recent transfer who spoke only Korean when she entered the class, who is still not fluent in English). Lisung has great difficulty expressing the comparison in English but is struggling to say "Hell" and something else. Ms. Abbott tells her "Heaven and Hell" would be the comparison and adds, "Good -- good thinking!" Ms. Abbott continues calling on students and evaluating their responses. She tells Jackson that "desks and chairs" is a "possible" contrast: "You could, but it would be hard." She makes the same comment about "paper and pencil." Other students suggest "days and nights" and "cats and dogs."

Ms. Abbott calls on Washington, who says, "Preachers and deacons." The teacher says no, they are synonyms "or close." Washington then suggests "mother and father," and Ms. Abbott asks if anyone has said that already. When students tell her that no one has, Ms. Abbott comments, "Good." Stacy suggests "letters and numbers." Carolyn says, "Cops and robbers," to which the teacher responds, "Good." Another student suggests "moon and sun." Ms. Abbott suggests flippantly, "Teacher and principal."

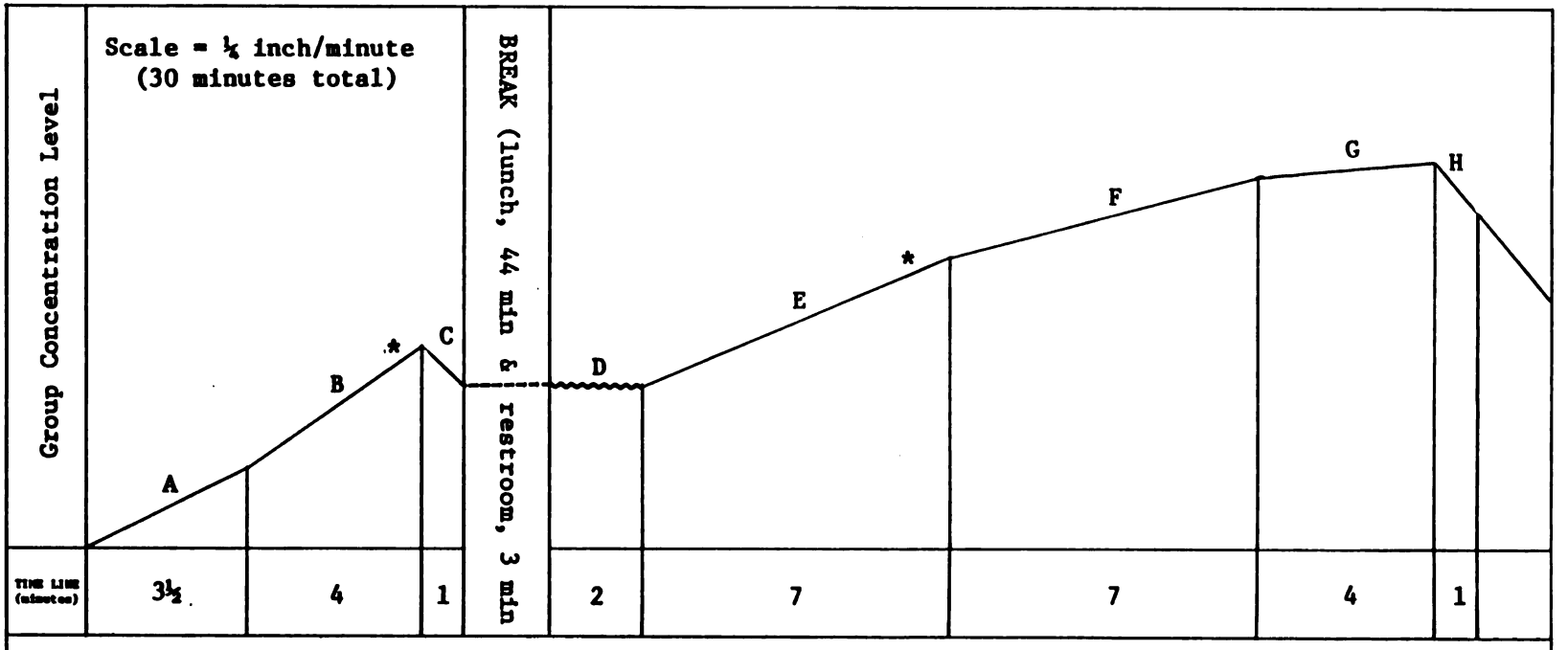
Students begin volunteering other suggestions eagerly. Ms. Abbott tells them, "One at a time, hold off." She adds that some have not yet given her any contrasts and she wants to hear from those people. One of these suggests, "Love and hate," and the teacher responds, "Great!" Chun (the Korean

student who is serving as translator for Lisung and her brother Kim) begins to translate out of the Korean for Kim, who is struggling to express his idea in English. Ms. Abbott tells Chun, "Let him say it." With difficulty Kim says clearly, "Water and fire." Ms. Abbott responds, "Good." She comes back again to Shontelle, who says, "Salt and pepper." Ms. Abbott responds, "Good." She calls on Jackson, who says, "Birds and bees." The teacher quips, "Are you talking about sex?" Some of the other students laugh. Ms. Abbott continues calling on students who have not yet given her acceptable contrasts and elicits "black and white." A student comments (without a response from the teacher), "Orange and purple." Lisung and Kim are talking in Korean with Chun (from their demeanor apparently discussing the assignment). Ms. Abbott continues eliciting contrasts but then calls a halt, "Stop, time out."

Ms. Abbott summarizes, "Okay, everyone with a couple of exceptions thought of a contrast. You're not locked in, you might think of a better one." She tells them she wants them each "to develop a diamanté this afternoon." She walks to the front chalkboard and reviews the definition, pointing to the sample poem on the board as she does so. She reminds the class that a diamanté is a seven line poem comparing two things, "which are what?" The class choruses, "Nouns." She points out that lines two and six consist of two adjectives each and that lines three and five are three words each -- words ending in "-ing" or "-ed" or both kinds of words. And the fourth line consists of four nouns, "the first two relating to what?" Students chorus: the first word (of the poem). "And the second two relating to what?" Again the students chorus: the last word (of the poem). Ms. Abbott asks if anyone has any problems with the assignment and if they all "have a handle on it?" Norman responds, "Yes, maam." The teacher tells the class to "write as best you can, I'll correct the spelling tomorrow, and then we'll make them in the shape of a diamond and paper the back board with them."

Ms. Abbott carries a stool to the center of the room (in the middle aisle) and tells the students to put their diamantés there when they finish them. Then she gives the students directions for getting into their two reading groups and getting to work on their reading assignments.

The chart of this long lesson follows in Figure 5 on the next page. This chart suggests a number of observations that seem to apply to the problem of building and sustaining an adequate level of



A: Transition; teacher explains diamanté assignment.
B: Class begins collective writing of a diamanté. (*After 3 minutes teacher introduces transition to lunch but continues collective writing when students proceed with next activity.) (One interruption, ignored.)
C: Teacher organizes class for lunch.
D: Transition after lunch; teacher and students transact classroom business.
E: Class finishes collective writing of diamante. (*Final minute teacher is reading finished poem.)
F: Teacher has each student name an appropriate contrast. (One interruption, short and does not seem to dilute concentration of group.)
G: Teacher gives directions for individual writing assignment and summarizes lesson.
H: Teacher directs transition into reading groups.

Figure 5. LEARNING TO WRITE A DIAMANTE (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

concentration in classroom lessons in general. (Clearly, the adequacy of the level of concentration would vary with the content of the lesson, and this chart may be particularly useful because the level of concentration demanded by learning to write an unfamiliar form of poetry is inherently high.)

Shape of the Engagement Curve

Clearly there are two climaxes in this chart, as there are two coherently organized teaching/learning episodes separated by the lunch break. From the way in which Ms. Abbott introduced the lesson it can be inferred that she intended the first episode as a "teaser" (in much the same way that a movie preview is a "teaser" to interest the audience in viewing the full movie): her asking the class to "think about" the diamanté over the lunch break and her promising them they would work on it during the afternoon "if there's time." "If there's time" suggests that the main event did not need to follow directly after the "teaser" (as, in fact, it did, being the first task the class undertook after the lunch break). Presumably the "teaser" would have served its purpose if the main event had taken place the next day or perhaps even any time during that school week.

It seems likely that Ms. Abbott continued with the main event after lunch (instead of waiting until later in the afternoon, as "if there's time" would suggest) because of the students' many overt expressions of deep involvement with the problem she was presenting them. While many of these expressions were nonverbal, probably unconscious cues that could not be adequately captured in ethnographic field notes, there were overt cues, particularly the students'

refusal to disengage when Ms. Abbott first told them to get ready for lunch. And the success of this lesson in engaging the students' interest presumably stemmed as much from Ms. Abbott's responsiveness to the students' signals as from their responsiveness to her signals. Such clear dramatic structure in a rather complex lesson (extending over two teaching/learning episodes separated in time by a rather lengthy break and interrupted twice -- an unusually small number of interruptions during this amount of time in an elementary classroom) probably requires a great deal of reciprocal responsiveness among the group engaging in the lesson.

The "assimilation" phase is particularly prominent in the chart of Ms. Abbott's diamanté-writing lesson (Figure 5 on the previous page), as Ms. Abbott spent as much time having individual students demonstrate their ability to apply the concept she had taught them as she did leading the "doing" phase of the lesson.

A Variant of Dramatic Structure in a Lesson: the Contest

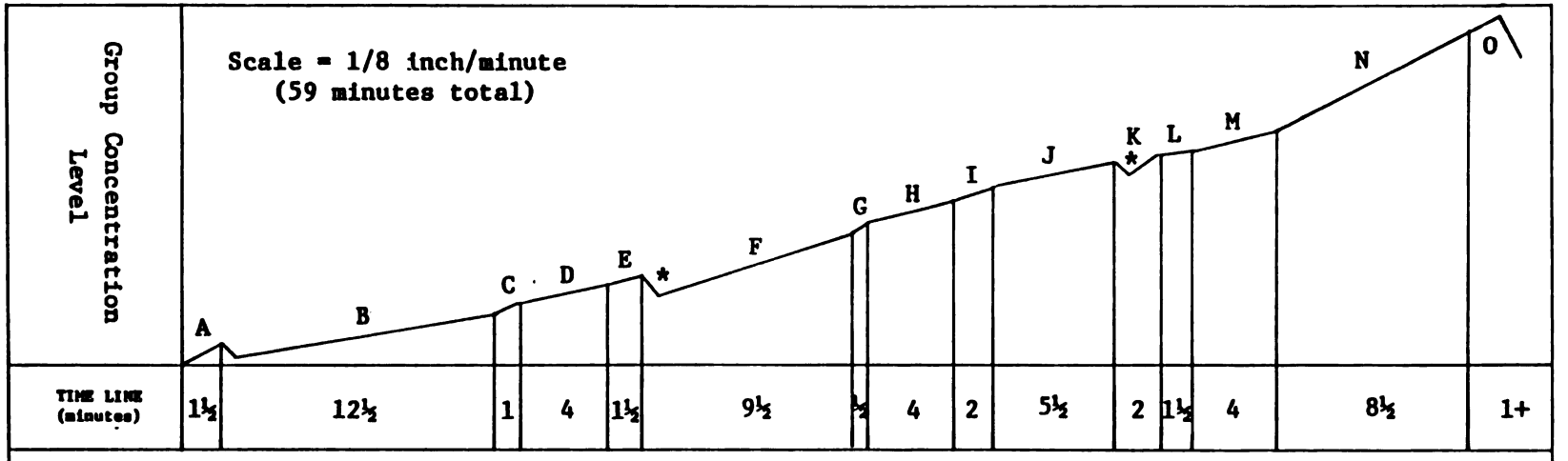
A limitation of the contest form of play for purposes of instructed learning is that it seems not to be possible to incorporate a time for "assimilation" into the lesson, which builds, rather, inexorably to the clearest possible climax: the contest ends with one side winning and at least one side losing. None of the contests observed in Ms. Abbott's class included a period for "assimilation." (Contests were not observed at all in the other classes, and Ms. Abbott used the form primarily for review of relatively routine content that the students were supposed to have mastered.) The chart of the videotaped mathematics contest

(during which Ms. Abbott reviewed all of the mathematics content the class had covered during the course of the school year) is a particularly good example of this feature of the contest, especially since this contest is such a good example of dramatic structure, in general. A verbal account of this contest (taken from the transcription of the videotape) is found in Appendix I. Figure 6, on the next page, is a chart of the dramatic structure of the videotaped mathematics contest.

The reader may also want to check Figure 15 at the conclusion of Appendix J, representing a language arts contest in Ms. Abbott's room that had flawed dramatic structure because of factors over which the teacher had little or no control. It too ends with a sharp peak of excitement as the contest is won and lost. However, one of the ways in which dramatic structure was lost during this event was that the teacher tried to persuade the class to extend the contest to give the boys a chance to win. The students refused and took little apparent interest in the denouement arranged by the teacher (having a student correct the mistakes made by the final male contestant), so the teacher attempted to repair the damage with a lively coda.

Interruptions

The effects of interruptions on the development of dramatic structure in a lesson are critical in understanding how lessons are perceived as coherent wholes. What the interruption appears to do is introduce extraneous matter into what ought to be a sequence of events whose relationship to one another is necessary (or at least



A: Teacher introduces contest, establishes rules, appoints team leaders.

B: Teacher is confused on rules, but class corrects her. Students engage in contest (one boy and one girl at a time work a problem at board; at student initiative students work the same problem at their seats; any student at board to get correct answer wins a point for his or her team).

C: Controversy over whether teacher should give credit for a problem: student got right answer but used wrong procedure.

D: Contest continues.

E: A very hard problem produces 3 wrong answers. Finally Norman wins, boys celebrate winning point. Contest continues.

F: Teacher announces problems will get harder, and contest continues. (*Teacher explains to Chun why it is only fair to give Kim a nonverbal problem so that he will not be handicapped by poor command of English.)

G: Teacher announces the boys are leading for the first time. (Boys cheer.)

H: Contest continues.

I: Two students make same error on a very difficult problem. (Class reacts.)

J: Teacher announces the score is even and they will have only 7 more problems. Girls win next point, and Stacy literally hops back to her seat after winning the point.

K: Contest continues. Class ignores nearby noise. (*Girls protest two students being called out of order established during the first round.)

L: Contest slows down as Eric (hearing impaired) and Lisung (Korean, poor command of English) have difficulty comprehending their problem. Class joins teacher in trying to convey problem to Lisung, since Chun's Korean is not adequate.

M: Neither Eric nor Lisung is able to work the very difficult problem. Teacher gives class a hint of answer behind the contestants' backs. Two new students attempt the problem, the girls win, the girls cheer, and the contest continues at a peak of excitement.

N: The final 4 students work their problems; the boys now have little chance of winning but excitement is very high.

O: The girls win the contest and celebrate (scream, jump up and down, etc.). The teacher urges the boys to be good losers and starts trying to calm the class down. There is a long period of denouement after the tape ends.

Figure 6. MATHEMATICS CONTEST (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

probable) rather than fortuitous. Such extraneous matter can be simply overridden when the interruption is such that it can safely be ignored and the teacher and class cooperate in ignoring it (as occurred when there was an intercom announcement during the period labeled segment B on the chart of the diamanté-writing lesson in Figure 5).

Similarly, an interruption that cannot be totally ignored may be minimally disruptive of the development of a coherent event if it is short enough and requires only a routinized response. During the period labeled segment E in Figure 5, the following incident took place:

> Two boys from another class come into the room and tell Ms. Abbott that their teacher sent them to ask if she has the typewriter. Ms. Abbott responds, "No, I've never had it." The boys leave the room, and the teacher continues calling on each individual child to name possible contrasts.

This interruption distracted the class so little it is not reflected on the chart in Figure 5 at all (except to be noted). It required only three conversational "turns" which the teacher managed to incorporate into the rhythmic pattern she had established for that segment of the lesson.

A slightly more severe disruption of dramatic structure arose during the mathematics contest depicted in Figure 6 on the previous page. During the segment labeled F on the chart, one of the students (Chun) protested Ms. Abbott's procedure when she stopped giving verbal problems because Kim was one of the contestants and she felt Kim's command of English was not good enough for him to have an equal chance of solving a verbal problem. Chun, who interpreted

for Kim and sat directly behind him, protested that Kim had been solving the verbal problems Ms. Abbott had just given, at his desk; so Chun felt Kim would be able to handle a verbal problem. Although Ms. Abbott's response to Chun took only a little more time than her response to the two boys, she had not been able to anticipate this interruption (as she could anticipate the boys' interruption), so the conversation with Chun interrupted the flow of the lesson in a way the boys' interruption did not. This short break in the group's concentration on the contest is indicated by a small "jag" in the line charting group focus on the content of the lesson at the beginning of segment F in Figure 6. A longer and apparently similar procedural problem later in the contest (during segment L) slowed down the action but did not interrupt the smooth development of the lesson since the entire class became involved in solving the problem which was keeping the contest from proceeding. (Kim's sister, Lisung, was unable to understand a complex problem well enough to write it on the chalkboard, and Chun's Korean was inadequate to convey it to her. One of the students eventually suggested a way of conveying it in English simply enough for Lisung to understand.)

It is interesting to compare the two charts already given of lessons in Ms. Abbott's class (both of which had good dramatic structure only minimally affected by the interruptions which occurred) with charts of several other lessons in which dramatic structure was seriously impaired by the introduction of extraneous matter into the lesson. The chart at the end of Appendix J (Figure 15)

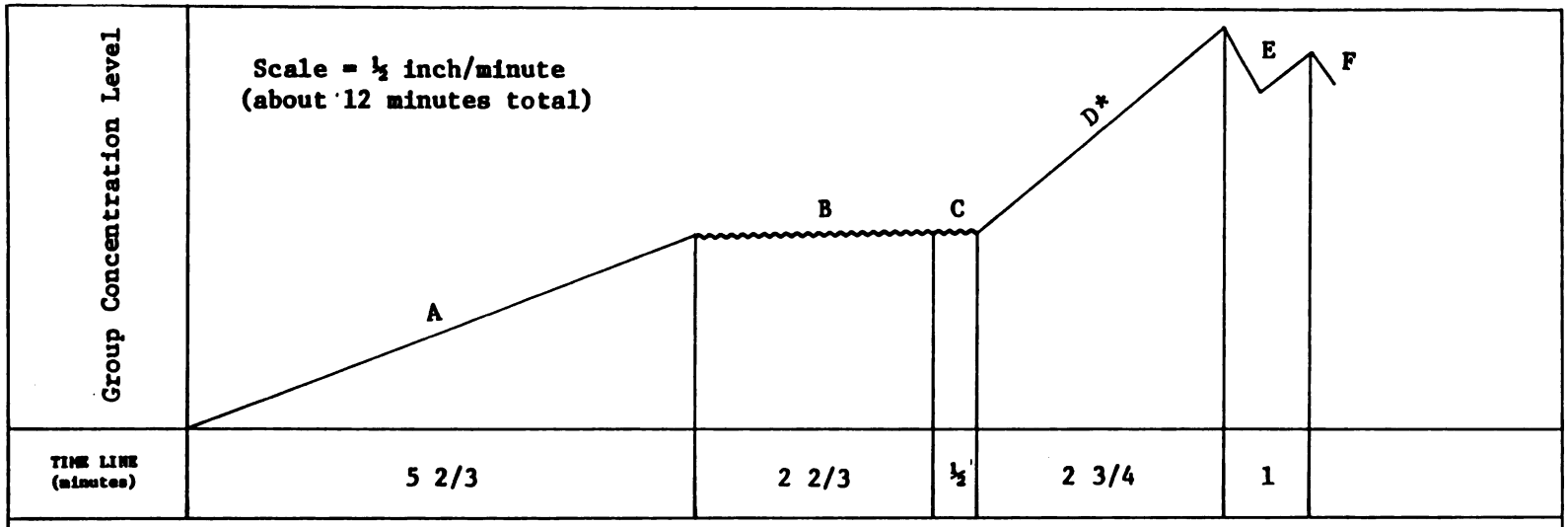
analyzes a language arts contest in Ms. Abbott's room (the second installment of a contest which had had to be curtailed the day before when the class ran out of time). The development of this lesson (described in the field note excerpt in Appendix J) suggests that there is a level of interruption above which not even the most skillful teacher and most cooperative class can continue to build a lesson with good dramatic structure. Instead, they lose focus and bog down in irrelevant disputes. That the class continued to cooperate with the teacher in endeavoring to keep the contest going, in spite of interruptions, is revealed by their laughter (during segment K in the chart) after a third interruption in a row had kept the teacher from proceeding with the contest. (Their laughter apparently recognized that interruptions were preventing them from getting on with the contest and vented their frustration at the situation.)

Interruptions to which some attention must be paid are frequently outside the control of teacher and class, but a number of the interruptions that were observed were considerations of matters extraneous to the content of a lesson introduced by a classroom participant, usually the teacher. An example of a student-introduced interruption has already been discussed (Chun's procedural protest to Ms. Abbott during the mathematics contest). Ms. Beauvoir (the first-grade target teacher) routinely attempted to attend to boardwork exercises and classroom business (such as attendance sheets) simultaneously during her opening morning exercises. Responding to viewing a videotape of these morning activities, Ms. Beauvoir explained that

she liked to start the day with whole-class activities, to focus the children's attention and give them a sense of belonging to the whole classroom group, before having them break into small reading groups and work individually at their seats.

The following chart (based on the videotaped activities described in Appendix K) gives a synopsis of a lesson in which dramatic structure was lost not because of the obtrusiveness of the videotape camera (although the children's behavior made it clear they were very much aware of the camera) but simply because the teacher was trying to keep two coherent events going simultaneously with the same group of children. Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that the more instrumental event (recording bus routes) clearly had more salience than the academic lesson for Lina, the child who throughout the field notes was recorded as consistently most successful at taking advantage of the teacher's lapses of attention to play games of her own devising. The chart of this lesson is found in Figure 7 on the next page.

The chart reveals one of Ms. Beauvoir's more successful classroom management techniques, her use of choral activities to recapture the focused attention of the class whenever she needed it. Thus, during segment D, the teacher changed her usual strategy for morning boardwork (having one child at a time work a problem and report the result). Keeping one child at the board throughout the teacher had the class as a whole chorus the answers to most of the questions in the exercise (the teacher pacing and "conducting" their choral responses like a conductor of music requiring ensemble playing).



A: Students are engaged, eager to volunteer to go to board (one at a time) to work one and two digit addition problems (turn frequently to look at video monitor but are minimally disturbed by one intercom announcement and teacher sending child on errand out of room). Teacher's feedback is erratic (some errors caught and some not).

B: Teacher starts asking children what bus they ride (to fill in a report) while continuing to send children to board to work addition problems. Lina wanders around room paying no apparent attention to math but responding to questions about buses; Lina confers with Andrew, and children start moving desks out of line slowly. (Teacher corrects only the math errors the class reacts to and comments on.)

C: Teacher directs students' attention to language arts boardwork, reprimands James for moving his desk and has all the children move desks back in line.

D: Teacher has students respond to language arts boardwork (mostly choral responses). (*She asks one question about buses but it does not interrupt flow of lesson.)

E: Students are distracted by teacher disciplining a student off-camera, then return raggedly to chorusing answers to language arts boardwork.

F: Teacher halts boardwork, has Chester pass out worksheets for seatwork.

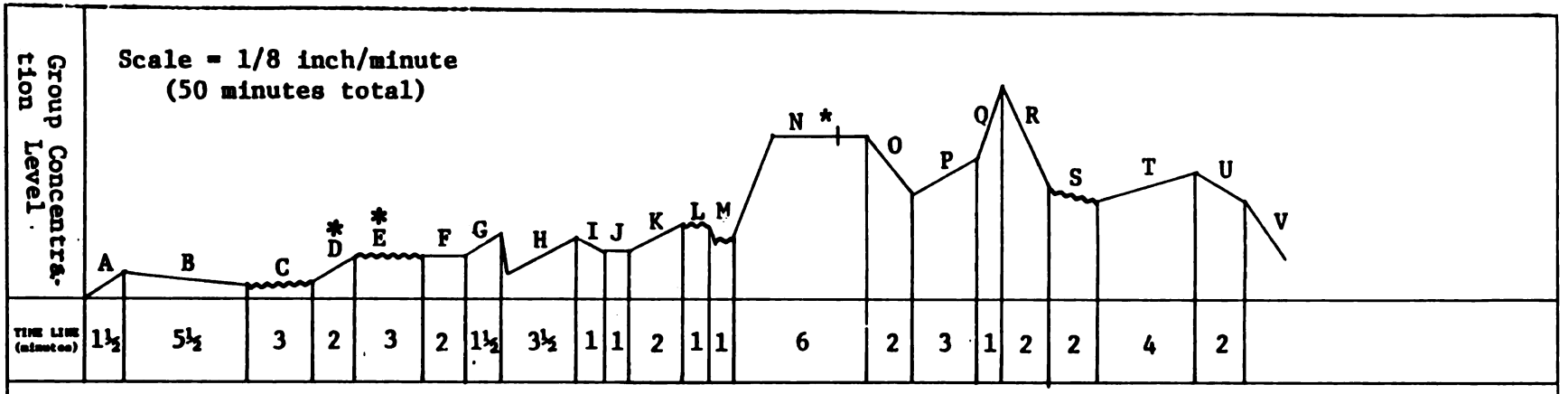
Figure 7. MORNING BOARDWORK (MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS)

This task structure was sufficiently powerful to overcome an inherently distracting interruption (a highly unusual form of discipline) which caused all the children within camera range to turn around in their seats (in virtually perfect synchrony), stare toward the back of the room (where the teacher was reprimanding a child quietly but intensely), and then, one at a time, turn back toward the chalkboard and resume chorusing responses at the appropriate intervals.

This use of choral work to recapture the focus of the group when it had been allowed to dissipate is also well illustrated by a brief segment of the morning routine taken from the field notes (see the excerpt in Appendix L and Figure 16 at the conclusion of Appendix L). During this period the children's attention had wandered, and Ms. Beauvoir used choral reading of the "room news" to concentrate their attention. This choral reading of the "room news" (a simple message printed on the chalkboard each day) was an established routine that took place most mornings at just about this juncture (just prior to having the children start their individual seatwork).

Symptoms of Loss of Dramatic Structure

The lesson with the least dramatic unity of any observed during the field work is charted on the next page in Figure 8 (based on the field notes in Appendix M). This lesson illustrates the difficulty even of establishing firm boundaries for a lesson in which there is not fairly clear dramatic unity. The boundaries that were chosen reflect the teacher's apparent intention (certainly her intention as



A: Teacher introduces observer and tells students to prepare to write.
B: Teacher sharpens students' pencils (has them line up at pencil sharpener, one row at a time).
C: Teacher elicits that it is the President's birthday and discusses this with class.
D: Teacher leads the class in singing "Happy Birthday" and "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" (*reprimands one student for not singing).
E: Teacher shows the class a picture of Chinese children, tells them about a television program she saw that morning (Chinese children singing), and leads discussion of this. (*A child reminds the teacher she said they were going to write.)
F: Teacher tells class they will now mark their personal calendars. Transition while children get calendars out from beneath their desks and mark them.
G: Following the teacher's instructions, children find particular words in their dictionaries and discuss them with teacher.
H: Teacher leads a discussion of dental health (many nonverbal signs of distress in children, followed slowly by responding appropriately to the discussion).
I: Teacher leads a discussion of stroke.
J: Transition while teacher gets some ditto sheets she promises to give the class after they write.
K: Teacher leads a discussion of clothing (colors of clothing worn by various functionaries and how their clothes tell you what they do). Students respond eagerly.
L: Teacher discusses Well Child Clinic (starting with what the nurses wear).
M: Teacher has class stand up and stretch thoroughly. As they sit down and teacher organizes -- promising the class they will write as soon as she shows them some pictures — there is an intercom announcement.
N: Teacher shows the class a variety of pictures of people wearing different types of clothing and leads a discussion about what clothing tells you about people and situations. Children respond immediately, focusing eagerly on the discussion and staying at a high level of focus in spite of one lengthy transition between pictures and one intercom announcement (which they and teacher ignore). (*Teacher tells the class they will write after the next picture, the sixth.)
O: Teacher rebukes a child for calling out in excitement, discusses the sixth picture with the class, then signals the class they are getting too noisy and tells them to close their eyes while she discusses a film and a story in their reader.
P: Teacher shows the class a seventh picture and discusses it with them, then talks about several stories in the reader.
Q: Teacher leads a discussion of the clothes she, the children, and the observer are wearing.
R: Long interruption (teacher talks with a woman bringing newspapers).
S: Teacher reprimands class for talking during interruption, responds to children's delaying tactics.
T: Teacher writes the sentence for the writing lesson on the chalkboard ("Clothes tell us many things about people"), and the children copy the sentence into their notebooks.
U: Teacher has the class read the sentence in unison and then comments on their unusual interest in clothes.
V: Transition to other activities.

Figure 8. "WRITING" LESSON (MS. ANDERSON'S CLASS)

the children perceived it, judging by their periodic reminders that they thought this was a writing lesson). The segment recorded in Figure 8 begins when the teacher tells the first graders to prepare for a writing lesson and ends, almost fifty minutes later, when they actually copy a short writing sentence into their notebooks ("Clothes tell us many things about people") and then read the sentence back to the teacher and discuss it with her. Between the beginning and end of this lesson the teacher introduces more extraneous matter than topics obviously related to the theme of writing, and she socializes for a full two minutes with an unexpected visitor who brings her some teaching materials.

The apparent intent of the teacher was to expand a routine activity (the writing lesson) by weaving in related but more interesting topics for discussion. There is a logical relationship controlling the order in which the teacher introduced the topics of discussion, but it is a fortuitous logic that seemed to be more apparent to the teacher than to the children. From the teacher's point of view there was only one digression from the writing lesson, and she accounted for that when she said, after sharpening the students' pencils, "I want to talk a little first." She then proceeded to introduce a series of highly diverse topics (the President's birthday; the Chinese New Year; the children's calendars; words in their dictionaries (connected with the month of February); Dental Health Month; and a new operation for stroke patients -- which were connected by virtue of being current in the "news column." All of the ensuing discussion (except for unplanned interruptions)

had to do with clothes and was probably part of the writing lesson, in the teacher's planning. However, it was impossible for the children to perceive the discussions of clothes -- which clearly interested them -- as part of the writing lesson, since they did not know the content of the writing lesson until Ms. Anderson wrote a sentence on the board for them to copy.

Ms. Anderson, during this lesson, gave no indication that she understood how unconnected, from the point of view of the children, the topics from the "news column" were with the writing assignment or with one another. She exhorted the children rather frequently to learn to "change activities gracefully," apparently unaware that most adults would have had difficulty responding gracefully to such abrupt changes in topics with so little perceivable relationship to one another.

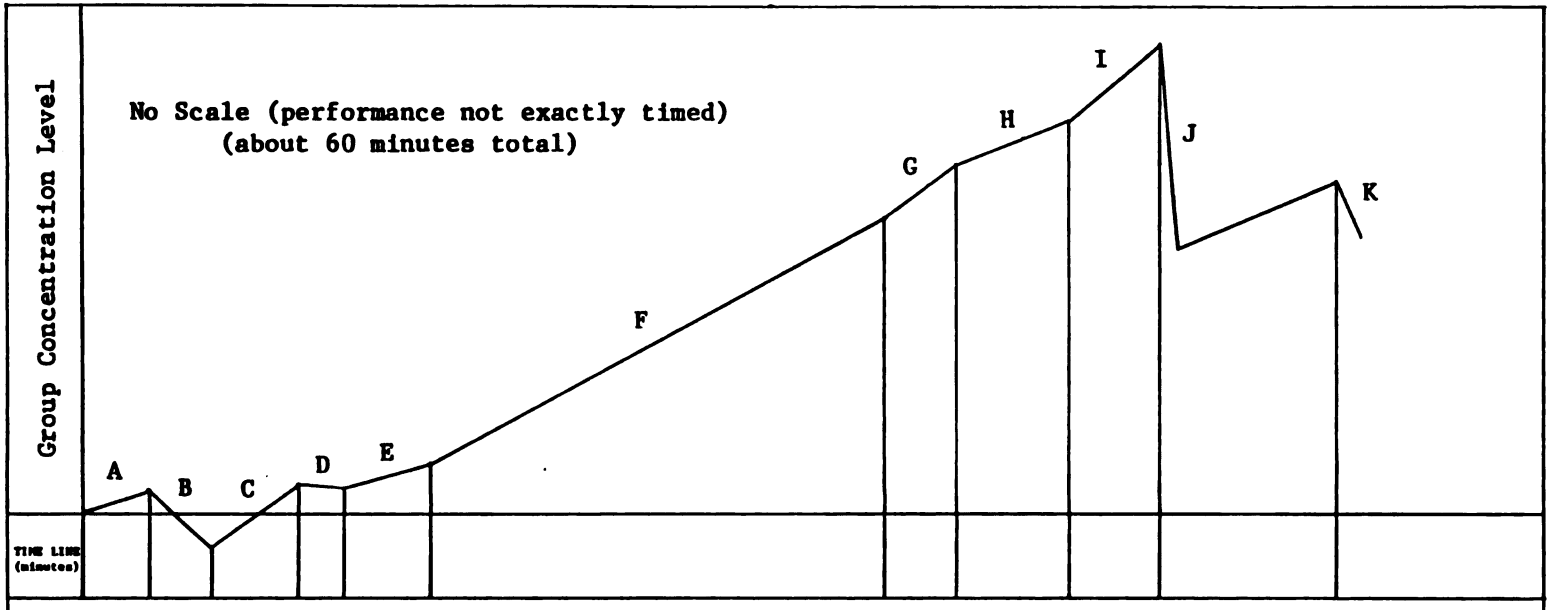
The Shape of Arts Activities

The field notes for lessons taught by arts consultants (the aesthetic education program staff or the Orff music teacher at Vineland) or by artists-in-the-schools (Ms. Dancer, the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery poet-in-residence, or the mime who gave a performance for the students at Pine Manor charted in Figure 9) yield charts that are much simpler in structure than those of lessons taught by classroom teachers. Even so, these charts reveal some complexities that seem to be related to the school setting. The clearest of these charts is of a half-hour Orff music lesson at Vineland, based on the field notes in Appendix N and charted in Figure 17 at the end of that appendix. Ms. Anderson's first-grade

class had this lesson the same day they had the complex writing lesson just discussed. The chart at the conclusion of Appendix N (Figure 17) demonstrates that the class responded eagerly to a coherent arts experience.

A chart of another arts-based school activity (a mime performance at Pine Manor) also illustrates the simpler structure of an arts event for which time is set aside for the entire school so that the likelihood of extraneous interruptions becomes very small indeed. This chart follows on the next page as Figure 9. It is based on field notes in Appendix O. This chart has a feature that will be discussed in more detail later (pages 195 - 200) but should be mentioned here. The line of engagement actually dips below the baseline at the beginning of the mime's performance, when the children's behavior suggested that they were distrubed by the unfamiliar behavior of the mime, before they comprehended what his performance meant. Such a "dip" -- observed three times during the research but never in a lesson led by a classroom teacher -- connotes active rejection of the content of the lesson by the students rather than mere passive wandering of attention and appears to be a phase of particularly intense arts experiences, which challenge the participants' habitual modes of perceiving their world to the extent of provoking resistance.

Another feature of the mime presentation which betrays its educational intent is that there are two distinct climaxes in the chart in Figure 9, the first at the highly participatory climax of the mime performance and the second at the end of a final question



A: Principal introduces mime, who comes onto stage.
B: Mime begins talking conversationally to audience, explaining what mime is.
C: Gradually mime begins a performance; children are laughing before they seem aware the performance has started.
D: Mime finishes performance and talks conversationally to audience again.
E: Mime has the audience practice several simple mime exercises.
F: Mime gives a series of short performances (explaining a little between skits).
G. Mime calls for volunteers to help with final skit; chooses a small group from many volunteers.
H: Mime rehearses his helpers and the audience for the skit.
I: Mime, helpers, and audience enact the final performance.
J: Mime addresses audience conversationally, answers their questions about mime.
K: Performance is over and mime leaves the stage.

Figure 9. MIME PERFORMANCE AT PINE MANOR

and answer period during which the mime instructed the audience about his art form. The performance mode of presentation seems to be no more suitable than the contest mode for the S-shaped engagement curve schematically presented in Figure 4 on page 163 (a peculiarly didactic focusing of attention, to allow for the task structure's becoming more difficult as the lesson nears the instructional climax). Since the mime clearly intended to teach as well as to entertain, his only alternative to the didactic S-curve was to engage the audience in a new lesson with its own, less intense dramatic structure. (He also interspersed performance with an informal didactic style of presentation during which he discussed the art form or had the audience practice simple mime exercises, but these interspersals, while they tended to slow down the rate at which the audience was focusing in on the performances, did not require the audience to demonstrate their assimilation of the content of the occasion to nearly the extent that the subsequent question and answer period did.) This second event might also be interpreted as a type of denouement, allowing for a slow let-down from the peak of excitement produced by the participatory performance.

A very similar tactic was used by language arts specialist Ms. Gladstone with the first reading group in the lesson depicted in Figure 11 on page 194. It should be noted here that, while the chart of Ms. Gladstone holding two similar poetry-reading sessions with two consecutive reading groups is complex compared to the chart of the mime performance in Figure 9, the internal structure of each poetry-reading session is simple in comparison to the

mathematics and language arts contests charted in Ms. Abbott's room (Figures 6 and 15). It is only the number of simultaneous activities Ms. Gladstone was supervising and the interruptions characteristic of the elementary school (for instance, the noisy students in the hall that Ms. Gladstone left one reading group to supervise) that make Figure 11 seem complex in comparison to Figure 9. All the charts of arts activities, whether taught by arts specialists or by classroom teachers, appear to have relatively simple internal structure (fewer segments of activity, more simply described) than charts of straightforward academic lessons (except for the drill and practice boardwork recorded in Ms. Beauvoir's room). Figures 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 record arts lessons observed for this study.

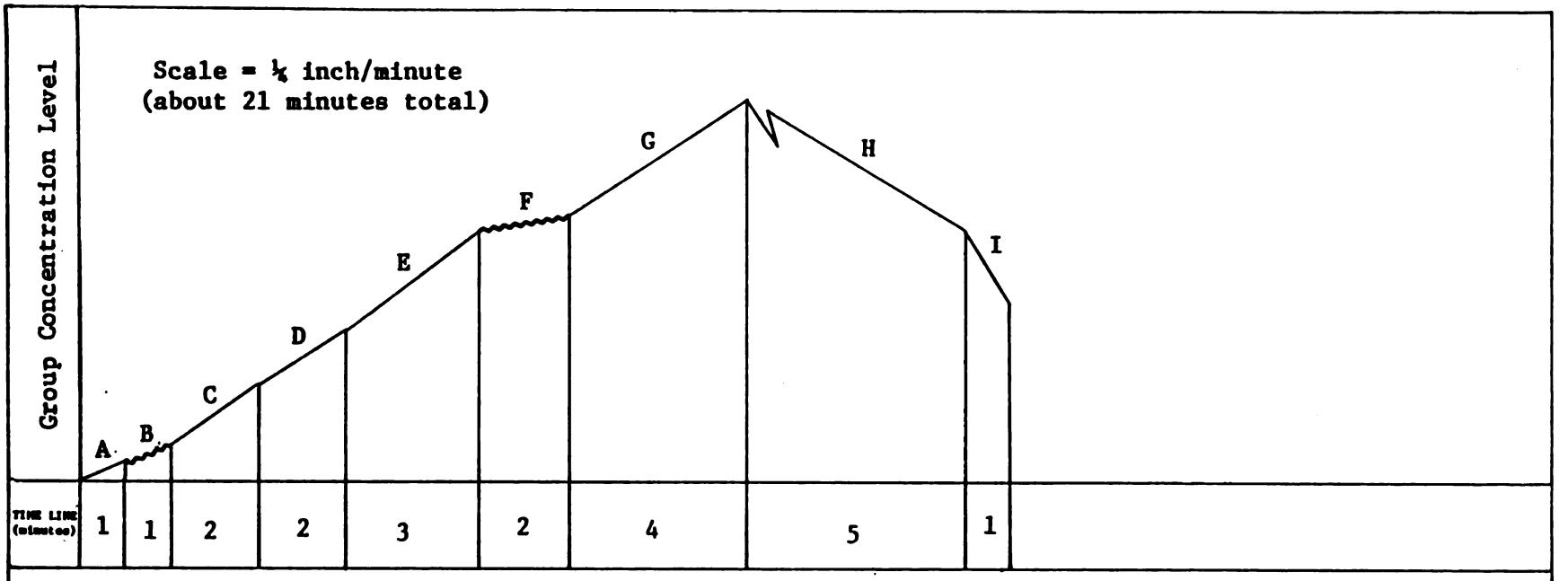
Child-Structured Events with Dramatic Structure

Several of the observed lessons, especially in Ms. Beauvoir's room where children were given a great deal of free time and encouraged to use it constructively, seemed educationally significant as well as structurally coherent, even though the teacher had little or nothing to do with them. Figure 10 (based on the field note excerpt found in Appendix P) illustrates a lesson that deviated from excellent dramatic structure only because the teacher and the children apparently had different agendas or foci of interest. The children were challenged by a perceived arts problem, while the teacher had routine academic objectives in mind and appeared to be unaware that the children found the arts assignment difficult and

were more interested in solving the arts problem than in following her directions to the letter. Figure 10 follows on the next page.

Another child-structured lesson with very simple but good dramatic structure took place at the rear of Ms. Beauvoir's room, around a free-standing easel with reading charts, while the top reading group was engaged in a lesson Ms. Beauvoir considered particularly motivating, in the reading circle at the front of the room. The reading lesson (which included the popping and eating of popcorn, to reinforce a story about "Our Senses") might be considered a strong potential source of distraction for the rest of the students, but the children who gathered around the reading charts in the rear of the room appeared to ignore it altogether. (However, it was not entirely clear in context that the children's work with the reading charts was entirely unrelated to the reading circle activity. It may be that the children hoped the teacher would notice how constructively they had been using their time during this period, in hopes she would reward them by giving them some of the popcorn. If so, they were remarkably good actors, and the stratagem worked.)

The chart of the students' self-initiated study of the reading charts (shown occurring in the same time period as the reading circle activity, another classroom activity with rather coherent structure) is given in Figure 18 at the conclusion of Appendix Q, after the excerpt from the field notes on which it is based.



A: Teacher announces writing activity and discusses norms for use of classroom bathroom.
B: Teacher gives directions for writing (a few children are out of their seats).
C: Teacher begins to write the sentence on the board (causing students to scurry back to their seats). Students copy the sentence, and the teacher gives them some evaluation.
D: Teacher gives directions for the drawing to illustrate the writing lesson. (Children react by saying, "OOH!" when teacher draws an apple for them to copy.)
E: Children work on the drawing task (using a variety of problem-solving techniques).
F: Teacher rebukes children for gathering at Andrew's desk to look at his drawing, then interrupts lesson to send a child on an errand. (Some children ignore all of this and draw.)
G: Students discuss apples with the teacher and continue working on solving the drawing problem (some turn to observer for assistance and some to one another).
H: Teacher begins checking the writing assignment, rebukes students who failed to follow directions and drew more than one apple. (Many students hurriedly erase excess apples.)
I: Transition to the next activity.

Figure 10. WRITING LESSON, DRAWING LESSON (MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS)

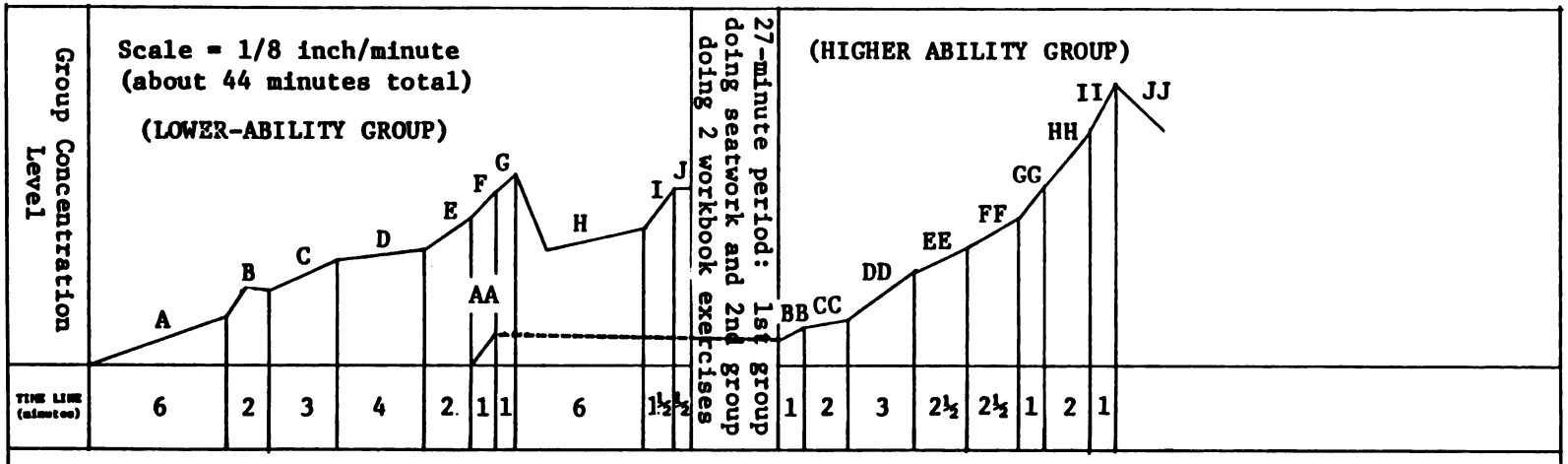
Complexities of Dramatic Structure in the Classroom

In contrast with the rather simple, straightforward dramatic unity observed in the arts events (for instance, the mime performance depicted in Figure 9); in the choral routines observed in Ms. Beauvoir's first-grade classroom (as in Figure 7); and in children's self-initiated activities (as in Figure 10), lessons orchestrated by a classroom teacher were frequently highly complex. When the teacher was unable to structure a lesson as a whole event with perceived unity for the children, the group's focus on lesson content would tend to fluctuate without relationship to the "point" of the lesson, as demonstrated most vividly in Figure 8. Figure 5 (depicting the lesson on writing a diamanté in Ms. Abbott's room) illustrates one type of complexity observed in lessons that clearly seemed to "work" for the children: using a short, introductory lesson with clear dramatic structure as a "teaser" for the main instructional event, to ensure that children would focus quickly and with minimum difficulty on the more complex main event. It also illustrates a device only Ms. Abbott was observed using successfully: deliberately incorporating a routine break in instruction into the lesson, as another kind of "teaser" to heighten the suspense of the event for the class.

Figure 11 (depicting two consecutive reading groups that met during Ms. Gladstone's lower track, fifth-grade language arts class) illustrates another kind of complexity observed fairly frequently in Ms. Beauvoir's class as well as during this lesson in Ms. Gladstone's class: deliberately using a group which is not

currently interacting with the teacher as audience for a high-intensity activity by the group engaging in a teacher-led lesson. This tactic, like those used by Ms. Abbott, serves as a "teaser" for the "audience" group (as well, perhaps, as an incentive for the group working with the teacher to perform well). It only occurs when the "audience" will be having the same or a very similar type of experience later, so that the activities they observe focus their attention and prepare them to participate in the later event the teacher has planned for them. During the events when the teacher welcomes the rest of the class as an audience, the major observable characteristics of the experience are that the audience members attend to what is going on in the teacher-led group (sometimes stopping their assigned tasks to do so), and the teacher does not reprimand them for their loss of focus on what they are supposed to be doing but rather encourages their audience behavior, though usually by nonverbal rather than verbal signals. Figure 11 follows on the next page, and the field notes on which Figure 11 is based are found in Appendix R.

The language arts reading groups depicted in Figure 11 have another characteristic of most teacher-led lessons which adds to their complexity: in both reading groups there is more than one climax to the teacher-led events (or more than one "point" to the lesson). In the lower ability reading group (in which students were still having difficulty with the mechanics of reading and writing) there were two consecutive dramatic structures, developing around highly related themes (the poem that was the topic of the lesson and



FIRST GROUP:

A: Teacher introduces lesson, discusses difficult words in poem with group, helps them find poem in book, and discusses illustration of poem with group.
B: Teacher reads poem aloud for group and leads follow-up discussion on rhyming words (unsuccessful, students are unable to identify rhyming words).
C: Teacher re-reads poem more slowly, with greater emphasis on sound qualities, one student "gets" it, and teacher leads successful discussion of rhyming words. Teacher has students read poem silently and then discusses the main idea with them.
D: Teacher has each of the four students read poem aloud, with coaching from her.
E: Teacher has each student read poem aloud for the tape recorder.
F: Teacher plays the tape (all students in the room are obviously listening).
G: Students discuss their performances with the teacher.
H: Teacher discusses with the group the qualities they want in friends (friendship is the theme of the poem) and writes a list of qualities elicited by the discussion on the chalkboard.
I: Students individually write lists of qualities they want in their friends (lists not checked by teacher).
J: Teacher summarizes the lesson and dismisses the group.

SECOND GROUP:

AA: Students listen to the tape the first group has just made.
BB: Teacher has students turn to a poem in their reader and discusses the difficult words in the poem with them.
CC: Teacher has large group read the poem silently while she sets up the tape recorder.
DD: Teacher reads the poem aloud and holds a group discussion of it.
EE: Teacher has four students read the poem individually (the group claps for one particularly rhythmic performance).
FF: Teacher has the four students read the poem individually for the tape recorder (followed by applause from the group). (If the first group is listening, they do not applaud.)
GG: Group listens to the tape (followed by applause). (First group appears not to be involved.)
HH: Teacher suggests the entire group try reading the poem chorally since there is no more time for individual reading. She sets ground rules, has the group practice reading chorally, then tape records their final choral reading.
II: Group listens to the taped choral reading, then applauds their performance.
JJ: Teacher dismisses the second group, as individuals comment to one another on their performance.

Figure 11. POETRY STUDY, POETRY READING (MS. GLADSTONE'S CLASS)

the theme of the poem, friendship). The structuring of this entire twenty-seven minute reading lesson is identical to the structuring of the mime performance depicted in Figure 9, a "doing" activity followed by a discussion of the implications of that activity (the latter a separate event with its own dramatic structure).

By contrast the second reading group (in which the students had considerably more advanced reading skills than in the first group) participated in a series of teacher-led activities that were not thematically related. The only one of these activities depicted on the chart in Figure 11 is the reading and discussion of a poem in the reader (an activity which was isomorphic to the entire lesson for the first reading group). The high point of this lesson -- reading the poem for a tape recorder -- was the high-energy activity for which the second group had served as audience during the first group's lesson with the teacher; and apparently witnessing the first group's activity was sufficient to structure the activity for the second group and enable them to focus on it quickly and effectively, after twenty-seven minutes of intervening instruction on unrelated topics (which is treated as a break in instruction on the chart in Figure 11).

Intensities of Dramatic Structure Incompatible with Classrooms

As suggested during the discussion of the mime performance (Figure 9), there were unmistakable signs of resistance to the demands of three of the observed arts-related lessons, when apparently the students were asked to make perceptual and conceptual

leaps so large as to be uncomfortable for them. Classroom teachers were never observed structuring lessons in ways that produced this degree of initial resistance from students. In all three of the observed lessons that produced resistance (the mime performance; the tutoring session charted in Figure 12 below; and a poet-in-residence session at the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery which produced an arts experience so intense that, lacking a videotaped record of the event, the researcher made no attempt to record the event in detail or to chart it) resistance was evident at the beginning of the event but was overcome as students were "hooked" by the inherent attractiveness of the experience and focused on meeting its demands. It is entirely possible that some people develop permanent distaste for art forms with which they have had experiences that evoked this type of resistance but that were not sufficiently attractive to overcome the initial distaste.

Since the learning associated with the arts has to do with becoming more aware of and responsive to sensory qualities, it seems unlikely that anyone can learn to have truly intense aesthetic experiences without occasionally having to deal with events that challenge their habitual perceptual and conceptual responses so severely as to produce the kind of discomfort exhibited by students on these occasions. The fact that two of the three observations documenting this phenomenon were of lessons led by professional artists (the mime and Ms. Dancer) and that the third was intended to help the student participate more successfully in Ms. Dancer's poet-in-residence program supports the suspicion that this degree of

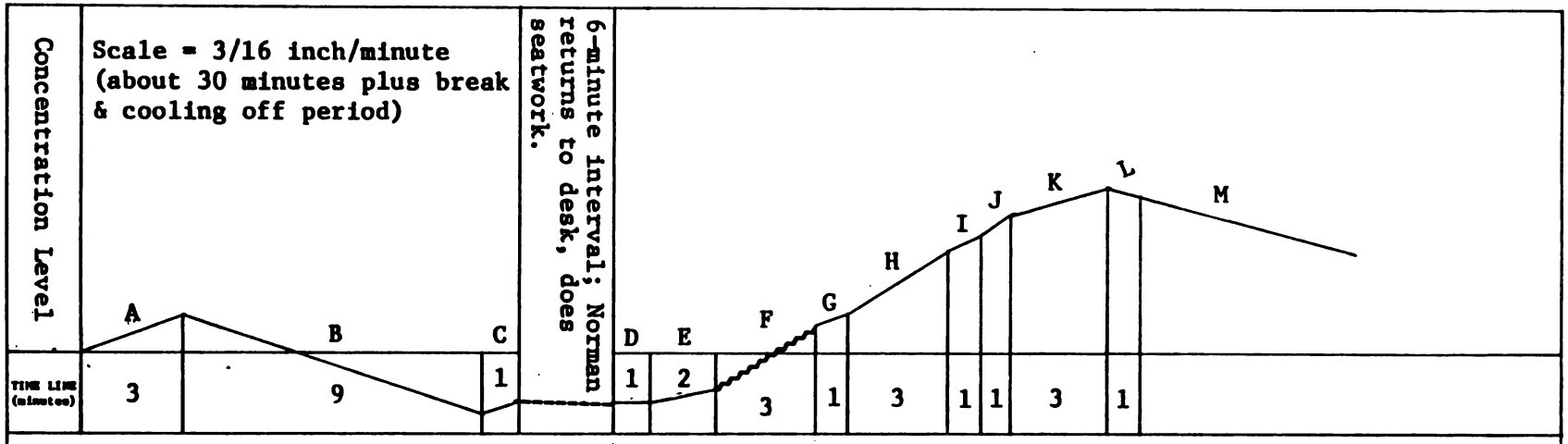
"stretching" from preconceived perceptual and conceptual responses to more aware responses is innately characteristic of arts events at their most developed.

Because the most intense of the three observations exhibited this "stretching" most vividly, it will be described here although in less detail than the more adequately documented observations. Ms. Dancer was working with a Trapeer Junior High sixth-grade class that contained many children who had been involved in the poet-in-residence program the year before when they had been in Ms. Gladstone's "enrichment" fifth-grade language arts class. They had experienced intense imagery-evoking sessions when participating in the program the previous year and had developed a high level of trust in Ms. Dancer and the two actor/mimes with whom she worked. During their first sixth-grade session, Ms. Dancer and the two actor/mimes told the class that this session would immerse them in an "ocean" of sound and that they would then write poetry "transposing" the sound qualities and rhythms of Longfellow's prologue to Evangeline into their own original poetry.

After leading some sound "transposing" exercises and writing the words students suggested on a chalkboard for their future reference, Ms. Dancer and the two actor/mimes began reading the Evangeline prologue over and over and over and over, with one reader frequently overlapping another. Even though the children had been warned that they would quickly lose all sense of the meaning and would only be aware of the sound qualities, almost a third of the class showed signs of distress during this experience, wandering

disconsolately around the room and whispering discontently with neighbors (behaviors never observed at any other time during the observations of the poet-in-residence program). Several observers were sure that Ms. Dancer had irretrievably "lost" the group's attention and that the exercise was not going to "work." By the end of the exercise, however, four children were asleep and the rest appeared to be virtually mesmerized. By this time two of the exercise leaders would read the prologue (deliberately out of synchrony) while the third would draw the children's attention to aspects of the experience they should attend to. While still in this virtual trance the children wrote extraordinary poetry, which not only reflected the rhythms and sound qualities of the Evangeline prologue but also the mood.

The following chart (Figure 12) is based on the field note excerpt found in Appendix S. Figure 12 is found on the next page. It appears to be an example not only of rather painful "stretching" through a poetry-writing experience but of an individual student's "teachable moment," since Norman clearly asked for the help he received in making a far more drastic revision of his poem than he otherwise could have. Only the researcher's full availability for tutoring allowed the teacher to respond to Norman's "teachable moment." Ms. Abbott had never been observed working with any individual student for more than two minutes at a time. (The longest period during which any of the observed teachers worked individually with a student was five minutes when Ms. Beauvoir worked with a student in need of remedial help, fending off requests for attention



A: At teacher's request, observer works with 3 students who must revise poems for poet-in-residence program publication. Observer suggests ways they can make their poems less prosaic.

B: Norman objects to the degree of rewriting the observer suggests, gets visibly more upset as observer continues to make suggestions and discusses haiku form for his poem.

C: At observer's suggestion Norman asks teacher if he must rewrite immediately; she says no.

D: Norman hands his assigned seatwork to teacher, who comments on his distress (signs he has been crying) and tells him to work on his poem if he has finished all his other work.

E: Norman asks the observer for more help; they discuss his problem in rewriting. At the observer's suggestion Norman moves to rear table to work with observer.

F: Norman and observer break rewriting problem into short steps and shorten the poem drastically (Norman alternately resisting and cooperating enthusiastically in the process).

G: Norman reads shortened poem carefully and agrees his idea has not been changed.

H: Norman cuts poem to 17 syllables without further assistance.

I: Norman counts syllables, then reads completed poem and tells observer he likes it.

J: Norman takes completed poem to teacher and discusses it with her. Teacher tells him to thank observer and make clean copy of poem for Ms. Dancer (poet-in-residence).

K: Norman recopies poem and takes it back to teacher.

L: Norman and teacher joke mildly while Norman waits to give poem to teacher.

M: Norman "flips around the room" for a lengthy cooling off or denouement before settling back to work.

Figure 12. POETRY TUTORING SESSION (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

from other students.) It is a sign of Ms. Abbott's skill as a teacher that her class had many more intense educational experiences than most children have in school. Ms. Abbott accomplished this primarily by finding community resource persons to give the class experiences she felt unable to provide herself. Teachers who cannot provide the type of individual attention the observer was able to give Norman are undoubtedly wise, by and large, to avoid lessons so intense as to have the potential of "stretching" students, an experience which appears inevitably distressing at first.

Other Implications

The field notes yielded other types of structuring of classroom lessons than the major types discussed in this chapter. A few of these types that seem most significant are charted and presented in Appendices T - W, together with the field notes on which they are based.

For evidence of the powerful effects of coherent dramatic structure on student behavior, see Appendix U and Figure 21, describing the videotaped creative writing lesson in Ms. Abbott's sixth-grade room. During this session the writing exercise had to be cut short prematurely because the school day was ending and most of the students had schoolbuses to catch. Nevertheless, as many as half of the students continued to consult with the teacher about the problems and successes they were having with the writing assignment until the final closing exercises. After the class viewed the videotape of this lesson, a number of the students confided that they had experienced difficulties during the writing, partly because of the

unfamiliar instructional context and the lack of sufficient time to focus on the task but more because they were used to doing creative writing as part of their morning seatwork and being able to structure the experience for themselves in a way that was impossible during the group writing exercise. In spite of their difficulties during this introductory lesson, the Hawthorne effect seems to have been at work, for the class eventually turned in some of the best creative writing they had done all year.

See Appendix T for two charts of singing and dancing to the same familiar music in Ms. Beauvoir's first-grade room. One of these charts is of the videotaped episode of singing and dancing (described in the accompanying notes), and the other is of the episode described in the introduction (pages 5 - 6) and in Appendix T. The videotaped lesson (Figure 19) exhibited virtually perfect dramatic structure (exaggerated probably by the children's initial distraction by the presence of the videotape camera). Figure 20 (of the episode described in the introduction) also exhibits dramatic structure but more flawed.

For information about the effects of Ms. Fellows' "open" fifth/sixth-grade classroom on the structuring of classroom events, see Appendix V: A VERY SPECIAL MORNING IN MS. FELLOWS' "OPEN" CLASS (and Figure 22, the chart of the event). Even though most of the events that occurred during this morning lacked clear dramatic unity (almost by definition since Ms. Fellows had set up the preparations for presenting a musical comedy in a way that made it difficult for students to cooperate in inherently cooperative tasks),

the two actual performances demonstrate classic dramatic structure, reflecting the students' success in presenting the musical comedy as a dramatically unified event.

A particularly intriguing classroom that cannot be adequately analyzed because so much of what went on during visual arts instruction there was not observed in any other classroom was the sixth-grade classroom over which Ms. Youngblood presided at Far Oaks Elementary School. The excerpt from the field notes in Appendix W, for instance, was the only instance of an arts lesson that included direct instruction in principles of art criticism. It is also one of only two observed arts lessons that resulted in good arts products even though the dramatic structure of the lesson itself was rather flawed. The other such lesson -- the videotaped creative writing lesson in Ms. Abbott's room -- had in common with this lesson the type of art form involved. Both visual arts and literature normally are created by an individual working alone rather than by a group, in contrast to most performing arts activities. This characteristic of the visual arts by itself accounts for consistent differences in the focus of <u>group</u> attention in the "making" activities observed in Ms. Youngblood's room and in most of the other lessons discussed to date (academic as well as performing arts). In the visual arts classes observed in Ms. Youngblood's room there was often extreme lack of articulation of the activities in which individuals were engaged: students would be at all different stages of completion of the same art project, and often there was more than one project going on simultaneously.

It seems likely that the individual who creates a successful individual arts product must structure his or her own experience during the act of creation similarly to the group structuring of attention labeled dramatic structure. But the individual need not depend on the cooperation of the rest of the group for this focus. This may be the major reason that the charting of dramatic structure (recording group attentional focus) seems on an intuitive basis to explain less about the effects of visual arts experiences on classrooms than it explains about the effects of performing arts experiences. Indeed, it is probably an inappropriate way of describing what is happening in the classroom during a visual arts "making" activity. Most academic events (including group instruction in visual arts concepts, such as principles of art criticism) are inherently communal occasions and, as such, are appropriately described by the charting of dramatic structure.

Students' individual writing is similar in that charting of group attentional focus does not appropriately describe the focus that is necessary for the creation of the art product. But lessons preparing students to write (for instance, the diamanté-writing lesson in Ms. Abbott's room charted in Figure 5) are usually group-oriented in a way that Ms. Youngblood's instructions for her visual arts assignments did not seem to be. (Painting a group picture to instruct the students in the concepts they would need to paint individual pictures would obviously be both more difficult and less effective than the collective writing of a diamanté through which Ms. Abbott instructed her class in the diamanté form.) And lessons

in which the sound qualities of poetry or other literature are prominent (such as the poetry-reading lesson in Ms. Gladstone's classroom charted in Figure 11 or the "ocean of sound" poetry-writing lesson at the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery described on pages 197 - 198) remind one particularly vividly of literature's origin in the performing arts.

It would be interesting to delve more deeply into the similarities and differences among the visual arts, literature, and the performing arts, but the data on which this thesis is based do not permit it. A great many questions about the visual arts and their effects on classroom life cannot be answered here, if only because Ms. Youngblood was the only teacher observed who conducted more visual arts than performing arts or literature-based lessons. She induced her class to produce excellent visual art with a minimum of direct instruction in arts principles (usually presenting the class with clear instructions for a partially structured visual art problem, giving them examples of the sort of work she wanted them to do, and then monitoring their doing of the project). These projects were usually designed to highlight formal arts elements such as texture or shape, even though relatively little was usually said about these formal elements. The process was such a subtle one that consistent observation of Ms. Youngblood's art classes for a period of several months failed to throw much light on it.

General Observations about the Structuring of Classroom Events

Although based on qualitative criteria, the concept of dramatic structure does appear to be a useful one for analyzing the degree to which students are able to perceive lessons as whole events, unified by clear themes and eliciting students' voluntary interest in and concentration on the learning tasks given them. It also seems to help explain how a teacher orchestrates the efforts of a large classroom community (usually between twenty and thirty persons) so as to focus the attention of students on whole group, small group, and individual tasks.

Because of the extraordinary complexity of the teacher's task and the unpredictability of the interruptions during the time the teacher has planned to engage students in a teaching/learning event, the difficulties of presenting lessons coherently -- so that they can be perceived as unified wholes -- can hardly be exaggerated. Moreover, as the next chapter records, teachers in the Riverton school system are convinced that children are coming to school considerably less experienced in cooperating with others to produce coherent events than students just a few years ago. It is not surprising that, as Ms. Anderson told the researcher, classroom management techniques and "tricks" for engaging students' interest and attention which used to be adequate no longer "work," and teachers look to programs like the Riverton aesthetic education program for help in shaping students' attention and interest.

The simplicity of the structure revealed in the charts of arts-based lessons (Figures 5, 9, 11, 12, and even Figure 10, a student

identified arts problem) contrasts markedly with, for instance, the mathematics and language arts contests in Ms. Abbott's room (Figures 6 and 15) and particularly with the lack of coherent structure in Figure 8. (This simplicity is revealed, in part, by the relative shortness of segment descriptions for each arts-based dramatic structure, even though some of these events are embedded in rather more complex sequences of classroom events.) The ease with which the arts-based events can be perceived and held in memory, as contrasted with other lessons -- and the even more striking simplicity of structure in arts events led by professional artists and arts specialists, as shown in Figure 9 and in Figure 17 -- suggest strongly that the inherent structure of arts events might have the effect of giving children experience in structuring their interactions in ways that are useful for all classroom interactions and might make them more willing to do so, because of the inherent attraction of the arts experiences.

The choral routines in Ms. Beauvoir's room appeared to have much the same effect, even though they were considerably simpler in structure than most of the arts events and presumably less interesting for this reason. But the choral exercise observed in Ms. Anderson's room, reading the writing sentence in unison at the conclusion of the writing lesson depicted in Figure 8, did not have the effect of focusing the children's attention on the lesson and on one another. Presumably this lack of focus reflects these children's relative lack of experience with choral routines -- much less apparent during observations of Ms. Anderson's room than

during observations of Ms. Beauvoir's room -- and their concomitant relative lack of skill in ensemble performance.

The charts in this chapter that demonstrate dramatic structure seem to be of two different types: 1) charts of lessons in which students were engaging in a familiar performance; and 2) charts of lessons in which students were presented with some new content and expected to learn something about it. Charts of the first type (such as singing and dancing to familiar music in Ms. Beauvoir's room, depicted in Figures 19 and 20 in Appendix T, or the academic contests in Ms. Abbott's room) show the students' excitement and involvement level increasing steadily up to a clear climax, after which the students disengage. Charts of the second type (for instance, Figures 5, 9, 11, and 12) either show the S-shaped curve schematized in Figure 4 -- reflecting an increase in difficulty of task structure at the "assimilation" stage -- or (as in the mime performance and in Ms. Gladstone's first reading group, shown in Figures 9 and 11) a performance with dramatic structure which reaches a clear peak, followed by a decrease in involvement level and then a second, more deliberative event with dramatic structure of its own.

Chart 11 is particularly interesting in this regard, as the first group's curve is of the second type whereas the second group, engaged in a very similar activity, produced an engagement curve of the first type. But it was clear in context that the concepts that were presented to the first group as new content (for instance, rhyme) were assumed to be familiar territory for the second group,

so that an activity from which the less advanced group was expected to learn something new appeared to be regarded primarily as reinforcement of already mastered concepts for the second group.

It is not clear from the data gathered for this study how the visual arts affect the dramatic structuring of classroom events or even whether they do. The inherently individual nature of most visual arts experiences suggests that the effects, if they exist, would be quite different from those of the performing arts (and even of literature and creative writing). But there are simply not enough observations of visual arts-based classroom activities in the data to enable one to draw even tentative conclusions. Some of the teachers whose views are summarized in the next chapter reported that they emphasized the visual arts more than or to the same extent as the performing arts. Ms. Wilcox (principal of Oakcroft Elementary) reported using both visual and performing arts activities in her second-grade classroom when she was a teacher; and her discussion of the values of aesthetic education (already quoted in the introduction, page 8) does suggest that the performing arts are better at developing self discipline than the visual arts:

> I think that, if you could get children tuned in in kindergarten, first grade, to their senses, to their surroundings, their environment, the discipline that comes with the performing arts, that they fall into the core subjects so much easier and they learn so much faster.

However, for the most part, there was no discernible difference in the views of teachers who preferred the visual arts and teachers who preferred the performing arts. All teachers were in substantial

agreement that aesthetic education develops greater sensory awareness in children; motivates both children and teachers and makes for a happier, more productive classroom climate; and helps children learn to be more self disciplined and more cooperative with classmates and with the teacher.

The classroom events reported in this chapter and the concept that the inherent structuring of the performing arts seems to facilitate lessons of all types provide a limited reality base from which to judge what teachers had to say in interviews about their uses of aesthetic education. The actual experiences from which other participants in the program spoke in their interviews are not so clear but perhaps can be inferred from their roles: principal; volunteer teacher aide; aesthetic education consultant; local teacher trainer; local central administrator; and CEMREL curriculum developer/disseminator. These roles will be discussed in chapter five before the major discussion of the interviews themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE: WHAT PARTICIPANTS THINK ABOUT AESTHETIC EDUCATION

> Riverton Aesthetic Education Specialist: "I've redefined [aesthetic education] so many times I don't think I'd want to any more."

Ms. Raines, the Riverton Aesthetic Education Specialist, felt she was caught in the middle between two incompatible conceptions of aesthetic education, that of the non-specialist classroom teacher and that of the professionally-trained CEMREL curriculum developer/disseminator. At one extreme a classroom teacher defined aesthetic education without mentioning that it was arts-based:

> To me aesthetic education -- it's a lot of fun ... with good learning in it.... Children learn from it and do it without thinking it's really ... like school work.... It's not like ... you have to learn your math facts, you have to learn how to spell this -- it's just ... a lot of fun that everybody can get involved in.

At the other extreme a CEMREL curriculum developer/disseminator would not acknowledge an activity as aesthetic education unless it was based on the teacher's conscious teaching of arts concepts, emphasizing arts elements.

> The minimum criteria [for identifying aesthetic education] would be language use ... intentional objectives and concepts that relate to the arts, and activities that would engage the kids in arts processes.... If the teacher sees that they've got ten minutes before recess and says, "Draw a picture" ... that's an activity, that's killing time, that's not aesthetic education.... If there is nothing that deals with shape or structure or form or line or ... any of that kind of thing, then ... there's no instruction going on. It's just a fun activity, that may have intrinsic worth just because the kids enjoy it.

This chapter explores the meanings of aesthetic education to a variety of participants in the Riverton aesthetic education program. Most of the information presented here comes from seventeen detailed interviews, held in a variety of settings that reflect the tightness with which time is scheduled in elementary schools. All three principals interviewed scheduled appointments during the week after school was out, a week for tidying up. Two of the six teachers scheduled their interviews during their final work day, again after the children had left for their summer vacation. The remaining four teachers graciously arranged for interviews before school began in the morning, during recess, or even in the classroom while the children were busy with seatwork. Only the central office administrative staff and respondents who were not employed by the school system scheduled appointments with ease during normal working hours.

One of the interviews was with Mr. Tannenbaum (Director of the CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group), and sixteen were with local participants in the Riverton aesthetic education program: six teachers (in grades two through six); three elementary principals; two Junior League members who had coordinated the Junior League's support of the aesthetic education program during two of the early years (Ms. Forrest and Ms. McNeil); all three aesthetic education program staff (Ms. Raines, Ms. Vinson, and Ms. Yarrow); the central office administrator who had been Assistant Superintendent for Instruction when the program began in 1972 and was largely responsible for the details of its early implementation (Mr. Bird); and a professor of education at Riverton State University who was responsible

for the annual Riverton State summer training workshop in aesthetic education (Dr. Thomas). The six teachers were Ms. Abbott (sixth-grade teacher at Pine Manor, one of the two target teachers for observation); Ms. Carberry (second-grade teacher at Victory Road); Ms. Lewis (fourth/fifth-grade teacher at Ardennes); Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy); Ms. Sondheim (second-grade teacher at River Haven); and Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy). The three principals were Mr. Croft (Pine Manor); Mr. Groves (Ingham Place); and Ms. Wilcox (Oakcroft).

All seventeen interviews were designed to elicit the respondent's conception of aesthetic education. In addition, the interviews with all sixteen local participants in the Riverton aesthetic education program included questions meant to elicit descriptions of their experiences with the program. A description of the procedures used in these relatively open-ended interviews is found in Appendix E. For more information about the individuals who were interviewed see Appendix G, a brief description of all the data sources for this study. In addition to the information elicited in the interviews, some information from documentary sources listed in Appendix G is used in this chapter.

Conceptions of Aesthetic Education

Continuum Influencing Perceptions of Program

A handy way of thinking about differences in perspective concerning aesthetic education is the continuum visualized in Figure 13 below. The roles that seem to influence respondents'

perceptions of aesthetic education strongly fall neatly along a continuum between those most constrained by the organization and structure of the site at which instruction occurs (classroom teachers) and those least constrained by considerations of classroom management (CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators). This continuum, labeled "classroom context-embeddedness continuum," is shown in Figure 13 below.

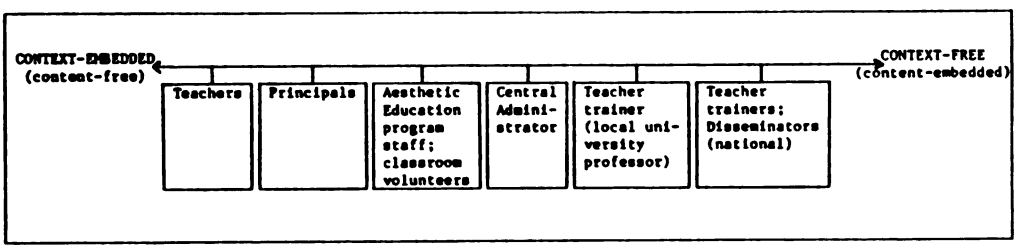


Figure 13. CLASSROOM CONTEXT-EMBEDDEDNESS CONTINUUM

At the "context-free" end of the continuum, the national level developers and disseminators of the curriculum were more constrained by other considerations than by the practical constraints on teaching any content in the interactive teaching/learning situation. These considerations were, first, the validity and general worth of the curriculum and, second, problems of persuading professional educators (particularly top administrative staff of school systems) of the worth of the curriculum. Thus, in their descriptions of the nature of aesthetic education, they were concerned primarily with the quality of the arts content to which elementary children were exposed through the program and relatively indifferent to the problems of implementation posed by the organizational and time constraints

of public elementary schools. Those at the other end of the continuum (especially teachers and principals) were primarily concerned in their discussions of the nature of aesthetic education with general values which they felt the aesthetic education curriculum conveys, within the real constraints under which schools operate. These were values such as general "awareness," facilitating independent work and a strong sense of community in classrooms, and release of innate creativity and expressiveness in ways that do not hinder teaching and learning but help classroom climate. Teachers and principals, in general, appeared to be relatively indifferent to the quality of the arts content through which these values were conveyed, at least as judged by professional standards.

Since those at the "context-free" end of the continuum were preoccupied with the quality of the content, a secondary continuum is embedded in the "classroom context-embeddedness" continuum shown in Figure 13: "content-embedded" versus "content-free." In general, those at the "context-free" end of the continuum had had the most professional arts training of the respondents and felt most constrained by the standards of professional groups with which they identified (theater educators, in the case of Mr. Tannenbaum, and music educators, in the case of Dr. White). Those at the "context-embedded" end of the continuum, in general, had had the least arts training of the respondents and felt least constrained by professional standards in the arts disciplines they incorporated into their curricula, while those in the middle of the "context-embeddedness" continuum also tended to fall in the center of the

"content-embeddedness" continuum. However, in those cases where individuals did not happen to fall in the same place on the two continua (individuals who had had more arts training than their role absolutely required, for instance), it was clear that "context-embeddedness" was of higher priority than "content-embeddedness." The most dramatic indication that this is so was Ms. Raines' interview responses, which resembled those of teachers and principals more than they resembled those of the two national level disseminator/trainers, even though Ms. Raines had had professional training and experience in theater and strong avocational training in all of the performing arts and in literature. Her background was quite similar to that of Mr. Tannenbaum. However, in her position as coordinator of the Riverton aesthetic education program, Ms. Raines had to work with principals and teachers to help them deal with the real demands of elementary school organization as they implemented the aesthetic education curriculum, whereas, in his position as Director of the CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group, Mr. Tannenbaum was concerned with disseminating aesthetic education techniques and materials to as broad a range of educational contexts as possible.

Teachers are clearly the most embedded in the day to day experience of the elementary school classroom. Principals also must adjust to the organizational demands of the classroom, since they serve as mediators between the intrinsic requirements of classroom teaching and the organizational demands of the school district and the school system. Next closest to the classroom context are the

three Riverton aesthetic education program staff and (during the early history of the program) the Junior League volunteers, all of whom had to fit into the classroom context although in a limited role. Then, in order of increasing distance from the classroom, come school district administrators, central office administrators, those responsible for training at the local level (Dr. Thomas, Riverton State professor), and those responsible for teacher training and dissemination at the national level (primarily Mr. Tannenbaum and Dr. White).

Only three of the respondents had had a professional level of training in any arts discipline: Mr. Tannenbaum (in theater and theater education); Dr. White (in music and music education); and Ms. Raines (in theater and communication arts). A few of the other respondents had had more arts training than was absolutely required for the roles they played in the program or had had close personal association with arts professionals. These respondents, Ms. Abbott (sixth-grade teacher at Pine Manor), Ms. Forrest (Junior League volunteer), and Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy), expressed some awareness of professional standards in their interviews but discussed aesthetic education more in terms of general educational values than in terms of the quality of the arts content to which students were exposed. Judging from observations of Ms. Abbott teaching arts content, her awareness of professional standards, if it had any effect on her actual practice, made her more reluctant to teach arts concepts directly than teachers who had had less arts training. (This same awareness, however, may

have been behind her eagerness to expose her students to professional artists and other community resources in the arts, for, unlike other teachers who were interviewed, she thought it was important for students to have excellent instruction in the arts.)

Differences in Perspective among Respondents

The ways in which various participants in the aesthetic education program talked about the nature of the curriculum and its educational values varied, depending apparently mostly on the roles of the participants and the values for aesthetic education to which those roles committed them.

A good example of such discussion at the "context-free, content-embedded" end of the continuum just discussed is Mr. Tannenbaum's response to the question, "What would be your minimal criteria for aesthetic education, and how would you recognize these criteria in classroom activities?" He responded as a spokesman for the CEMREL point of view.

> Clearly I would be looking for: Are they dealing with aesthetic concepts, whether they're using our materials or not...? That would include teaching about arts elements, creative process as it relates to the arts, the role of different people in the arts ... and then applying that to environment, applying that to whatever else they want to apply it to. But I would be looking for the teacher's intentional teaching of aesthetic concepts, of concepts that are related to the arts and that are related to developing the perceptual skills [and], depending on the age level ... adding to the experiential and affective the more cognitive, critical thinking, analytic skills, making aesthetic judgment skills.... I would be looking for activities that would be arts based, I would be looking for activities that would involve kids with arts experiences ... having a dance company come in and so on....
>
> And I would be looking for: ... what ... vocabulary was the teacher using? Was the teacher using the vocabulary of

> aesthetics and the arts? Were the kids using that kind of vocabulary? When they talked about literature, even though it might be in the reading program ... if they're talking about a story, are they talking about the aesthetic elements of a story, not only what its social commentary is or that kind of thing...? Are they really discussing the use of language ... in terms of the expressive qualities of the language, are they talking about the structure of the story, are they talking about character analysis, are they talking about how the playwright creates the images or the short story teller ... use of onomotopeia, use of sounds ... as someone who really understands the art of literature might talk about a piece of literature? I would be looking for that kind of discourse....
>
> It would seem to me that ... the minimum criteria would be language use ... intentional objectives and concepts that relate to the arts, and activities that would engage the kids in arts processes. I would want to see those things happening in the classroom, whether they were using our materials or not....
>
> And, if the teacher sees that they've got ten minutes before recess and says, "Draw a picture" ... that's an activity, that's killing time, that's not aesthetic education.... They could just as easily be doing anything.... But, if there is nothing that deals with shape or structure or form or line or ... any of that kind of thing, then ... there's no instruction going on. It's just a fun activity, that may have intrinsic worth just because the kids enjoy it.

Mr. Tannenbaum's rationale for his point of view reflects aestheticians' historical debate over the relationship between freedom and constraints in art:

> In the arts ... there's freedom through discipline. But one has to understand the discipline, the structures, the limitations as well as the potentials that one is operating in, with a particular medium, and that's something to be learned.

As the excerpts from the field notes in chapter four and in the appendices illustrate, the degree of intentional teaching of arts concepts that Mr. Tannenbaum sets as a minimum criterion for aesthetic education was not observed at all in the Riverton schools, not even in the lessons taught by professional artists, although

they came close. Compare Mr. Tannenbaum's criteria for aesthetic education with the vague criteria suggested by the classroom teacher least familiar with the aesthetic education program (second-grade teacher at River Haven School, Ms. Sondheim):

> That is tough to define.... Don't you have a definite definition? To me aesthetic education -- it's a lot of fun. I mean, it's a lot of fun with ... good learning in it. I was once told what it really meant. Now I've forgotten ... but I think the children learn from it and do it without thinking it's really ... like school work.... It's not like ... you have to learn your math facts, you have to learn how to spell this -- it's just ... a lot of fun that everybody can get involved in.... If you don't know your math facts, you can't do the math. But, if you don't know aesthetic education, it's not that you can't do aesthetic education, because you can. Everybody can be involved in it, no matter how coordinated you are or how old or how young.... It is education but yet -- you don't want to say it's more on a fun side of education but -- loose?
>
> [Children] look forward to it [as they look forward to physical education or Orff music]. We had an art specialist that came, and they looked forward to seeing the things they [could] do with their bodies, their hands. It's not like the brain has to work ... constantly. There is brain working at this, but they don't see it that way. And I think it's just more of a fun type of learning on a different level.

Ms. Sondheim's confidence that "if you don't know aesthetic education, it's not that you can't do aesthetic education, because you can," stands in direct contradiction to Mr. Tannenbaum's insistence that, at a minimum, aesthetic education must not only teach students the discipline inherent in the arts but bring this discipline to their conscious attention, through use of arts vocabulary and arts concepts. Ms. Sondheim's attitude is that of naive or folk art, which is found in all known human cultures, whereas Mr. Tannenbaum reflects the consciousness characteristic of "high"

art, professionally developed, which is found only in a few, highly differentiated human societies and, even there, tends to be the art of a small elite rather than the masses. The difference is not so much in the nature of the art products and events as it is in the degree of self consciousness attached to the practice of the arts.

It is probable that the more conscious the artist is of the artistic process, the more subtle and more polished can be the artist's manipulation of formal properties of artistic media; and the more suffused the art event or product may be with the qualities that must be present in some degree if the event or product is to be recognizable as art. (See chapter one, pages 47 - 48 and 56 - 59, for a discussion of these qualities.) Most critics who have read the field notes for this study would agree that the arts lessons led by teachers or students are recognizable as art lessons but far less suffused with the qualities characteristic of the arts than those arts lessons led by art specialists or professional artists.

While Ms. Sondheim's recognition of the arts base of aesthetic education may be on the unselfconscious level of folk art, her discussion of aesthetic education is particularly clear in grounding the curriculum in the play impulse; and she recognizes that aesthetic education is learning "on a different level." These points echo, intriguingly, a rather theoretical discussion of aesthetic education by Dr. White, Director of the CEMREL Aesthetic Education Program and, like Mr. Tannenbaum, a national level disseminator of the curriculum. During a CEMREL-sponsored training workshop, Dr. White stressed the nonverbal cognitive dimensions of the arts disciplines:

> There's verbal telling about, and there's nonverbal telling about. Music tells us things, because we are able to make judgments about it and feel confident about those judgments.... Some of it we can agree on absolutely, [other judgments] may be personal, but it's told us something. It's told it to us without words, and that's very important. That's a different way of learning about the world you're in every day ... and it's a different way of thinking....
>
> We know that some of the greatest minds, some of the most inventive minds, have not thought in words -- have not thought in words at all. They've made tremendous discoveries by thinking in visual terms, for instance. We know Einstein did this. We know that most people who operate in the upper reaches of mathematics -- mathematics are not little symbols on the page, they're spatial concepts that people have.... It happens a tremendous amount of progress in our civilization has been made by people who think nonverbally. And, if all schools teach is verbal thinking, we're missing a whole big chunk of stuff for the society.

Perhaps the most complete definition of aesthetic education by someone who was not steeped in an arts discipline was that which was quoted on page 8 in the introduction, by Ms. Wilcox, principal of Oakcroft Elementary School. While her definition is a remarkably complete description of the transfer effects aesthetic education may have on other areas of the school curriculum, there is only one passing reference to arts concepts per se ("the discipline that comes with the performing arts"), which does not necessarily assume that direct instruction in arts concepts and vocabulary is essential if children are to acquire that discipline.

The conflict between the vision of aesthetic education expressed by the CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators and that expressed by classroom teachers and even by Ms. Wilcox is not readily resolvable. Ms. Raines, as director of the Riverton aesthetic education program, felt that she was caught in an uncomfortable way between

the two perspectives, which imply quite different things about her role. In spite of her disinclination to "redefine" the curriculum again, Ms. Raines discussed the nature of the curriculum in two interviews for this study. In the first she said:

> We're still going on the theory that it is a part of the whole educational process, that you can teach reading aesthetically ... there's a[n aesthetic] dimension to all of [the curriculum areas]. And so it isn't just teaching art per se or the processes of the arts.
>
> And I think that what the children would get from it is a greater perception and awareness ... of their surroundings -- at least we hope they do -- ... sound, light ... the whole thing. And I think that is about the only practical way to approach it, if you're using a classroom teacher....
>
> Whether [the children] would be able to do the arts processes to a skilled degree would be questionable, but they would at least understand the terminology and also something of what goes into it. And, even in their own environment, I think it would make an improvement. We've seen the schools improve, where they have really cared about it ... where the principal and everybody really throws themselves into it ... decorating everything ... and it's much, much happier.

In a later discussion she discussed the problems she has had in persuading teachers to use even the simplest of the arts vocabulary that Mr. Tannenbaum sees as a minimum criterion for aesthetic education:

> I think that it's more back to Dewey and people like that.... It's how everything is taught and perceived, through experimentation and doing and being aware.... It's just tuning your senses and getting into it.
>
> I do agree with CEMREL that there are concepts in the arts that need to be taught.... I'm just trying to get [teachers] to use the words "line" and "color" and "texture" and "volume" and "shape," ... and they talk ... about just doing an "activity."
>
> So I guess the definition that I would have is, again, just involving all of the senses and using it throughout the curriculum, whether it be the way Louise [Rausch] does, to

> enliven a biology ... lesson using creative dramatics, or to use it for its own sake. I think it can be used both ways.

School Art as Folk Art

In their interviews most of the respondents who did not have professional training in the arts disciplines appeared to be rather intimidated by professional artistic standards. Dr. Thomas (Riverton State professor responsible for the annual two week aesthetic education summer training workshop) felt that this intimidation remained a problem in persuading teachers to implement aesthetic education in the classroom. The workshop (as described in Appendix D) concentrates heavily on helping participants to be willing to express themselves without worrying about how their art products compare with those of professionals. Dr. Thomas explained:

> Thomas: One of the conflicts ... that I've been talking about basically is trying to tell people ... to try to get themselves off of the shelf -- like a book that's been up there and never opened. Get yourself off the shelf and opened up, and let someone read it. Put some new information in, and tear out a chapter, and start over. So I think the arts have that tremendous capacity to do that.
>
> Interviewer: Sounds like you're tying that in to the expressive capacities of the arts too.
>
> Thomas: Oh, yes -- not so much as ... you would think, though, because I'm not sure that, in our society right now ... people are that comfortable with the expressive part, because we've been exposed to the professional expressive part, and that ... has a way of dampening the spirit when you get into expression. Now, we're talking about teachers. I think teachers and all of us have experienced a little bit [of this discouragement], but I think that's one of the disadvantages, unless you're in an environment where you're expressing and not worrying so much about the professional dimensions.

This discussion is a little reminiscent of Cassirer's notion of

the emotional and rational poles of art (discussed at the beginning of chapter one) and suggests that the extreme romantic interpretation of art (that it is unrestrained emotional expression) is tempered by an awareness of professional standards of excellence. Teachers and others who have not absorbed enough of the discipline of an art form to meet professional standards of excellence appear to respond by finding or creating appropriate occasions for "folk" art rather than dealing with what Dr. Thomas called "the professional expressive part." For instance, Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy) commented during a discussion of her own inhibitions in participating in the arts and the inhibitions of the older children she teaches:

> I found out about myself too. In my group, with my kids or whatever, I seem to do just about anything, but if another teacher comes in ... then I get my inhibitions back and I go, "Oh, let the kids show you what we're doing," rather than push myself into it.

The Overarching Value of Awareness

Of all the themes elicited by the interviews, the most important to most respondents was the idea that aesthetic education enhances "awareness," by sharpening perceptual skills and making the individual more sensitive to what is going on in the environment. Not only did thirteen of the eighteen respondents discuss the theme of general awareness, without prompting, but ten of them made it clear that, in their opinion, the most significant outcome of aesthetic education is the enhancement of general awareness. These respondents felt that the benefits of this increased sensibility are applicable to all life experience, not only to arts experiences. Fourteen attributed

increased sensibility to the perceptual training the arts give, but only two (the two national level curriculum developers/disseminators) considered this training to be the primary objective of aesthetic education. And, of the fourteen, six did not mention the role of the arts in enhancing "awareness" at all until asked probing questions by the interviewer about the role of the arts in the curriculum. The typical response to the probing question was that the arts are a necessary vehicle for the sharpening of perception and awareness that takes place.

Dr. Thomas (Riverton State trainer) described aesthetic education succinctly in terms of awareness or sensibility.

> It's tuning your perceptions to be aware of your environment, and ... that's basic.... Part of that definition is calling upon a particular frame of reference -- or, if you will, art form -- to tune those perceptions.

Ms. Raines' basic description of aesthetic education was quite similar: "It's how everything is taught and perceived, through experimentation and doing and being aware.... It's just tuning your senses and getting into it." Ms. Wilcox (Oakcroft principal) mentioned sensory development through the arts first in her discussion of aesthetic education: "When I think of aesthetic ed, I think of all the senses involved in the arts."

Some of the teachers made it clear that they felt that many of the children coming into their classes today need remedial attention to develop the kind of general awareness they need for both school tasks and to cope with life in general. As Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy School) put it:

> I rely heavily on the dramatics and self expression, because I feel that in our society, the way things are today, the children are very blah....
>
> They're maybe even unaware of their facial expressions, and they don't express themselves well, and I think it's really a shame.

Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy) related this observation to the general level of academic functioning of a group of children.

> My advanced children seemed to ... do much more with it than the last class I had. They didn't seem that interested. You really had to do a lot of motivating, you had to do ... pushing in order to get them interested in it.

During the classroom observations discussed in chapter four, both Ms. Abbott (sixth-grade teacher at Pine Manor) and Ms. Anderson (first-grade teacher at Vineland) commented that each new class they get seems to be more poorly prepared for school than the last. Ms. Abbott made a similar observation during her formal interview for this study, adding that she finds she cannot give the class as many arts and other enrichment activities as she would like until they develop sufficient basic skills to work independently (something of a "catch 22" if their readiness for developing basic skills depends in part on arts experiences). Both Ms. Rausch and Ms. Underhill emphasized that, even though lower achieving students frequently have less initial enthusiasm for aesthetic education than the higher achieving students, they believe that the experiences are more educationally important for low achieving than for high achieving students.

The awareness or sensibility of which program participants speak does not seem to differ in any important respect from the sharpened

perceptions and heightened awareness of sensory qualities that are reported in general as outcomes of successful participation in the arts. While respondents at the "content-embedded, context-free" end of the continuum depicted in Figure 13 (Mr. Tannenbaum and Dr. White) placed primary emphasis on the role of the arts in developing sensory awareness, their descriptions of that awareness did not differ greatly from those of other respondents. Mr. Tannenbaum stressed that a minimal definition of aesthetic education includes perceptual training in the arts elements and added that the arts can shape the affective and cognitive processing of "raw sense data." Dr. White saw as a primary objective of aesthetic education developing a "knowing, understanding, feeling" response to the arts; and he pointed out that aesthetic qualities are present in the general environment but are more accessible in the arts because there they are distilled and concentrated.

Mr. Tannenbaum described the intrinsic values of the arts in a way that resembles the concept of dramatic structure discussed in chapter four, and he related the development of "awareness" to that structuring of experience.

> It really speaks to Maslow's self actualizing idea.... I think that that is what that intrinsic value is. It is being self actualized at that moment in time....
>
> That makes you, in some way, feel better about yourself, even though you may not have successfully solved the problem at that moment in time. But you've been able to focus your physical, mental, imaginative, creative energies on something with some spirit of dedication. That, I think, is ... what we call attending to the problem, really attending to the problem.
>
> And I think those are the moments that real learning takes place. And we don't have enough of that. But I think

> that in aesthetic education ... that's an important idea ... that sense of the intrinsic value of the moment and of the work.

Effects of the Arts on Classroom Interactions, Classroom Climate

Perhaps the second most pervasive theme elicited in the interviews concerned the effects of aesthetic education in improving classroom climate and facilitating what Bossert (1979) calls a "multi-task environment" -- a classroom organization requiring students to work independently much of the time. At its simplest, this theme has to do with student motivation. Mr. Croft, Pine Manor principal, cared most deeply of all the respondents about increasing individual motivation and supported the aesthetic education program strongly primarily on the grounds that it is a "good motivator:"

> A few of our teachers ... used it to motivate children and were able to get children to perform that would not have performed if they hadn't had these experiences.... Every child is not ... the best reader or the best math student or the best athlete. Other children are good in the arts....
>
> My biggest plus factor for aesthetic education is that, number one, it is a good motivator. It motivates children. Number two, it allows children to be involved in activities that they normally wouldn't be involved in, such as the performing arts ... and ... field trips, being able to come in contact with professional artists that some of these children would never have the chance to see or sit down [with] and be involved in group activities. It's a real motivating factor for the children in elementary school....
>
> I believe that, if we don't keep looking for different avenues and modes of motivation for children ... we're going to miss a lot of ... talents. And children are motivated differently. Some are motivated by athletics. Some are motivated by being the best in the academic subjects. Others are motivated by using their talent to dance, or to sing, or to be involved in groups and be a group leader. And I think it takes a wide variety of programs to bring all of these abilities out of children.

> And, as an educator, it's my job to be sure that I do not stymie or hold back any of the mental development of the children and [that I] allow the teachers to develop units and do things that may be a little different.... And I think I've said to you that it's my job, as an administrator, to see that children love school, want to come to school, want to be at school and want to work. And that's very important to me.

Mr. Croft went on to indicate that such motivation has an effect on the social organization of the classroom.

> And to me developing the social skills is a vital part of the aesthetic education program, because there's so much involvement.... People develop enthusiasm, and, when you have this, then things happen. And, without it, things don't happen.... I'm very, very keen on the attitude of the child, developing good social skills, and motivating the children to want to do for themselves.

Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy) reported that one of the things she had appreciated most in the short-term training in aesthetic education that she had received (a two- to four-day workshop at the Aesthetic Education Learning Center) was "finding all these good ideas, ways to manage classrooms through a simple game of mime, or [ways] different art activities would control children, or movement activities." She described at length the classroom management style she feels is made possible by her use of aesthetic education in her curriculum:

> If it gets noisy or something, I learned ... that you can just have them stretch and make their bodies go low or high or whatever, and it seems to calm them down, that you can settle them back down when they get into reading or math....
>
> I don't have the children so structured that everybody has to stay in their seat all the time.... They are allowed to move freely from center to center or talk among themselves as long as ... they're doing something constructive ... not just anything. And sometimes, though, they do tend to lose their bearings and get loud.... If I'm working with another group ... I shouldn't have to remind them that ... I need

> this quiet time over here so I can be with these children.... I'll just maybe stand up and I'll stretch, and that's a cue -- I've taught them different cues. I'll say, "When I stretch, that means I want everybody to relax, let's everybody just stand up and take a stretch, because we're getting a little noisy, a little hyper. Let's stretch or walk around or something, so we can get our bearings back, and then we can settle back down to what we're doing." That works.

Ms. Underhill's emphasis on how these activities help children "get their bearings" reinforces the idea that children's ability to focus their attention independently and concentrate on their own tasks regardless of whatever other focused activities are going on in the classroom is a key to the "multi-task environment" she described. She went beyond the problem of focus, however, to discuss the disciplined release of emotional tension that presumably is also necessary in this type of environment, to enable participants to work together cooperatively.

> And then maybe one of the other children, sitting at their desks, has a ... problem with another where they're fighting or whatever. Have you seen the socker bopper type of thing? I had some ... pillow cases ... stuffed with some very soft foam. Aesthetically ... -- it's just something to help them relieve the tension -- ... but it's movement. And then ... I just get them to make various forms with them as they're hitting each other.... But it works for me, if I can just get them to quiet down without my having to holler, "Okay ... let's be quiet, let's be quiet...."
>
> .... I've had a lot of personal problems, myself, where I've been ... very much a grouch, where I come to the classroom and, if they're noisy or something, then I will raise my voice ... and one of the children will remind me, using one of my cues ... smile or do something else -- and then ... it works that way.

Ms. Underhill was one of several respondents who expressed the idea that a criterion of success in aesthetic education is children's deep involvement in the enactment of classroom life, leading to their

willingness to help structure that life in a variety of ways, including volunteering suggestions for activities or other creative ideas. This idea was suggested by both aesthetic education staff teachers and expressed emphatically by one of the Junior League volunteers, Ms. Forrest, who commented, "The kids even came up with some of the ideas. That's ... when you knew it was taking hold, to see them say, 'Well, can we do thus and so?' or, 'Can we add this idea?' or, 'Can we put this into it?' You know, that's when ... you knew that something was sinking in."

Some respondents related the type of self discipline found in students involved in aesthetic education to students' ability to make appropriate connections among their various life experiences, independently, as a result of developing a unified perception of those experiences. Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy) commented, for instance:

> Some people, of course, ... still regard arts and music and drama ... as frills ... -- if you have time enough, then. But I think people are seeing that it's more important ... [because we're] coming out with students graduating who cannot express themselves in sentences. We've become ... "fill in the blank" or "color the bubble." Children don't even write in sentences any more, and they don't speak in sentences. There're just always short answers, short time. So that's one reason I do it heavily. And ... we try to involve the ... slow ones, because they need it more than the gifted children.

Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy) responded to this comment by making the appropriate generalization:

> They're not just allowed to sit and learn to spell a given list of words this week and another this week and learn nouns or pronouns or whatever, and math. They need to take those experiences and relate them more to themselves, to the people around them.

Ms. McNeil (Junior League volunteer) made a similar comment and at the same time referred to the process of teaching through play, a process she felt motivates children to respond to their experiences in a unified way.

> I just kind of want it to all fit together like the wonderful kind of puzzle that all has its own parts and yet ... makes a whole somehow for the children....
>
> It's the same as the Orff concept. If you make it fun to learn ... how many people want not to have fun? And I think that that's where schools fail.

Ms. Yarrow (aesthetic education staff teacher) summarized much of the difference in outlook between the traditional teacher and what she labeled the "creative" teacher.

> The traditional teacher usually looks at the clock, and they're concerned about "how far am I getting in the book" and "today my plan said I was going to get through table number five and get to table number six," whereas the people who use the creative process say, "Well, I know they're going to get it." They're not concerned about the time and so forth -- ... not the specifics but the overall thing....
>
> Now, we want children to do well, but we're teaching children. And I think that it seems that the people who are involved in the creative process or creative teaching ... keep that in mind, that "I'm teaching little bitty people" -- ... humans rather than the book.... I think it makes it easier for the child.

Ms. Carberry (second-grade teacher at Victory Road) pointed out that the program allows the teacher to have a different type of rapport with children, "more human, more on the child's level," a comment echoed in only slightly different words by Ms. Underhill.

Others stressed that, when principals give full support to the practice of aesthetic education in the school, there is a positive effect on the emotional and social (as well as the aesthetic)

climate of the entire school. As Ms. Raines summarized it, "decorating everything ... and it's much, much happier." Dr. Thomas (Riverton State teacher trainer) commented about principals' attitudes toward the two week summer training workshop in aesthetic education for which he is responsible:

> I've found that the principals are very ... nurturing when it comes to having teachers participate in [the two week workshop]. It affects their school environment, and it affects their teachers' energy levels, and I think that the principals have been generally supportive of it.

Mr. Groves (principal of Ingham Place Elementary) stressed the kind of support he feels that schools in low income areas, such as the neighborhood served by Ingham Place, should give children.

> I guess I look at every little child in our school as a special somebody.... Just a little caring, a little extra effort can make a difference in that child's life, and, believe me, there are many of our children that need it. When I say, "our," I'm not talking to race, I'm just talking about children that are kind of low on the socioeconomic level. And I truly feel that school is the one institution that can make the difference, a significant difference. I feel ... we are very significant people in the lives of our children, so ... I take that very seriously.

At another point in the interview Mr. Groves addressed himself to the function of aesthetic education as part of this necessary "caring:"

> Usually early in the school year I would contact Bella [Raines] and let her know that whatever [artist-in-the-school programs are] available, I'd like to discuss it with her, and we will work it out where it would come into our school. And we feel ... this was a big plus for our school -- a tremendous plus -- because our children just had not had the experience of sitting down and listening and watching a live play, <u>per se</u>.... Children often move in from ... the heart of the ghetto ... and their experiences are extremely limited. And so we thought ... broadening of their thinking is going to come through the school ... so we embarked on a number of things, field

> trips, what have you, to ... broaden their understanding of the community, especially in the arts.

Letting the Inner Creativity Out

A related value expressed by a number of respondents is that of encouraging the expression of both children's and teachers' creativity and developing their imaginations. A number of respondents (see Appendix X for details) felt that creativity is innate but atrophies if not used and expressed for a long period of time. Ms. Underhill specifically related this value to her preferred style of classroom management:

> They can go about their tasks with some independence.... I can go and do other things with other groups or get somebody else started.... I've found that their creativity is ... enhanced.... I put their assignments up on the board for whatever morning work we're going to do. They know that they're free, when they finish that, to go and do something ... maybe record a story that they've made up or go to the art center and create something that ... we've learned in an art lesson....
>
> That's their alternative, they can do that and not feel like they can't mix these two colors together.... A lot of times children <u>think</u> that way, that you have to do everything the standard way, you can't deviate.... I have to let them make their own discoveries ... things don't always have to be as ... we normally see them as being. Let them express themselves some way.... Rather than [my saying], "Okay ... today let's do a landscape," or something, I give them the opportunity to do what they want to do. If they want to paint, paint. If they want to work with the foil or whatever, then they do that....

Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher, Quincy) also directly related self expression to classroom organization that requires children to act independently much of the time.

> They tend to express themselves, don't you think, better when they've been involved with this, rather than ... like we were raised in a lot of schools, you sat and you didn't

> talk. How can a teacher really get to know the student if he won't permit him to talk?... If you're not going to let them talk, how are they going to learn, for example, to use inflection in their voices? And, if you won't let them participate ... how are we going to teach children to get along if we make them sit in their desks all the time and not talk to each other -- "May I borrow the ruler, please?" -- or ... get up and go get something when they need it without disturbing others?

Ms. Carberry (Victory Road second-grade teacher) felt that it is easier to elicit children's creativity when they are younger than when they have matured, have developed inhibitions about participating in the arts, when perhaps some of their innate creativity has atrophied.

> Second-grade children that are seven or eight years old, they don't like to be told that there's certain things that they can't do, because they are go-getters, they're not lazy at all.... I imagine when they get [into] sixth, seventh, and eighth grade, they become kind of lazy, but these are eager beavers.... You can take a glass and hit on it with a fork, and six of them are going to jump up to show you something.... They have so much expression, right at this age.

Ms. Underhill and Ms. Rausch, who teach older children (fourth and fifth/sixth grade respectively) and who were interviewed jointly, were particularly emphatic about the need to expose children to the arts early in their school careers, in order to discourage the development of the inhibitions with which they have to deal in the older children (and in themselves). Ms. Rausch said:

> You've got to get them when they're young. See, we teach the upper grades, and they come and they're not accustomed to getting up and act[ing] like a doll ... or act[ing] like ... "this is a zoo today and we're all going to pick an animal of our choice." They ... look at us kind of strange. I know the first week they probably think I'm the weirdest thing they have ever seen. They look at me: "You can't be a teacher doing these things!"... They're very reserved....

> The other thing that I've noticed with the older ones is the type of activities you have to use at first, particularly if they haven't come up with this: quick things ... even to the point of being silly.... It has to be really obvious and funny and ... fun ... at first, before you can get them doing the serious stuff, because they just don't know how to react.

Ms. Underhill added during the same interview that it takes a lot of teacher modeling to elicit expressive behavior from the older children she teaches.

> And you've got to have that enthusiasm, you can't just stand there and tell them, "Okay, let's make a happy face" [in a low, descending voice]. I mean ... you've got to kind of squeal, maybe change your voice level ... and ... really get into it yourself.

Both Ms. Rausch and Ms. Underhill reported that they empathize with the children's inhibitions, and both felt they had failed to develop some of their own artistic talents when they were younger, because they felt insecure or lacked the encouragement (or "pushing") to participate in the arts. Ms. Underhill emphasized:

> When I can do these things with my children in the classroom, or even with my little girl at home, I want to give her exposure to all the things that I ... purposely ... sidetracked because of my inhibitions.... If I can build their confidence, then maybe I can pull creativity from them.
>
> .... If I let them stand with a blank sheet of paper or a lump of clay ... or sit there with a blank expression on their faces, they're going to do that, but ... if I push them to do something with that face, that clay, that paper, then they're going to come up with something creative. Then, when they finish, they go, "Gosh, did I do that?" ... because all the kids are going, "Hey, that's neat, I love it!"

Ms. Rausch pointed out that "pushing" people to express themselves can be as effective with adults as with children and can account for some of the changes in school atmosphere when teachers

as well as children begin to be willing to express themselves through the arts.

> I find too ... where you feel insecure, if you get something started ... sometimes it's amazing. And some of the other teachers, who maybe haven't been exposed to the ... arts ... or [aesthetic] education ... when they get in there and you start working ... it's amazing.... Then you find someone that has ... talent in dancing. Pretty soon they'll come out, "Well, why don't we change this?" I think it's all ... exposure and then confidence, once you can do something.

Ms. Underhill also emphasized the importance of aesthetic education in eliciting the teacher's as well as the student's creativity: "I was team teaching ... and ... all the ... material was ... pre-set.... Everything was so pat that ... you needed something other to kind of spark interest or even ... just to bring out your own creativity. That's why I enjoyed going out to the workshop, finding all these good ideas...."

Subject Integration

Virtually all respondents who fell near the "context-embedded" end of the continuum talked about subject integration both as a major justification for having aesthetic education in the elementary classroom and as a major benefit of the program. But they talked about subject integration in rather different ways, depending in large part on the age of the children with whom they worked. And few, if any, unambiguous examples of successful subject integration (incorporating arts content into lessons in more basic subject areas) were actually observed during the classroom observations.

Perhaps the clearest example (and it is rather ambiguous) is the lesson in diamanté-writing in Ms. Abbott's room, which is

reported in detail on pages 165 - 171. The thrust of this lesson was to teach students to write a type of poem; but it was a kind of poetry that has little if any recognition among poets, being found mostly in classrooms, and it seems likely that one of Ms. Abbott's purposes in teaching this content was to reinforce what the students had been learning in English about parts of speech, particularly nouns and adjectives. Her introductory comment, "You couldn't do this before because you have to know two parts of speech very well," certainly suggests as much.

Teachers in the primary grades (first and second) expressed the strongest convictions that the arts can be integrated with everything else in the curriculum. For instance, Ms. Carberry (second-grade teacher at Victory Road) observed, "You don't have to make another day to do this, it's just wrapping it into what you're already doing. Then -- it's simple." She pointed out that she values the packaged CEMREL curriculum materials in part because they help her meet her need for supplementary curriculum resources.

> You have a textbook, and you may have some ditto sheets that you can run off, when you talk about science and social studies, and everything else you want to put into a unit you have to get up yourself.

And she commented on the uses she makes of specific packages:

> I like the emotion unit because it goes along with my social studies.... There's one in there about the senses ... the one that has the bags that you touch [Texture].... We put those in the science center, to be used along with our science lesson....
>
> Tone Color ... I use ... for listening. A lot of children don't listen.... The other children will get onto their classmates when they do something dumb.... We have to calm down, but they love that!... And then after awhile somebody

> will tell you, "My grandmama got a piano" ... and that also brings out expression from them, so I like to use that.

During the observations first-grade teachers Beauvoir and Anderson expressed convictions as strong as those that second-grade teachers Carberry and Sondheim expressed during their interviews. However, the lessons that were observed which Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Anderson labeled "subject integration" were among the most ambiguous in terms of subject matter. Ms. Beauvoir, in particular, tended to label any lesson that bore in any way on "movement" or the emotions or the senses as "aesthetic education," even though the observer could frequently perceive no arts content in them. While the observer was not able to observe in any second-grade classroom, it may be that the subject integration reported by Ms. Carberry and Ms. Sondheim included more arts content, if only because both teachers reported using CEMREL curriculum units or "activities" published in the monthly program newsletter as the basis for their work in aesthetic education with the children. Ms. Raines (program director) said that it was her impression that some of the second-grade teachers do conduct more arts-based lessons than any of the first-grade teachers with whom the program works because they are less concerned to teach children that school is "work" and not "play."

However, the most complete description of subject integration in a second-grade lesson fails to make explicit what if any arts content there was in the lesson. Ms. Wilcox (one of two principals who pointed out specifically that aesthetic education activities can be integrated with more basic curriculum in order to get across

concepts children have difficulty perceiving) described an incident during her own teaching experience, when she was working closely with Ms. Vinson, aesthetic education staff teacher.

> I remember one of my best experiences with aesthetic ed. I was a second-grade teacher, and I was trying to teach the concept [that] the earth is round. And, of course, the children ... could draw a little round ball, but there was no concept that we were on ... this round thing floating through space....
>
> And Debra [Vinson] came out and helped.... I don't know that I got the concept across, but I think I laid the groundwork for someone else to build on.... That's hard for adults to conceptualize, being on a great, big, round something, turning around so fast that you can't fall off.... But we took them outside and ... we did a bunch of stuff with it. That was interesting.

Teachers of older children did not report that subject integration was quite so simple as teachers of younger children made it sound, but they also saw considerable value in incorporating arts content into lessons in the basic subjects. Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher at Quincy) discussed the use of rhythm to help children assimilate routine content.

> [Ms. Rausch] taught them the facts of Venezuela through Orff music. And I have found, if you set something to rhythm ... something you want the children to learn, they'll pick it up....
>
> It's amazing to me: if you tell them to learn this spelling rule ... just a basic rule ... just looking at it or reading it to themselves, they can't pick it up, but [if] you set it to some kind of beat or some rhythm, they'll pick it up immediately.

Ms. Lewis (fourth-grade teacher at Ardennes School) discussed the way she uses CEMREL curriculum units -- or activities from those units -- to reinforce her standard reading program.

> [Tone Color] is really good, but it doesn't get its share of attention. I'm going to use it, because there is a

> story in here [indicating a reader]; the last story ... has to do with a jazz musician, who was a very skillful musician and was well trained and ... had been training since he was a child. But, when he heard a jazz band play, he couldn't fit in with what they were doing. And I think this [the Tone Color package] will tie in with the story.... It's so basic, I think.

Holding up "emotion cards" from the CEMREL curriculum unit Creating Characterization, she added:

> The materials on emotions are good. I just take bits and pieces.... We've finished a reader. Okay, I'm going to give each child a card, and I'm going to say, "All right, now, think of a story we've had. Think of a character, think about a character from a story.... Use a happening or use some dialogue, and let's see if we can guess ... which character in which story this came from."

She reported also that, over the years, she has used the CEMREL Shapes packages more than any other, because "shapes are ... basic to ... art. It's so basic, and, besides that, it just fits into math -- geometry and fractions ... so I guess for that reason it's been most used." Several teachers made the same assessment, that, on the whole, the Shapes packages are used more than any of the other CEMREL materials.

One reason it may be so difficult to identify examples of subject integration unambiguously is that the teachers themselves may not be consciously aware when they are using arts content and when they are not. They may tend to label any activity that elicits a heightened level of engagement from participants as "aesthetic education." Ms. Lewis was more straightforward in her description of this process than the other teachers who were interviewed.

> Lewis: Even in a language class, maybe I'm having the arts and don't realize it....

> This -- [a project in which children produced original stories using pictures for most of the concrete nouns] -- took about a week. First they wrote the story. Then I took it up and checked it and then they rewrote it, making improvements. Then they ... put a box around words they thought they could show with pictures. Then I took it up again, to see if I agreed with them. So this involved checking each child and making some suggestions. And then, finally, I gave them lined paper like this, and I told them they could either print or write, whichever they were comfortable with.
>
> Arts? Was I doing art? I don't know. I was doing language.
>
> Interviewer: Did it matter to you?
>
> Lewis: No, not really. I didn't even notice myself which it was....
>
> Interviewer: What would you want this boy to get out of this exercise?... What was your objective?
>
> Lewis: He looked forward to doing the pictures. I looked forward to him putting his words down.... I wanted him to get words down.

Not a single teacher who was interviewed reported teaching the CEMREL curriculum units as units, doing each activity in the sequence specified in the curriculum guide. In only one case did this omission stem from self confidence with the arts content. Ms. Rausch, who had had more graduate level arts training than any other teacher, said that she uses all arts materials available to her, including the CEMREL curriculum, but doesn't use any of them "cookbook style." She said she prefers to make her own judgments about the content. But she admitted, as did most teachers who were interviewed, that the major factor in their practice of "pulling" individual activities from the CEMREL packages and using them out of their intended context is lack of time in the school day to teach the arts in a more coherent fashion. The teachers who were interviewed ranged

from teachers who reported never using packaged activities (at least this year) to those whose art instruction was taken from the CEMREL packages and other commercial materials made available by the program staff, to the extent possible.

Whether or not teachers preferred to use commercial arts materials or preferred to develop their own activities based on their training and their exposure to a wide range of ideas and materials seemed to be mostly a matter of personal teaching style. However, it was also sometimes a matter of the way in which the teacher perceived the arts and thought they should be taught. Ms. Abbott, for instance (sixth-grade teacher at Pine Manor), said that she liked to use the CEMREL packages as independent "enrichment" activities which she encouraged students to work through, sequentially, in small groups when their academic tasks had been completed. She frankly used the packages to motivate students to complete their academic tasks. However, she was never observed using CEMREL materials during the 1980-1981 school year; and she said that this was because she felt her current class did not, for the most part, have sufficient basic skills to allow them to spend much time doing independent "enrichment" activities. She felt unable to structure such time for the few advanced students in the class, for whom she felt independent work with the CEMREL materials would have been a good experience.

Teachers who valued the CEMREL packages lamented that the materials were not more widely used in the school system and that they themselves were unable to make better use of them, because

of the pressures of time. Ms. Carberry (second-grade teacher at Victory Road) commented about the CEMREL packages:

> Most difficult is getting around to use all of it, like I really wanted to, breaking it down on second-grade level.... There's just a world of material that you have to ... get around to using, and I didn't, not all of it.... You have to [correlate]; unless you want to just pull it ... and do it for an afternoon, you have to find a need.

Ms. Carberry explained that part of her problem was that most of the packaged material was prepared for older children than she teaches, that she can adapt the material so that it is suitable for younger children but must make most of the adaptations herself, although she has had some assistance from the aesthetic education program staff.

Although she does not have the same problem of adaptation, fourth-grade teacher Ms. Underhill echoed Ms. Carberry's concern that she does not have time to use the material optimally.

> We pick out what we want from it.... If I could just go through a whole kit, just totally ... one time, I would have made an accomplishment, but I haven't.... I'll pick several different activities out of it and go on to something else, because of the time factor.

Ms. Lewis (fourth-grade teacher at Ardennes), who uses CEMREL and other commercial materials for about half of her arts-based instruction, said that, as her aesthetic education repertoire has grown, she has begun to lose track of its sources:

> I've seen all of us building on what's in the material ... taking what's there and then going on with some other ideas. I've seen the staff at the [Aesthetic Education Learning] Center doing it, expanding it, and we do it.... We've gotten to the point now where we might play a game and I have to stop a minute and think, "I learned this at the Center." Just before Thanksgiving, we were playing [a game], I call it "silent time," where you act out ...

> something like stuffing a turkey or any ordinary little everyday thing, and the kids guess what you're doing. You know, I have to think, "I learned this at the Center."

When asked to estimate the proportion of times she teaches aesthetic education for its own sake and the proportion when it is integrated with other subject matter, Ms. Lewis said she could not, because, "I'm sure a lot of it is just ... I read a story or there's something in math, and that reminds me of something that we have, and I tie it in quickly."

Teachers of older children were particularly apt to describe using "quickie" aesthetic education activities to "pace" instruction. By that they meant watching for moments when the group's concentration level or when children's energy levels were faltering and using a brief arts-based activity to break the focus on academics (or disruption), refocus the children's attention, and give them a new charge of energy and motivation for tackling their assigned academic work with coherence and enthusiasm. Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher at Quincy) described the process well.

> You know, I never get up and say, "Okay, now we're going to do aesthetic education...." You can tell when the children's attention span -- they're tired -- so then we'll get up and do something -- that could, of course, be in the aesthetic area -- just do it ... whether it's a game or something.... You know how grammar can be so boring sometimes. And we'll just take one sentence ... I can tell they're getting tired, I'm losing them from listening, so [I'll say]: "Okay, now let's read this -- this sounds like a good sentence -- let's read it: We're <u>really</u> happy, we just got a hundred thousand dollar check in the mail!" And so then we read it, and then: "Oh, you're so sad...." It ... really lends itself to be used in anything you're doing, just as a break, quickly, to go to it and come back.

Summary of Major Themes in Interviews

The chart on the next page (Table 1) summarizes the number of respondents who commented (without prompting) on each of the major themes elicited in the interviews. While the numbers themselves are revealing, Table 1 (giving the number of respondents, by role, who voiced each theme emergent in the interviews) can give only the most skeletal summary of the content of the responses. For a more complete summary of this content, refer to Appendix X, in which each respondent's comments on each of the major themes and sub-themes are paraphrased.

The themes are listed in Table 1 in roughly their order of importance to respondents. The number who voiced each theme, even prior to any prompting, is not an adequate measure of the themes' importance. The content of the responses has been used, in addition to the number who voiced each theme, to determine their relative importance to respondents. Numbers alone would suggest that the first theme, the importance of perceptual training or "awareness," is of less importance than a range of arts-specific goals (the second theme) and the freeing of innate creativity (a subtheme of the fourth theme); and equal in importance to curriculum integration in general. What determined that "awareness" was the most important theme was that ten of the eighteen respondents specified (without prompting) that the most important aspect of aesthetic education, in their opinion, is perceptual sharpening (in general) and enhanced awareness, while another two (the two national level curriculum developers/disseminators) said that the

Table 1. NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (BY ROLE) WHO VOICED EACH THEME EMERGENT IN INTERVIEWS

THEMES:		Curriculum developers/ disseminators (N = 2)	Local teacher trainer (university based) (N = 1)	Local school system central administrator (N = 1)	Local AE Program staff (N = 3)	Junior League volunteers (N = 2)	Elementary principals (N = 3)	Elementary teachers (grades 2, 4 and 6) (N = 6)	TOTAL (N = 18)
1) Importance of perceptual training ("awareness")	A) General	1	1	1	3	2	1	4	13
	B) Arts-specific	2	1	-*	2*	1	-*	2*	8*
2) Statement of range of arts-specific goals		2	1	1	2	1	3	5	15
3) Importance of curriculum integration	A) General	1	-	1	2	2	3	4	13
	B) Ease of arts integration	1	-	1	3	1	2	5	13
	C) Necessary to justify time for arts	2**	-	1	1	-	1	4	9
4) Importance of curriculum for general quality of life	A) Frees innate creativity	1	1	1	3	2	3	5	16
	B) Motivates individuals	1	-	1	1	1	2	5	11
	C) Improves school/class climate	1	1	-	3	-	3	3	11
	D) Permanent recreative resource	1	-	1	1	2	1	2	8

*The numbers in the chart refer to the number of respondents who volunteered comments on theme in response to very general questions. In addition, the central administrator, one of the local program staff, all three elementary principals, and one of the elementary teachers (6 respondents in all) volunteered comments about arts-specific perceptual training (usually that the arts are a necessary vehicle for perceptual training) after the researcher asked them about the role of the arts.

**One of the two CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators discussed this theme only in order to deny the truth of the assertion while the other only asserted that many teachers will not take time for the arts unless they can integrate them with other subject matter.

most important aspect was the perceptual training provided by the arts disciplines. Only one other theme was specified by any respondent as most important: one of the six teachers said that she believed the most important aspect of aesthetic education to be the freeing of innate creativity.

More important than the number of individuals who discussed a range of arts-specific goals is the range itself. In specificity these statements ranged from the criteria Mr. Tannenbaum had for recognizing an activity as aesthetic education (use of arts vocabulary, deliberate teaching of arts concepts, participation in actual arts events, development of analytic skills and skill in making aesthetic judgments, experience of creative problem-solving processes, as related to the arts, knowledge of roles in the arts, and acceptance of the legitimacy of intuitive knowing) to Ms. Sondheim's comment that the variety of art forms represented in aesthetic education gives everyone an opportunity to find something they can do well. Several respondents had quite pragmatic concerns about the arts, as revealed by Mr. Bird's comment that more students will elect the arts as vocations if their artistic talents are discovered and encouraged while they are very young and by Ms. Lewis' comment that she needs ideas for arts activities to be accessible and easy to implement (as in the CEMREL packages) because of the time constraints on the teacher. The full range of these comments is suggested in Appendix X, as is the range of comments on curriculum integration and on the importance of aesthetic education for the general quality of life.

Aesthetic Education Training

The most intensive training in aesthetic education available in Riverton -- the two week summer training program described in some detail in Appendix D -- was an intense experience but was a short term one. While the workshop activities included some exposure to arts concepts and theories (taught primarily through hands-on activities in a process of guided discovery learning), the major emphasis was on exposing participants to artists and to arts events, persuading them to overcome their inhibitions against engaging in "silly" arts activities, and helping them perceive the importance of allowing children to participate fully in arts activities in much the same way. Although they did have to read and discuss one article on a theory of aesthetic education, students in the workshop were not required to use arts vocabulary in talking about their arts-based experiences. The emphasis, rather, was on having them express themselves freely and openly about the meaning of the arts activities to them.

Except for six participants (the three aesthetic education program staff; Dr. Thomas, the Riverton State University professor responsible for local teacher training; Mr. Bird, the central administrator responsible initially for the program; and Ms. McNeil, the Junior League volunteer responsible for the program during its initial year), all of the local program participants who were interviewed had received only locally provided aesthetic education training. Such training might be either short-term workshops (two to four day workshops at the Carver Aesthetic Education Learning

Center or, even more frequently, after-school, in-service workshops) led by the city school system aesthetic education program staff or the relatively intensive, two week workshop sponsored by Riverton State University each summer, led by Dr. Thomas with Ms. Raines' assistance.

The aesthetic education program staff reported that the short-term, in-service training, which is all that many of the teachers and principals who participated in the program ever had, is similar to the summer workshop though more superficial. Since Ms. Raines is centrally involved in both types of training and since both types rely heavily on training techniques developed by CEMREL disseminators/trainers, this report seems credible. Dr. Thomas compared the two types of training experience primarily by pointing out that in a two to four day workshop "you don't have the continuous building of skills and ideas and attitudes" for which he strives in the more intensive two week workshop.

In a joint interview with two teachers at Quincy School, the two teachers discussed and compared their aesthetic education training. Ms. Rausch (fifth/sixth-grade teacher) had participated in the first two week summer workshop, and Ms. Underhill (fourth-grade teacher) had taken part in the first series of two to four day training workshops at the Carver Aesthetic Education Learning Center. Although both emphasized the unexpected nature of the training they had received (a surprise factor that had diminished considerably by the time of the 1981 training workshop described in Appendix D), they described their experiences in quite similar terms.

Ms. Rausch emphasized the feeling of disorganization that had attended most of the first summer workshop, followed by the realization that it was a different kind of experience from most academic courses: "And, of course, after going through all these exposures and things ... it dawns on you ... it's nothing really new or special, you've had it all your life." She reported being particularly disturbed by not knowing what expectations she had to meet:

> Dr. Thomas ... made us keep a diary.... We had to turn in a diary, that was the only requirement. And it was really bugging people ... "Well, what do you want in it?" He gave very vague things about it, you know, "Write down your experiences." And people kept questioning him.... He'd go [gesture] this kind of attitude, and he'd come back with a question.... Bella [Raines] was the assistant. She did this too, but, of course, we went to him, he was the one with the grades, the credit, and all that....
>
> And he never did give us a definition.... We kept waiting for what is aesthetic education.... He never did give us one....
>
> I'll never forget.... One of the ladies that was in our class walked out after the first session and said, "I can't believe we're getting three hours of credit for this! This is too much fun!"

Ms. Underhill's description of her two to four day training session at the Aesthetic Education Learning Center was similar.

> When I first heard [about the workshop, I remember] looking at the word and thinking: all technical and theory and ... a lot of research and writing of papers and whatnot. And then we went to that first meeting.... We took off our shoes, we sat in a great big circle, we each got up and introduced ourselves and did a funny -- well, she said, "Just do something funny, just do something with your body, whatever you want to do...." That kind of flipped me too, because that's not at all what I went out there for. I went out there with pad and pencil in hand ... really because I knew the principal was demanding of me to come back and tell the rest of the staff ... all that went on,

> and then I had to come back and tell them, "Well, we sat around and played games, and we wrote sentences using ... all different kinds of colored words and stuff...." It just didn't ... add up, and I was saying to myself, "Surely I'm missing a point here," just underlining that my senses weren't picking up.

Figure 14 on the next page summarizes the types of training in aesthetic education that had been received by the sixteen local respondents.

Arts Experience

All except one of the respondents (a sample of the most enthusiastic participants in the Riverton aesthetic education program) reported that they had had meaningful exposure to at least one art form when they were children. Nine respondents, for instance, reported significant experiences with music, five with various forms of the visual arts, four with dance, two with theater, and two with literature and poetry. The most unusual prior experience was Dr. Thomas' report that, as a student, he had taken a course in "aesthetic development," which had whetted his interest in the field. The subject did not arise in four of the interviews (in fact, was incorporated as a consistent question only after a number of respondents had volunteered the information); and the views of Dr. White and Mr. Tannenbaum were obtained in a different format from those of the other respondents. Eight respondents described having a personal interest in various art forms before their exposure to the aesthetic education program, and only one (Ms. Underhill) reported that her current interest in the arts was largely stimulated by the program. Three (Ms. Vinson, Ms. Lewis, and Ms. Abbott)

TYPE OF TRAINING RECEIVED (by 16 local respondents)	NUMBER INVOLVED*	RESPONDENT ROLES
CEMREL-sponsored training workshops (out of state)	6	1 Junior League volunteer; all 3 Riverton aesthetic education program staff; 1 central administrator; 1 Riverton State University professor (local teacher trainer)
Two-week summer training workshop (Riverton State University-sponsored)	3	1 second-grade teacher; 1 fifth/sixth-grade teacher; 1 sixth-grade teacher**
Two- to four-day in-service training workshop at Carver Aesthetic Education Learning Center	8	All 3 principals; 4 teachers; (1 second-grade, 2 fouth-grade, 1 sixth-grade); 1 Junior League volunteer
After-school workshops for professional-growth credit (at school site)	6	Both (2) aesthetic education resource teachers; 1 principal; 3 teachers (2 second-grade, 1 fourth-grade)
Assistance from a Junior League volunteer assigned to work several hours per week in teacher's classroom	1	1 Aesthetic Education resource teacher (then a sixth-grade teacher)

*Six of the 16 respondents reported that they had received more than one type of aesthetic education training, so the numbers in this column add up to considerably more than 16. Several reported three types of training and all reported at least one type of training.

**Both the fifth/sixth-grade teacher and the sixth-grade teacher who participated in the two-week summer workshop (Ms. Rausch and Ms. Abbott) displayed more awareness of professional standards of training and performance than other teachers. Both had had considerable music training as children, and Ms. Rausch had gone on to take graduate level courses in Orff music, photography, and children's theatre.

Figure 14. LOCAL RESPONDENTS' TRAINING IN AESTHETIC EDUCATION

reported that they had incorporated arts-based activities into their teaching practice before becoming involved with the program.

Thus, the program participants appeared, in large part, to be self selected on the basis of prior interest in the arts and, in some cases, in the educational value of the arts. Even so, many of those near the "context-embedded" end of the continuum in Figure 13 failed to mention the arts explicitly when asked their personal definitions of aesthetic education. This failure appeared to stem not from lack of cognitive understanding of the content of instruction but rather from a feeling that the educative value of aesthetic education has less to do with the arts content than it has to do with the effects of program activities on the social structure of the classroom and on children's self image and academic self confidence. This interpretation is likely considering that eight (or half of the sixteen local respondents) mentioned the arts as part of their definitions of aesthetic education but only as part of a more comprehensive aesthetic sphere (usually expressed as "general awareness," "quality of life," or perhaps the conviction that "everything" has aesthetic dimensions).

Self Reports on Program Implementation

In addition to the demographic variables of school size and socioeconomic status emphasized by aesthetic education program staff (see Ms. Yarrow's and Ms. Raines' comments discussed on pages 128 - 129), the following factors seemed to influence many of the qualitative differences in implementation of the program, as experienced by the respondents to the interviews.

Principal Support

Strong support for the program from the principal seemed to be the most important factor in Riverton in implementing a strong, schoolwide aesthetic education program. Ms. Vinson, aesthetic education staff teacher, reported that it is very difficult to involve more than a few teachers in a school if the principal is not enthusiastic.

> I start off with the principal, and that is my key to the school. If I have the principal behind me, I can get a lot done. If the principal is not interested, I can usually get two or three teachers who are interested, but if the principal is interested, then ... my problems are pretty well solved.

Ms. Lewis (fourth-grade teacher at Ardennes School) had worked with two principals who were highly supportive of the program, and she attributed much of her now consolidated involvement in the program to the "pushing" she had received from them (though, as she described what they had done, it was clear that they had had very different styles of supporting teachers who incorporated the arts into their curriculum).

Two of the six teachers interviewed reported that, although they valued the CEMREL curriculum materials, their experience with the program had been quite frustrating because they had lacked principal support. Ms. Carberry (second-grade teacher at Victory Road) said that she had been delegated to introduce the other faculty members to the CEMREL curriculum materials and still feels somewhat guilty that she is the only teacher in the school who makes frequent use of them.

> It just kind of died down, but I really think that it would have gone over better with the teachers had the administrator [been able to work it into his schedule] to encourage the teachers to go on with it.... It ... has to be from the top.... "We are going to work on this, and we'll do it as a school ... and let's have a workshop...." I really don't think that enough was put behind it here at this school. It might have been my fault, that I didn't really, really fight gungho with it, but I was just one teacher, who was trying to put over ... art!

Ms. Sondheim (second-grade teacher at River Haven) reported an even more traumatic introduction to the program. Her current involvement in the program when interviewed was minimal (implementing at least one of the suggested activities in the monthly program activity sheet), even though she had worked in two schools affiliated with the program and even though she clearly valued the materials. She described her experience.

> Sondheim: Bella Raines came to Sunset School where I was, and she approached the principal to experiment with aesthetic education, and he said, "Go ask Roberta. She'll do anything." That was the typical ... answer over at Sunset. And she came to me and presented the program, and it was really neat....
>
> After she presented to me, then I had a child and was unable to proceed with the program ... and I think it sort of dwindled away at Sunset. I don't remember it staying there much longer, although she would always send sheets with activities ... for all of us to use.... I don't think I probably was involved too much in the program from the time after my child was born, and he will be seven tomorrow....
>
> It takes a lot of time and a lot of involvement and then ... to do your regular routine too.
>
> Interviewer: So somebody volunteered you?
>
> Sondheim: Yes, or pushed from the backside.

Ms. Sondheim was by far the least aware of all the respondents of the resources currently offered by the program and was certainly

unaware that Sunset had subsequently become one of the most active schools affiliated with the program.

A principal who refused to tolerate noisy activities requiring a lot of space could presumably make it impossible for a teacher to implement aesthetic education in more than a token way. Ms. Lewis (fourth-grade teacher at Ardennes) reported that such considerations sometimes gave her difficulty, even though she had strong principal support. The teacher network of rights and responsibilities itself puts some restrictions on what teachers feel they can do in the classroom, especially in an open space school like Ardennes.

> This is prosaic, but ... some of ... it ... gets very noisy, and in this open space school ... noise is catching. If this group is getting noisy, then over there they're going to get noisy, because they're going to get busy watching....
>
> I get so mad when I think about this architect -- why didn't he know that in an elementary classroom there are some things you do that are very noisy? I do a lot of choral stuff, with poems.... Sometimes over there [another teacher] might not want me doing poems.... We need a place to go that's soundproof where you can be as noisy as you like.

Receptive Teachers

Even with supportive principals who "push" to make sure that teachers give the program a chance, not all teachers seem to be receptive to the concept of aesthetic education. It can be inferred from the reports of both teachers and principals that usually the teacher who voluntarily leads aesthetic education activities wants the satisfaction of intrinsic rewards (better classroom climate, better rapport with children, etc.) as well as the extrinsic rewards a principal can provide or withhold. All three principals reported that not all teachers are equally motivated by or capable of

implementing aesthetic education. Mr. Groves (Ingham Place School) gave a particularly good word picture of the kind of teacher who usually is motivated by the program (as well as a warning of the damage a teacher might do if forced to teach in a radically uncongenial style).

> I feel ... the administrator has to kind of sell teachers sometimes: this is a good thing that you can just ... work into your curriculum as you need it, not as a separate entity....
>
> The kind of teacher that ... used it quite a bit are the kind that are generally very cooperative, very willing to try anything new. They're searching for things to use to help ... develop concepts with children, so they are very receptive, because they're ... looking themselves for things to do. And they're very sensitive ... to the needs of children, and trying to find something to meet those needs ... more so than others.... I would just say that generally the teacher that's always looking for a way of ... meeting particular needs of children that she can identify....
>
> I suspect there are people in our system that simply could not embrace the concepts of aesthetics. I felt ... there were people ... (if we had become totally involved here) that I would have to do a lot of working with ... just trying to motivate them to give it a try and see that it would work, that it could really help them with certain concepts. There was entirely too much structure, too much feeling that things can only be done one way.... I definitely feel there's a personality that this just simply does not fit....
>
> I guess that was the reason I wanted a general workshop at which <u>all</u> teachers could just view the materials and hear those ladies put on a very good action workshop.... If we can get some ideas over to teachers, it may be a year or two, [but] they'll say, "Oh, I remember that workshop, I'll ask for these materials to help me do this." And I feel ... the teacher that would probably feel she can't use [the materials] ... might find a point somewhere where she could pull some of them and get started. And it's such a long and slow process to try to get teachers sometimes to want to try new things.

Ms. Wilcox (Oakcroft Elementary principal) reported persuading

most of the teachers in her relatively small school to try aesthetic education. She said, however, that teachers' initial acceptance of the approach varied widely.

> Interviewer: What proportion of your teachers ... would you say really picked up on it voluntarily?
>
> Wilcox: Probably about a third to begin with -- voluntarily -- and then, out of that third, a percentage of them kind of fell by the wayside ... but initially about one-third will volunteer to do it. And then you'll find the ones that are really interested in going on with it, and they're the ones that kind of push. And then, once exciting things start happening, other teachers become interested in it.... It's a very contagious kind of program, and I think a lot of it is just total awareness. Teachers kind of get in a rut and aren't really aware of all the things that are available to them or a new way of thinking.... You just kind of get in ... a classroom rut.

Support Networks and Availability of Outside Resources

One significant difference between the responses of the principals and the teachers who were interviewed was in their assessment of the importance of outside resources, especially bringing professional artists and other community arts resources into the schools. All three principals strongly endorsed having professional artists in the school both as performers and as direct instructors of children, and all three made a point of taking advantage of whatever artist-in-residence programs the aesthetic education staff were able to provide each year. Ms. Wilcox did not rely solely on program staff but personally recruited arts instructors on the Riverton State University faculty to work with her teachers.

By contrast, only one of the teachers interviewed -- Ms. Abbott, sixth-grade target teacher at Pine Manor -- stressed the importance of bringing in outside resources to assist children's aesthetic

development. The teachers were, in fact, the only role-identified group among the respondents that did not seem to feel strongly about the availability of outside arts resources. The central administrator initially responsible for the program (Mr. Bird); both Junior League volunteers (Ms. Forrest and Ms. McNeil); and two of the three principals (Mr. Groves and Ms. Wilcox) volunteered that they felt it was very important to have outside resources to supplement what individual teachers are able to do.

A few respondents reported that support networks for aesthetic education had developed in their schools. Ms. Wilcox (Oakcroft principal) said there is cooperation between the Orff music teachers and the classroom teachers in her school: "We schedule the children through Orff music, and then pretty soon the teachers are incorporating what the Orff music teacher is teaching...." The two Quincy teachers (Ms. Rausch and Ms. Underhill) said that they had and valued a close working relationship with a creative physical education teacher in their school. And Ms. Lewis (fourth-grade teacher, Ardennes) said gratefully that the school librarian used CEMREL and other aesthetic education materials in her program. In general, however, it seemed to rest with the principal to ensure that there was an external support system to reinforce what the "creative" teacher did with aesthetic education in the classroom and to provide some compensatory arts-based experiences for children in the more traditional classrooms.

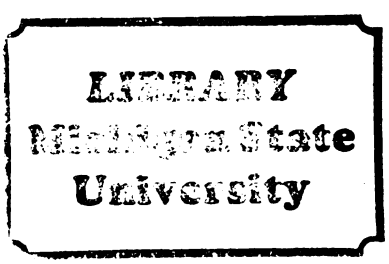
Relation of Interviews to Observations

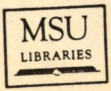
The interviews cover a much broader spectrum of the aesthetic education program than do the field observations. Not only were a wider variety of viewpoints elicited in the interviews but respondents reported on the history of the program as well as on their individual experiences with it. In fact, the scope of the interviews was so broad that it is difficult to relate them to actual classroom events without the reality base provided by the record of actual aesthetic education and other lessons discussed in chapter four (a record taken from the ongoing stream of action and interaction rather than reconstructed in memory by participants). While the range of events reported in chapter four and in the appendices is much narrower than that discussed in this chapter, the field note excerpts in particular are helpful in interpreting what the interview respondents meant when they said that aesthetic education makes children more "aware" or "motivates" children.

It is reassuring that a great many of the comments made by respondents can be easily interpreted in the framework of the concept of dramatic structure, which helped to elucidate what seemed to be going on in many of the observed classroom events. That is, what program participants said about the program suggested that what those whose roles fell near the "context-embedded" end of the continuum in Figure 13 valued most was the organic structuring of classroom group experience: fully involved, mutual enactment of any event so that it has a tension arousing beginning, an involving (sometimes even conflictful) action phase working through the

problem or the point of the event, and a tension releasing climax or resolution and more or less gradual "denouement."

THESIS
pt. 2.





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CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The First Puzzle: the Arts and Self Discipline

The first problem raised in the introduction had to do with the unusual self discipline of the sixth-graders in Ms. Abbott's class at Pine Manor.

> The intercom summons the teacher to the office to deal with an urgent telephone call, and she leaves the room for a full ten minutes. The students hardly look up as she leaves and continue working quietly but actively on their seatwork, leaving their desks to consult with reference books or with one another as they feel the need.

What is it about Ms. Abbott's room that enables her class to adapt so easily to a wide variety of demands? For instance, how is it that when Ms. Dancer (the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery poet-in-residence) came to work with the class for the first time and found them working independently with the teacher nowhere in evidence, they could turn their attention away from their assigned seatwork so readily? Ms. Dancer reported that they "were right with me" and her two colleagues in imaginative "tripping" and sensory exercises. What do the arts have to do with this unusual classroom climate, if anything? How can we know? And what does this climate contribute, if anything, to students' ability to learn what they are taught? And how can we know?

Ms. Dancer discussed the climate in Ms. Abbott's room as an

essential aspect of the children's ability to take part in arts events in an appropriate, meaningful way. As she commented when watching Ms. Abbott's class on videotape, "Without the rigid classroom teacher you can't do anything aesthetic." Folk wisdom would have it, of course, that the teacher who leaves a class to discipline itself for anything less than a major emergency should not be described as "rigid" and is probably inviting a chaotic rather than an orderly classroom environment. What is remarkable about Ms. Abbott's classroom "control" is that the rigid classroom rules operated even in her absence.

The class with which Ms. Dancer had the greatest difficulty doing "anything aesthetic" during the poet-in-residence program was that in which the students were bound by the fewest external constraints, the "open" fifth/sixth-grade classroom at Roseglade Magnet School. Ms. Dancer and her two actor/mime colleagues actually denied Ms. Fellows' "open" class the intensity of experience allowed all of the other classrooms involved in the poet-in-residence program. After several rather chaotic attempts to involve Ms. Fellows' class in sensory awareness exercises and taking "trips" in their imaginations, Ms. Dancer and the two actor/mimes became very reserved in their dealings with these children, avoiding any exercise that they thought might overstimulate them.

Thus, during observations of a round of classroom visits for the poet-in-residence program, the observer saw seven occasions on which the actor/mimes performed for the class and engaged the children in sensory awareness exercises (such as having the students

close their eyes and describe exactly the color of the carpet in the museum room where they had previously worked -- a complex neutral shade which some children remembered and described with remarkable precision). While the actors worked with the class as a whole, Ms. Dancer would consult with individual children about poems they had written for the program anthology (Tickle 1981). In the eighth classroom, Ms. Fellows' "open" classroom, the actor/mimes held a low-key discussion with the class (in the "recitation" mode, with a number of overt desists, to use the terminology in Bossert 1979), while Ms. Dancer consulted with individual children about their poems. At the end of the session, however, Ms. Dancer lightened the atmosphere a bit by congratulating the group on the quality of the poetry they had produced and telling them they had proved to her that they could do disciplined work. (She had accused them previously of being unable to exert the discipline required in the arts; and clearly they and their teacher had risen to the challenge.)

But rigid classroom rules or the lack of them do not seem to tell the whole story. In another classroom that appeared to the rather casual observer to be tightly structured -- a sixth-grade classroom at Delphi School -- Ms. Dancer reported that she had almost as much difficulty as at Roseglade Magnet. In this classroom, during the observed visit of the poet-in-residence team, the teacher left the room as soon as the team began working with the children and stayed away for most of the session. When she did return, she walked around restlessly, doing housekeeping chores,

with a tight smile that seemed to distance her from the classroom activity. While the children in this classroom did not become overstimulated and disruptive during their work with the actor/mimes (as had occurred in earlier sessions with the Roseglade Magnet class), Ms. Dancer felt that they too were handicapped in responding to and creating poems, in comparison with students in classrooms like those of Ms. Abbott and Ms. Gladstone (fifth-grade language arts teacher at Trapeer Junior High). She felt that their poems were "glib" and that the only reason they were able to write poetry acceptable for inclusion in the program anthology was that they came from middle class, literate homes.

Arts activities seemed to play a different role in each of these three classrooms. In the "open" classroom at Roseglade Magnet, students were exposed to a great many arts events, but the interpretation of free inquiry which prevailed there recognized no necessary limitations at all on the children's free self expression. This implicit denial of the rigid structuring inherently present in arts events actually prevented the children from responding appropriately to them, in Ms. Dancer's opinion. (When observed actually giving a performance later in the school year, the class demonstrated that they were capable of respecting the structure of the musical comedy they presented, however. See the account of this event in Appendix V.)

In the sixth-grade classroom at Delphi School, the arts appeared to be treated as a domain separate from the rest of school life and -- to judge by the teacher's pained expression as she watched

the poet-in-residence activities -- a very silly domain. Oddly enough, the same misconception of the nature of freedom in the arts that was apparent in the "open" classroom seemed to underlie the attitude of the rather traditional teacher at Delphi who appeared to react so strongly against the poetry activities. If the arts are understood as totally unconstrained self expression, then any expression that occurs must be accepted as art, and it is difficult to see how any academic discipline could be acquired through such an exercise.

In Ms. Abbott's room, where students were notably self disciplined, they exhibited the sort of freedom through discipline that Mr. Tannenbaum described as peculiarly characteristic of the arts (see page 218). There students engaged in arts activities with some frequency, both in arts events that the teacher valued primarily for their recreational value and in activities she regarded as educationally significant. In those art forms in which the teacher had some training (particularly music), she provided appropriate qualitative feedback, though she carefully refrained from grading students on any of their arts activities for fear of causing them to dislike the arts. She was careful not to provide qualitative feedback about art forms in which she felt less competent, because she thought the arts as important as any other school content and felt students should not be miseducated by receiving inaccurate or irrelevant feedback about arts activities. Whenever possible, Ms. Abbott made sure the children had direct experience with professionals in various arts disciplines: from Ms. Dancer and the

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actor/mimes and from specialists in the visual arts. In her interview with the researcher Ms. Abbott stressed that she values arts activities for their effects on classroom climate (because they are the "most fun part of the day" for both student and teacher) and also because they help the children learn to be independent learners, less dependent on the teacher and therefore less frustrated in coping with the demands on them. As the summary of the interviews in chapter five and in Appendix X indicates, a clear majority of the respondents stressed the value of the arts in inculcating self discipline in students, willingness and ability to work independently and seek help when they needed it, and willingness to work in cooperation rather than competition with other students.

If the arts have these effects (and the literature review in chapter one strongly suggests that many people have thought so for centuries), it is still not clear how. What is clear, on the basis of the classroom observations reported in chapter four and in the appendices, is that simply exposing children to arts events does not, in and of itself, work any particular magic in classroom climate.* On the basis of the full set of field notes on Ms. Anderson's first-grade classroom, where the teacher and class appeared not to have negotiated a set of mutually acceptable rules for enactment of classroom events in general, there was no evidence

*See Appendices M and N for evidence that the same children can be highly responsive to the arts in an appropriate setting (the Orff music classroom) with no apparent effect on their behavior in their usual setting (Ms. Anderson's first-grade classroom at Vineland Elementary School).

that the children ever made use in Ms. Anderson's classroom of any of the interactional skills they exhibited in the Orff music room. Indeed, the particular interactional skills observed in the Orff room -- ability to cooperate in producing a "smooth" performance through skilled use of established routines, such as the pattern of clapping when entering the classroom or the routine of "mirroring" the teacher when new skills were introduced -- were never required in Ms. Anderson's room. They were, in fact, inappropriate according to Ms. Anderson's implicit set of classroom rules, which emphasized ability to cope with unpredictable teacher demands and to "change activities gracefully" with minimal forewarning and structuring of the transition by the teacher. And, as the undisciplined behavior of the children in Ms. Fellows' classroom suggests, children who participate in arts events but are not required to respect the inherent structure of those events do not necessarily develop self discipline and cooperative relationships among themselves and with the teacher.

The concept of dramatic structuring of lessons, described in detail in chapter four, gives a clue to how the sleight of hand is worked, although the analysis made possible by the data gathered for this study still does not make the process transparently clear. There would appear to be a simple, easily comprehensible structure to arts events (at least to those observed in elementary schools) which is part of their attraction for both children and teachers. And this structure, in lessons of greater complexity, appears to make those events more comprehensible and also more intrinsically

attractive to participants. The structure of the event itself appears to help participants get "into" the event by focusing their attention easily on the inherent task demands. And, when teachers who are convinced of the benefits of arts experiences expose children to arts-based lessons as well as to academic lessons in their classrooms, the arts lessons seem to reinforce the cooperative structuring of all classroom events by teacher and class in ways that make it easier to grasp the "point" of instruction. For the most part, this transfer of ability to structure experience is difficult to document, but Ms. Underhill, who teaches fourth grade at Quincy, pointed out an example of direct transfer when she observed that setting routine content to some sort of "beat" or "rhythm" makes it easier for children to grasp and internalize the content (see page 240 for her complete comment).

The present study throws no light on the effects of arts experiences in classrooms where teachers are neither convinced of the benefits of aesthetic education and the arts in general nor skilled in their practice. A token effort was made to locate and interview at least one teacher who had tried the CEMREL curriculum and rejected it. However, that teacher (Ms. Sondheim, second-grade teacher at River Haven), puzzlingly enough, turned out to value the CEMREL curriculum. Her rejection of the program appeared to stem from pressures external to the classroom (primarily a principal whom she perceived as unfair and too demanding) rather than from any difficulties she had experienced with the curriculum in the classroom. She cited time pressures as a secondary reason for not continuing

to use the curriculum, but in this respect her comments were not substantially different from those of teachers who use the aesthetic education curriculum in some way but feel they cannot make optimal use of it, because of time pressures.

Information which bears on the question of the more general effects of children's experiences with the arts comes from the one classroom studied in which teacher and class had failed to negotiate a mutually satisfactory set of classroom rules: Ms. Anderson's first-grade classroom at Vineland Elementary. In that class children were observed taking part in fairly frequent arts events (a brief mime exercise and several visual arts assignments). They participated in these events without as much visible and audible resistance as they exhibited to many of the events in Ms. Anderson's room* but without the eager involvement observed in other classrooms during arts lessons. The teacher's and class' consistent difficulties in focusing their attention jointly on classroom tasks seemed to affect arts events as well as other types of events, but the observation that arts events seemed to elicit somewhat more willing cooperation than other types of lessons does suggest that there is something in the structure of the arts which in and of itself does help a group be more responsive to one another and focus their joint energies on an undertaking.

The indicators of dramatic structure -- the indicators teachers frequently monitor informally to assess "engagement" -- are primarily expressions of emotion in participants. Attention and interest are

*See Appendix M for examples of students' mostly passive resistance.

the least intense emotions apt to be expressed in classroom lessons with good dramatic structure. It is the emotional involvement with what is occurring that accounts for participants' "losing" themselves in the event and focusing all their energies on the event. There is a metaphoric character to such immersion in a coherent event with clearly felt boundaries: it is the "willing suspension of disbelief" characteristic of all play as Huizinga describes play, and it is what allows participants to feel "apart together" in Huizinga's phrase.

Presumably, in the classroom of a good but "rigid," recitation-oriented teacher, lessons have dramatic structure. But one suspects that the teacher for whom "control" of the classroom is an overriding issue normally avoids structuring lessons in such a way that they will have intense emotional significance for participants. For instance, during academic lessons in Ms. Youngblood's sixth-grade class at Far Oaks, a great deal of academic content was normally covered quickly and efficiently. These academic lessons usually had better dramatic structure than the visual art lesson charted for this class (see Appendix W), but the affect level was never very high. In general, teachers seem to be more willing to bore students than to overstimulate them, because the consequences in classroom disruption are greater when students become overstimulated than when they become bored. (Surely neither condition is conducive to concentration on learning tasks.) As observed in chapter four, even such excellent practitioners of aesthetic education as Ms. Abbott and Ms. Gladstone generally avoided lessons so

intense as to "stretch" students' understanding of an art form, although professional artists working with the same children were observed to lead lessons of such emotional intensity that it seemed to "stretch" the students -- a process that inevitably seems to cause discomfort in the children until they understand what the experience is about. Yet Ms. Abbott and Ms. Gladstone were observed to lead lessons suffused with positive expressions of emotion to a much greater degree than the lessons taught by any of the other teachers observed.

If teachers are careful to keep the general affect level low, a lesson may well have the "shape" characteristic of dramatic structure, but the engagement curve would by definition be a low one, indicating that no great pitch of engagement was reached during the lesson.* Lessons with considerable emotional saturation require rather more self discipline on the part of students than less intense, teacher-structured lessons, if they are not to get "out of hand" and lose both focus on the point of the lesson and the "shape" characteristic of dramatic structure. Arts-based lessons not only usually involve livelier expressions of involvement and emotion than more academic lessons but also are intrinsically rewarding enough to most students to motivate them to learn to behave in the self disciplined way which allows them to participate in emotion-saturated tasks without losing their concentration on the task.

*The first part of the visual art lesson depicted in Figure 23 in Appendix W (an art appreciation lesson) is an example.

It may be this feature of the arts which begins to explain the development of self discipline in classes that regularly experience arts activities, a development long remarked by aestheticians. It is this feature which allows Ms. Dancer (or any professional artist) to perceive such classes as particularly disciplined, even though participants in the aesthetic education program (program staff, principals, teachers, and children) talk about such classes as "loose," "fun," warm and cooperative. As Ms. Dancer put it, the heart of the matter is "teaching them how to focus anyway." From the participants' perspective these classes feel "looser" than classes in which the teacher exerts constant overt control to maintain order. The self discipline that the children choose to exhibit in such classes allows for an orderly classroom life without any conscious feeling of constraint, because all concerned have freely accepted the well understood, binding classroom rules.

Ms. Wilcox (principal of a small, arts-saturated Riverton elementary school) described the relationship between the arts and the development of self discipline when she commented, "I think it's a readiness level for the primary. I think, moving up into the intermediate grades, it's a self discipline technique that's incorporated into other subject areas." She neglected to add, however, what the observations recorded in chapter four and in the appendices indicate clearly: that the transfer to other subject areas of the self discipline learned through arts activities occurs only when the entire school experience is structured in such a way that the transfer can occur, when the task demands of the classroom

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during academic instruction are sufficiently similar to those during arts events.

Teachers to whom the observer talked during the course of this study reported that over the years students have been coming to school with less and less initial skill in cooperating with a group in a coherent learning task. Ms. Anderson (first-grade teacher at Vineland) attributed this to increased disorganization of home life, pointing out that many of her students are so used to a number of discrepant activities going on simultaneously at home that they cannot "tolerate" a quiet classroom learning environment. She felt that, when this intolerance was extreme, the only remedy that would help the children was a great deal more one-to-one interaction with a teacher than is possible in the regular, self-contained classroom.

Ms. Abbott (sixth-grade target teacher at Pine Manor) also felt that students were coming into her classroom with less and less skill in the basic school subjects each year, so that she had to spend more time in remedial work to bring them up to the level of proficiency required for the arts-based "enrichment" activities she enjoyed and knew they enjoyed. The remarkably self disciplined way in which children in Ms. Abbott's classroom tackled their individual seatwork suggests that structuring a learning task productively is something students need to learn, not only to cooperate smoothly with others in group lessons, but also in order to organize their independent work coherently. Ms. Abbott felt that her current class lacked self discipline compared with previous classes; surely,

however, they must have learned a great deal by the period of observation during the second half of the school year. It seems likely that they learn to structure their individual work either by modeling adults who are skilled at organizing their own work coherently or by learning how to cooperate in coherent group academic work and transferring that knowledge of "how to" to structuring their independent work.

The complex issue of how time is organized in elementary school classrooms -- and whether it needs to be quite so tightly scheduled as it typically is for both teachers and students -- is related to the problem of how and whether students transfer skills they have learned from arts-based lessons to other, purely academic tasks. The rationale teachers consistently give for not giving children more arts activities is ironic. With all the academic learning for which they are held responsible, they say, they simply do not have time to teach the arts, for which they are not held seriously responsible, unless they "integrate" the arts with other, more basic content or keep the activity so short it cannot serve any serious educational purpose. "Quickie" arts-based activities (graphically described by Ms. Rausch on page 245) can serve to "pace" instruction (or provide some relief from the academic pressures when classroom tensions build to a level hindering children from concentrating on their assigned work) and to facilitate a style of classroom management that requires children to work in self disciplined fashion most of the time. This rationale (expressed by even such a skilled implementer of aesthetic education as

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Ms. Abbott) is an understandable reaction by the teacher to the conflicting demands on the teacher's and children's limited time in school and the resulting problems of time management that the teacher faces.

"Kinds of Time on Kinds of Tasks"

A number of the teachers (for instance, Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Carberry) expressed considerable concern for "time on task," a factor in school learning of which teachers and researchers are both currently extremely aware. Obviously, "time on task," or time spent trying to solve assigned problems or learn assigned content, is essential if students are to accomplish learning tasks, but the observations for this study strongly suggest that any simple measure of "time on task" is far from the whole story in accounting for student learning. For instance, in Ms. Abbott's room, Brian (the student who achieved least by every measure) was seldom observed to be clearly "off task," although he completed very few tasks indeed. By contrast, Marsha (the student who made the highest possible grade equivalent score, 12.9, on every single subtest of the California Achievement Test at the end of sixth grade) was frequently observed to be "off task" and was only a B student, not because she was failing to learn the assigned content but simply because she did not give highest priority to the way in which she completed the tasks assigned by the teacher. (Given Marsha's general achievement level, neither her parents nor the teacher were much concerned about her "underachievement.")

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Moreover, according to rough "time on task" analyses of the observations made on the completion of all the early full day observations, the percentage of "time on task" in Ms. Abbott's room was not exceptionally high, only about average, even though her class was obviously achieving very well. Not only did Ms. Abbott give her students more frequent and longer breaks than other teachers who were observed but a higher than usual percentage of the work time in her room was spent in organizing for instruction rather than in actually doing academic tasks. Yet the achievement of the students in Ms. Abbott's room was dramatically higher than that of the students in Ms. Youngblood's sixth-grade room, where transitions were made very quickly and smoothly, a great deal of academic content was covered, and students spent a very high proportion of their time in school "on task" (which did not prevent Bernard, the brightest student in the room, from becoming so bored he engaged in disruptive behavior). In both classes students were predominantly lower middle class; Ms. Abbott's class was racially more heterogeneous than Ms. Youngblood's and probably more heterogeneous in socioeconomic terms as well, but she was highly critical of the students' entering skills compared with her previous classes.

Some of these apparent anomalies may be resolved by a closer look at "time on task" assumptions. This strand of educational research harks back, originally, to John Carroll's famous learning formula (1963: 730):

$$\text{Degree of Learning} = f\left(\frac{\text{time actually spent}}{\text{time needed}}\right)$$

For subsequent discussions of the theoretical implications of the formula for research on teaching and learning, see Bloom (1974) and Harnsichfeger and Wiley (1978). As researchers have learned when attempting to operationalize Carroll's formula, it is difficult enough to find adequate measures of "time actually spent" on learning tasks, since much school learning is internal and not readily observable. Yet gross measures of "time on task" frequently are so strongly correlated statistically with generally accepted measures of student learning that some researchers have felt justified in using measures of "time on task" as a proxy for student learning (Harris and Yinger 1977).

A critical variable in Carroll's formula, "time needed" in order to learn, has to date defied efforts to operationalize and particularly to develop quantifiable measures for it. According to Carroll, "time needed" for completion of a particular learning task by a particular student is a function of "aptitude for learning this task" (1963: 725); "ability to understand instruction" (1963: 726); and "quality of instruction" (1963: 726). Carroll discusses the variable "quality of instruction" in ways which relate to some of the considerations discussed in chapter four:

> One job of the teacher (or any person who prepares the materials of instruction) is to organize and present the task to be learned in such a way that the learner can learn it as rapidly and as efficiently as he is able. This means, first, that the learner must be told, in words that he can understand, what he is to learn and how he is

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> to learn it. It means that the learner must be put into adequate sensory contact with the material to be learned (for example, one must insure that the learner will adequately see or hear the materials of instruction). It also means that the various aspects of the learning task must be presented in such an order and with such detail that, as far as possible, every step of the learning is adequately prepared for by a previous step. It may also mean that the instruction must be adapted for the special needs and characteristics of the learner, including his stage of learning. All these things may be summarized in what we call quality of instruction. This variable applies not only to the performance of a teacher but also to the characteristics of textbooks, workbooks, films, teaching-machine programs, etc. (Carroll 1963: 726).

One reason "quality of instruction" is such a difficult variable to operationalize is that it is a compendium of conceptually different considerations (all of which, presumably, have to be present for optimum "quality of instruction," but for which no weighting is provided to help measure such quality in less than optimal circumstances). The present study suggests, for instance, that there may be a critical difference between "quality of instruction" as exemplified by materials designed to allow the learner to teach himself or herself (which requires the learner to structure the experience, with the help of already structured materials) and lessons presented by a teacher to a group of children.

In lessons presented to groups in classrooms, the mutually enacted structuring of the event in a way that helps learners focus on the content to be learned (a process enacted and controlled jointly by teacher and group of learners) appears to be a different consideration from breaking the task down into carefully sequenced steps for presentation (a process under the sole control of teacher and/or materials). Ms. Beauvoir (first-grade target teacher), for

instance, helped focus the attention of her students (in preparation for relating to one another in appropriate ways for the entire school day) while ostensibly having them attend to content to which the teacher herself paid so little attention that she frequently let incorrect answers pass uncorrected unless the group signalled its awareness that the answers were incorrect. One such opening boardwork exercise is recorded in Appendix K (and charted in Figure 7 on page 181). The chart strongly suggests that good dramatic unity can be achieved in lessons with demonstrably poor content.

Moreover, the sequencing of a task so as to make it optimally comprehensible to the learner is an obviously different consideration from the quality of the content the student is to learn. In a value-saturated enterprise (schooling), perhaps the most value-laden questions about teaching and learning have to do with the relative worth and priority of various contents to which students might be exposed in school. Chapter five documents a variety of arguments by aesthetic education program participants designed to persuade others that the arts have greater value as content and should have higher priority in a general education than they are assigned in most American public schools. Yet even these arguments are diverse, some participants stressing the value of the arts for their own sake while others stress their instrumental value, as facilitators of more traditional school learning and as facilitators of a happier, more productive classroom climate than possible otherwise.

It is entirely possible to imagine situations in which content that most of us would agree without hesitation is worthless (for instance, indoctrination in Nazi ideology and tactics) might be sequenced ideally and taught with excellent dramatic structure (reinforced, no doubt, by the Nazi songs which, in fact, did historically accompany such indoctrination). It is difficult to account for the amount of miseducation which has occurred from time to time without postulating that worthless, even false or evil, content has sometimes been very well taught indeed.

Thus, "quality of instruction" seems to be a very complex notion, indeed, divisible into at least three clearly separable components: 1) quality of content; 2) structuring the presentation of the content to facilitate learning; and 3) structuring the group's or individual's experienced time in such a way as to facilitate focusing on the lesson and its content. Of these, the focusing of the students' attention on the lesson and its content (a mutually enacted, inherently social undertaking in any lesson with two or more participants) would appear to be the most basic, since the most carefully sequenced and presented information or tasks will not be comprehended by a student who does not focus his or her attention on them. Similarly, quality of content can hardly be perceived by the learner unless the structuring of experienced time and the structuring of the presentation of the content are at least minimally adequate. It is hardly surprising that researchers have had such difficulty operationalizing "quality of instruction"

and have, therefore, disregarded this variable so often in research on "time on task."

What the concept of dramatic structuring of classroom events seems to throw some light on is the most basic level at which "quality of instruction" is achieved or not: the ability of a teacher and a group of learners to focus their attention jointly on the teaching/learning task. Only if this focus is reasonably well accomplished do the factors that Carroll discussed as "quality of instruction" have a chance to enter into the event as perceived by participants. And, as the field notes in the appendices and in chapter four illustrate, such focusing by teacher and students occurs at at least minimally adequate levels most of the time in the classrooms of experienced teachers who know how to control the classroom, but it does not always occur.

What the procedure for charting dramatic structure that was introduced in chapter four adds to the toolkit of educational researchers (and to teachers' resources for in-service support when dealing with teaching problems) is a relatively objective way of looking at the way in which teachers and the students with whom they work are structuring classroom tasks. The indicators of dramatic structure are primarily qualitative rather than quantitative, having to do with the appropriateness of the relationship between the teacher's presentation of the task and the student's "engagement behavior." The method of observing and charting dramatic structure suggested here is a way of recording qualitative factors (easy to intuit but usually difficult to discuss objectively)

in a way that is intersubjectively consistent. The ability to schematize these factors in a way on which observers can agree and to measure them (even according to an ordinal scale which allows only the most minimal manipulation) makes them available for reflection and analysis in a way that is not possible when they are experienced subjectively during the interactive process enacted in real time.

The teacher is given two avenues for stepping outside the stream of events and reflecting upon them: an outside observer's analysis of what occurred and his or her own analysis, based on an external and relatively consistent record of the event (field notes or videotape, for instance). For the researcher's purposes (as in this thesis) field notes yield almost as much information as videotapes, with a considerably smaller investment of time and effort. If the object is to enable teachers to reflect on their own practice, however, videotapes are probably preferable to field notes, as field notes require the teacher to judge the accuracy of the record on the basis of an inevitably limited memory of the event, whereas videotape has the capacity to bring to the teacher's notice aspects of the event that were totally outside the teacher's conscious awareness or even field of perception during the event itself. Thus, videotape is intrinsically preferable for eliciting the teacher's emic perspective on what occurred. (See pages 78 - 80 for a discussion of the emic-etic distinction.)

When things go inexplicably wrong between a teacher and a class, one of the likeliest explanations is that classroom events

are being poorly structured at the most basic level (that which determines whether or not the events can be perceived by participants as coherent wholes). Helping teachers perceive the lack of organic structuring of these events ought to assist teachers to learn to work with difficult classes in more productive sequences. If teachers work with more than one group of students (as they do in compartmentalized schools and at the junior and senior high levels, typically), it might be particularly helpful to a teacher to examine the dramatic structure of events with a class with which she or he has good rapport and to contrast that structure with what occurs in a class with which he or she does not have good rapport. Such exercises might also be of use to administrators in tempering unreasonable expectations as to the amount of "control" a teacher can have over the presentation of lessons.

Some teachers are undoubtedly better, and consistently better, than others at establishing relationships with students that ensure that most events in their classrooms will have good dramatic structure. Ms. Abbott's report, for instance, that the class observed for this study was less self disciplined and had less sense of fair play than any of her previous classes argues a high average rate of success, indeed, for Ms. Abbott in developing appropriate rapport for the set of classroom rules she prefers.

But the fact that a number of lessons with dramatic structure were observed in Ms. Beauvoir's first-grade classroom at Vineland while few such lessons were observed in Ms. Anderson's room at the same school does not imply that Ms. Beauvoir was a "good" teacher

(at least in any static sense) while Ms. Anderson was not. As the videotape of the routine morning boardwork in Ms. Beauvoir's class demonstrated (see Appendix K), there were times when Ms. Beauvoir failed to correct obviously incorrect answers and thus provided rather less than optimal quality of content. It is hard to account for the amount of learning that clearly occurred in Ms. Beauvoir's room (and was documented by the children's above-average scores on the California Achievement Test at the end of the year) without taking into account the interactional skills of the students and their ability frequently to teach themselves and one another in appropriate ways. But it is also apparent that this type of learning could not have occurred in Ms. Beauvoir's room if she had not structured the classroom environment in such a way as to encourage children to teach themselves and one another.

According to both Ms. Beauvoir and Ms. Anderson and according to members of the aesthetic education program team who had worked with both teachers for some years, there had been years when the situation was reversed, when Ms. Anderson had a class that responded enthusiastically to her teaching style and Ms. Beauvoir had a class that rejected her teaching style. If the observations had been made during such a year, it seems likely that the analysis of the observations would have suggested that Ms. Anderson was a "good" teacher while Ms. Beauvoir was a "poor" one. It also seems likely that being able to contrast videotapes and/or charts of the dramatic structure of lessons that each teacher had conducted with a "good" class with similar records of similar lessons with a "poor" class

might have helped the teachers compensate for some of the interactional difficulties they had with "poor" classes. At the least, such an opportunity might have arrested the downward spiral that was observed in Ms. Anderson's class during the observations, with lessons showing less and less dramatic structure over the course of the observations.

The Dilemmas of the Aesthetic Education Program

Enough information and analysis have now been presented to make it worthwhile to take another look at the dilemmas raised in the introduction to this study (pages 7 - 12).

Dilemma #1: Frill or Basic?

> Aesthetic education is perceived by many non-participants (and probably by some participants) as a harmless frill, pleasant but not essential to an elementary education. Yet many participants believe that the skills children learn from aesthetic education transfer directly to a more efficient learning of core subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic.

To judge from the analysis to date, what transfers directly from aesthetic education experiences (or arts-based lessons in general) is an ability to cooperate with a classroom group to structure any classroom event in such a way that its "point" is readily perceived by all and that it is easy for participants to focus on what is happening during the event. Teachers consistently label this ability heightened "awareness," and it seems to be very similar to, if not identical with, the heightened sensory awareness that is typically an outcome of any successful arts experience.

This heightened awareness also seems to enter into the

partially implicit but powerful contract between teacher and class about classroom management rules to be followed in general. Teachers who comfortably and frequently expose their classes to arts-based experiences also seem, for the most part, to prefer a classroom management style requiring students to exert self discipline to be responsible for many of their own learning activities and to cooperate in helping one another understand the content of these self structured lessons. And they seem to be able usually to elicit students' willing cooperation in establishing this type of rule for classroom interaction, a willingness which they frequently attribute to the students' experiences with the arts.

The circumstances under which the heightened "awareness" elicited in arts experiences was not observed to transfer to the everyday classroom teaching and learning environment were: 1) a situation in which teacher and class had not been able to agree upon an implicit contract, so that classroom rules were still subject to negotiation (and, increasingly, to confrontation) throughout the school year (the situation in Ms. Anderson's first-grade classroom); 2) a situation in which the need for classroom rules to govern classroom interactions was explicitly denied (the planned anarchy observed in Ms. Fellows' fifth/sixth-grade "open" classroom, in which implicit regularities developed but in such a way that neither teacher nor students often had much opportunity to cooperate in an intuitively successful way in group structuring of lessons; 3) a situation in which the classroom teacher allowed the students to participate in occasional arts-based events but took no part

in these events herself and behaved in a way that suggested that the arts activities were unrelated to school learning and, in at least that sense, a waste of class time (the situation observed in a sixth-grade classroom at Delphi School). Under these circumstances, the perceptual structuring inherent in arts events could hardly be expected to transfer to lessons in other content and art content could easily be perceived as a pleasant but inessential "frill," unless one believed that the arts content was sufficiently valuable in its own right to be included in any general education program.

Depending on the classroom rule structure, arts-based lessons apparently can serve either to distract learners from the discipline of academic learning or as the basis for heightened awareness that motivates more efficient learning of academic subjects. The type of student behaviors encouraged by such heightened awareness, when it occurs, are: ability to cooperate with peers as well as with the teacher in the coherent structuring of classroom events; ability to structure one's own learning activity successfully during independent learning activities; and ability to participate in emotionally charged events without losing concentration on the meaning and point of the event.

Dilemma #2: Are they teaching aesthetic education or not?

> Participants in the Riverton City Schools aesthetic education program generally are unsure of the definition of aesthetic education or even of the art forms on which the program is based. Thus, they are unsure whether what they are doing represents aesthetic education or not when they move beyond the packaged curriculum materials. However,

> most of the participating teachers can describe values they believe to be inherent in both the packaged activities and in their teacher-made, arts-based activities which many of them used before the CEMREL materials were introduced. They are more concerned to have these values inculcated than to be authentic or "pure" practitioners of aesthetic education. Arts specialists frequently resent what they perceive as a hidden agenda (to teach social values), which they feel dilutes the arts content of the curriculum, often to the point that lessons which purport to be aesthetic education have no arts content.

There can be no doubt that the perspective of the non-specialist classroom teacher on the value of the arts in education differs sharply from that of the arts specialist or the professional artist. This difference is explored, to the extent the interview data helped explain the two different perspectives, in chapter five. It is largely a matter of the degree to which the respondent is immersed in the discipline of the art form being taught. Teachers are inevitably "classroom context-embedded" (on the continuum shown in Figure 13) and are apt to be skeptical of the adequacy of their comprehension of the arts content (often appropriately, given their relative lack of training and immersion in the content). Thus, they seldom feel comfortable giving students direct instruction in the arts content and the kind of qualitative feedback on their performances that ensures meaningful arts content.

Since qualitative evaluation is clearly more difficult and requires surer grounding in the subject matter than "rule-governed" or yes/no evaluation, it is unlikely that many elementary non-specialist teachers can develop the self confidence to provide such feedback in the arts. Certainly the short-term training provided by Riverton State University (see Appendix D) cannot be expected

to accomplish much more than to overcome some of the teachers' insecurities in participating in the arts and to "loosen" them to the point of taking part wholeheartedly in arts events and allowing students to do so also. For those teachers with the greatest intuitive (or trained) understanding of the arts, this short-term training may also provide a basis for encouraging children as they discover for themselves the inherent discipline of the art form. But even the most confident non-specialist teachers are comfortable giving direct instruction only in those art forms with which they are most familiar and are very unlikely to give children the quality of evaluative feedback they would receive from arts specialists or from arts professionals. Nor are they apt to be willing or able to lead arts lessons of the emotional and cognitive intensity that characterizes the best of the lessons taught by specialists.

The most complete arts instruction observed for this study (the cooperation of Ms. Abbott and Ms. Gladstone with the poet-in-residence program, facilitated by the aesthetic education program staff) represents a reasonable compromise. In these situations the poet respected the classroom climate that the non-specialist teacher could establish with a group of children, in part through exposing them consistently to arts-based lessons. In fact, Ms. Dancer recognized that such a classroom climate was a prerequisite for the most productive enactment of her own arts-saturated sessions with the children. The classroom teachers not only used the arts to help establish a happy, productive, cooperative classroom climate and for welcome recreation but also valued the sharply

focused evaluative feedback, the saturation in the discipline of a particular art form, which the professional artist gave the children. In these cases the children appeared to have the best of two related but quite different worlds: a classroom organization that required them to exert self discipline but enabled them to use a great many more of their talents during the school day than the traditionally structured classroom normally permits, a classroom organization in which their need for "fun" was respected; and exposure to a professional artist who could introduce them to the full discipline inherent in his or her art form, through particularly rich arts experiences.

Given the inherent conflict between professionals immersed in a particular discipline and the classroom teacher who uses the arts disciplines primarily to help create a productive classroom climate, it seems important not only for classroom teachers to understand that there is considerably more to the arts disciplines than they feel comfortable teaching but also for the arts specialists to understand the constraints that prevent even the best trained and most highly motivated non-specialists from teaching arts lessons as well as the specialist would like. These constraints include not only the non-specialists' relative lack of comprehension of the art form and its discipline but also the extraordinary time constraints in the typical elementary classroom.

In every subject area, not only the arts, teachers must structure lessons with sufficient "magnitude" (must be "of a length to be taken in by the memory" in Aristotle's phrase) to be perceived

as meaningful wholes but short enough to be within the children's normal attention spans and to allow time for the other mandated activities. Ms. Rausch (sixth-grade teacher, Quincy) had had more graduate level training in the arts than any other teacher observed or interviewed and felt comfortable teaching arts lessons that she described as "serious stuff," but even she reported, "I think of myself as a teacher of mini-lessons: quick, to the point, hit it, because we have so many programs.... Sometimes I find myself trying to teach two or three subjects, all at one time." Like other teachers who were interviewed she stressed the value of performing arts exercises for "pacing" instruction (giving students a short break from concentrated academic tasks and allowing them to dissipate accumulated tensions periodically).

Mr. Tannenbaum (CEMREL curriculum developer/disseminator) said that he believed that the aesthetic education curriculum reinforces something basic, which underlies all curriculum, is educable, and, therefore, needs to be systematically taught in schools. The concept of dramatic structure suggests that this "something basic" may be the organic form characteristic of the arts, necessary to allow classroom participants to focus on the "point" of instruction. Coming up with reasonable compromises maximizing the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses of both the arts specialist and the non-specialist classroom teacher might be easier if both arts specialists and non-specialist teachers understood more clearly that "organic form" is most fully exemplified in the arts but is basic to much ordinary human interaction, including school lessons.

Dilemma #3: Relaxation or Another Pressure?

> Voluntary participants in the aesthetic education program value arts-based activities in part because they feel these activities relieve some of the excessive pressures children and teachers are under and make the classroom a more relaxed, pleasant place to be. Yet teachers who resist the program usually do so because they perceive it as yet another pressure -- and a demand for performance in an inessential curriculum area. They perceive that the novelty of the approach will be uncomfortable for them and probably for the children also, rather than pleasurable and relaxed.

Clearly, the teacher's understanding or lack of understanding of aesthetic education and desire to use it to reinforce a classroom climate requiring a great deal of student initiative and self discipline usually determines whether arts-based activities disrupt or reinforce classroom discipline. In those cases where arts-based activities reinforce the teacher's and children's usual mode of interacting to accomplish all classroom tasks, part of the way in which the arts reinforce what is going on is by giving students opportunities to express themselves and to relieve the tensions which can build up in all small, ingrown communities. Moreover, the fact that the arts activities are usually perceived by both teacher and students as fun in itself makes the classroom a pleasant place to be and emphasizes the voluntary nature of classroom activities, which is essential if students are expected to act in a self disciplined way.

In those classrooms in which arts-based activities usually disrupt classroom discipline (even if the disruption is minor and easily overcome), one would expect to find conflict between the task demands of the arts discipline involved and the task demands

of the more normal teacher-structured activities. Understandably, the teacher would perceive any expectation that he or she teach aesthetic education as an uncomfortable demand for performance in an area not usually considered top priority by American educators, and the teacher's discomfort would normally be transmitted to the children. Whether the children would react by agreeing with the teacher that arts activities are non-academic and inappropriate in the classroom or by shedding their usual constraints and engaging in "fun" but chaotic behavior would depend largely on the strength of their implicit contract with the teacher and the degree to which they did or did not feel unduly, arbitrarily constrained by classroom rules.

CEMREL Problems in Introducing the Curriculum into Schools

The discussion of the dilemmas outlined in the introduction throws some light on the two major problems faced by CEMREL curriculum developers and disseminators as they have tried to persuade school systems to adopt their curriculum: 1) teachers' insistence on using only selected activities (lifted out of the context of coherent units of instruction) which they can "integrate" with their accustomed activities and units of instruction; and 2) teachers' stubborn refusal (or inability) to engage in direct instruction of arts concepts, particularly the skills of art criticism, especially when they move beyond teaching the packaged curriculum as sequenced in the curriculum units. From the point of view of the developers of the curriculum these are critical

problems in implementing aesthetic education in non-specialist elementary classrooms.

1) Subject Integration

Teachers' insistence on identifying individual activities in the packaged units of instruction that they feel will reinforce activities which are already part of their curriculum repertoire underlines the "activity" focus of many teachers. (The research on teacher thought cited at the end of chapter two strongly suggests that such "activity focus" is more characteristic of teacher planning than the rational model that has dominated the literature on planning and evaluation.) An "activity" focus respects the need for coherent structure for any individual classroom lesson while it denies the need for coherent structuring of the content of instruction over time, the structure of most concern to curriculum developers.

Devices such as Ms. Abbott's skilled use of "teaser" activities to prepare students for more focused attention to some content with which they would later be dealing in depth help extend the "activity" focus of teachers into a more longitudinal concern about the need for coherence in students' perceptions of subject matter as it is presented over time and particularly in coherent "units" of instruction. Surely most teachers, as they plan such "units" (a name that implies concern for coherence), must pay attention to both sequencing and degree of fit among the individual activities that make up the unit.

That this must be so is indicated by the observations for this

study, which suggest that arts activities incorporated into a lesson simply to "hype up" otherwise dull content (Mr. Tannenbaum's fear) simply don't "work." When the arts activity is not clearly, redundantly relevant to the "point" of the academic lesson into which it is incorporated, it may or may not engage the students' attention but (if it does engage their attention) it interferes with rather than reinforcing the "point" of the academic lesson.*

This observation helps account for the total absence of clear-cut instances of "subject integration" in the lessons actually observed for this study. It also suggests that, just as subplots in theatrical presentations must be organically connected with the main plot in some integral way if the audience is to perceive the play as an organic whole, arts-based lessons "integrated" into academic units of instruction have to connect with the "point" of the lessons with which they are integrated in a necessary rather than an accidental way if they are to reinforce rather than to interfere with the academic learning that occurs.

The field notes on which this study is based suggest that such necessary connections are harder to make than teachers may realize and that teachers who try to make arts content relevant to any academic lesson may indeed be wasting the students' time, since the arts-based activities are usually not coherent arts events in

*See, for instance, Appendices M and Q for instances in which teachers incorporated involving activities (not necessarily arts content) into routine academic lessons for no other apparent reason than to interest the children. The charts of these lessons, in Figures 8 and 18, make visually evident the interference of the "involving" activity with the overall thrust of the lesson.

themselves nor are they reinforcing the academic learning as the teacher intends. Some of the lessons teachers identified as "integrated" turned out to incorporate arts content in appropriate but inessential ways in which neither teacher nor students invested much psychic energy (for instance, visual art to illustrate both creative writing and more academic reports). Even such apparently trivial subject integration may sometimes lead a group of children to focus on aspects of the situation other than those the teacher wants them to focus on (as when Ms. Beauvoir's first-graders turned a routine writing task into a drawing lesson in the lesson described in Appendix P).

What the topic of subject integration does raise as a serious problem for schools (as well as for teachers and students) is the pervasive lack of time in elementary classrooms. Teachers frequently engage students in activities that have less coherent structure than the teachers recognize is needed simply because they feel so pressured by the constraints of time to get on with scheduled activities. This practice violates that "something" basic to all curriculum of which Mr. Tannenbaum spoke and is one of the major elements in the fragmentation of school experience and of students' perception of curriculum content, of which several of the respondents to interviews complained.

If students have difficulties making appropriate connections between what they have learned in one context and what they need to know or do in another context, the problem may be as much with the habitual structuring of the events in which they participate

as it is with any inability on their part to generalize. If arts activities are inherently more resistant to this fragmentation of experience than many other types of experience -- and they seem to be -- this may account for teachers' being able to use arts-based lessons to help students structure all of their activities more coherently and begin to make connections between contexts (or to generalize) for themselves rather than being dependent on others to draw their attention to the connections. However, this use of the arts probably does not involve "subject integration" in the straightforward sense that teachers described: as a way of solving some of the problems caused by time constraints by finding ways of teaching more than one thing at a time.

2) Resistance to Direct Teaching

Teachers' consistency in resisting the requirement of the CEMREL curriculum units that they engage students in direct instruction from which students are expected to learn arts concepts (such as understanding the formal elements of the various artistic media or principles of art criticism) poses several interesting challenges: 1) Can students be expected to learn arts content through simple exposure to arts events or products without direct instruction (as teachers seem to expect)? 2) If so, how can deliberate instruction in the arts in the public schools be justified?

What is it that teachers are not doing that they should be doing when they resist direct instruction and only expose children

to arts experiences? This is rather easy to spot when teachers are implementing the packaged aesthetic education activities and difficult to spot when they are implementing teacher-created, arts-based activities (as was the case during most of the lessons observed for this study). The art criticism lesson led by Ms. Youngblood and recorded (together with the chart of its structure in Figure 23) in Appendix W is particularly instructive in this regard. It was the only lesson that was observed which was based on commercial aesthetic education materials (supplemented by materials from the CEMREL Shapes packages), and it was the only lesson observed in which any real attempt was made to teach principles of art criticism. Yet, even during this lesson, most of which had been structured for the teacher by the materials she was using, the teacher was not observed providing students with evaluative feedback on their own visual artwork in terms of any of the principles she had just been teaching them during the art appreciation activity with slides of famous works of art.

The teacher-led lesson in which there was most qualitative feedback on students' responses was the diamanté-writing lesson in Ms. Abbott's classroom which is described in detail on pages 165 - 171. Yet even during this lesson there was probably more feedback of the yes/no variety (rejection of a suggested word because it was an adjective instead of a noun, for instance) than of the qualitative variety (as when Ms. Abbott rejected a suggestion on the stylistic grounds that it started with the same sound as the succeeding word). In most of the observed lessons teachers

did not give even this amount of qualitative reaction to students' performances.

Thus, it appears to be an almost total lack of qualitative feedback that constitutes teachers' unwillingness or inability to engage in direct teaching of the arts content. In blaming teachers for this lack, CEMREL curriculum developers/disseminators may be assuming that teachers typically have knowledge that most of those who were observed or interviewed in Riverton did not seem to have. This assumption of an existing knowledge base may have led CEMREL curriculum developers to devise training procedures that are too superficial to overcome profound lack of confidence in teaching the content. It seems unlikely that any short-term training would be able to overcome such profound lack of confidence. Perhaps what the training does seem to accomplish, persuading teachers to overcome their inhibitions about participating in the arts and to expose children to arts-based events (even without direct instruction) is as much as can reasonably be expected in a two week training workshop if teachers do not already have considerable training in and experience with the various art forms.

Unwillingness or inability to give students feedback on the way in which they manipulated the formal elements of media (line, color, pitch, quality of movement, for instance) extended to resistance to using the arts terminology for these elements and their relationships, another symptom of rather profound lack of confidence in teaching the content. As Ms. Raines put it in her discussion of the definition of aesthetic education:

> I do agree with CEMREL that there are concepts in the arts that need to be taught.... I'm just trying to get [teachers] to use the words "line" and "color" and "texture" and "volume" and "shape," ... and they talk ... about just doing an "activity."

Again, the "activity" focus of many teachers seems to be given free rein by their perception of the nature of aesthetic education.

By their teaching behavior teachers acted as if they expected the level of engagement elicited without difficulty by most arts experiences, in and of itself, to teach students what they needed to know about the arts. As the literature review in Appendix A indicates, it is possible to learn to participate appropriately in arts events without conscious attention to the elements of which the perceptual whole is composed. In fact, folk arts traditions in most human societies have been transmitted through an apprenticeship type of training rather than through more formal instruction. The accounts of lessons in which teachers appeared to "let" students teach themselves something about an art form (for instance, Appendices P, R-T, and V) suggest that teachers' expectations in this regard are not totally unreasonable and that perhaps skilled direct instruction is unnecessary for nonprofessional participation in the arts and might be reserved for those few students who will go on to make careers in an arts field. Whether they are conscious of it or not, it seems clear that students <u>do</u> learn something about shape, color, pitch, timbre, etc. simply by participating in events in which those formal properties are manipulated in intrinsically pleasing ways. Further, it seems entirely unlikely that a student could comprehend an art form through direct

instruction with no exposure to examples of the art form, while it seems much likelier that the student could develop comprehension adequate for many purposes by repeated exposure to arts events without direct instruction.

Why Teach the Arts?

If this is the case, what rationale can there be for introducing a formal aesthetic education curriculum into an already overcrowded elementary curriculum? Two sorts of rationale suggest themselves.

Perhaps the more basic is that teachers (who, like most Americans, generally have inadequate exposure to and training in the arts) are highly unlikely to use the arts in appropriate ways in elementary classrooms without some structured guidance of the sort provided for them by the CEMREL curriculum packages. Although highly skilled arts instruction undoubtedly requires more and better training than the CEMREL curriculum or the short-term training based on it can give, the curriculum does provide teachers with structured "activities" that engage students with the arts in ways appropriate both to elementary classrooms and to the art forms on which the packages are based.

While exposure to the arts, in and of itself, may be educative, it is highly unlikely that all types of exposure are equally effective in allowing children to teach themselves, and some types of exposure are undoubtedly miseducative (as when Ms. Beauvoir failed to recognize children's interest in the sophisticated jazz music

she played for them and cut short the activity because children became more actively engaged with the music than she intended). For instance, exposing children to complex art forms which they cannot comprehend immediately on an intuitive basis is likely to produce lasting dislike of the art form unless there is sufficient structuring of the experience to allow children to learn appropriately from it.

The second type of rationale has to do with the limits on the quality of the arts experiences to which non-specialist teachers can appropriately expose children and expect them to learn without direct instruction. The large qualitative differences (in emotional intensity as well as in the complexity and polish of the arts events) between the observed arts events led by non-specialist teachers and the arts events led by artists-in-residence in the Riverton schools cannot be demonstrated through the analysis of dramatic structure in chapter four (except for the brief discussion of the discomfort children experienced temporarily when confronted with the complexity and intensity of some of the professionally-led lessons). Competent judges of the art forms involved, however, will note dramatic differences in the quality of all the arts lessons led by professional artists and those led by classroom teachers. The lessons led by specialists (the Orff music teacher described in Appendix N and the language arts specialist described in Appendix R) seem to fall between the extremes in terms of inherent quality of the arts experience. (But, in the classroom-based examples of arts lessons, only the Orff music teacher -- the arts specialist -- provided

confident qualitative feedback on the students' performances in the art form.)

The field notes support the observation that the arts to which children are apt to be exposed in school will be bland (or potentially alienating) if children do not receive some instruction from professionals in the arts during their school careers. Compare the diamanté-writing exercise described on pages 165 - 171 (an almost perfectly structured lesson about an art form that poet Dancer recognizes as a marginal form of poetry at best) with the poetry writing session led by the three poets-in-residence at the Crichton Memorial Art Gallery (described on pages 197 - 198). Not only was the professionally instructed lesson a far more intense aesthetic experience for the children, but the poetry it produced was extraordinary (beyond what Ms. Dancer had assumed the capabilities of the students to be) while the diamantés produced in Ms. Abbott's classroom were adequate but rather conventional. Probably experiences like the diamanté-writing lesson are entirely satisfactory for eliciting the transfer effect already discussed (teaching children to participate in events with dramatic structure, regardless of subject matter). But it is unlikely that a child who is never exposed to "real" art -- of high intensity and high quality, taught with conscious attention to such properties as sound quality in the art gallery writing lesson -- will develop the intuitive appreciation of the arts which children seem to possess into mature appreciation of and participation in the arts as an adult.

A related consideration (not apparent from these data only because the children who were observed had so little exposure, by and large, to arts specialists) is that it is probably impossible to expect non-specialist teachers to provide any consistency in arts instruction from year to year. Only involvement in a longitudinal arts program, preferably one providing instruction from well-trained specialists like the Orff music teachers in Riverton, can be expected to give students longterm exposure to and instruction in an art form.

Implications for Future Research

The relationship between arts-based instruction and basic academic instruction in the elementary school classes most affected by the Riverton aesthetic education program appears to be both highly complex and internally consistent, once one has identified the classroom rules of appropriate interaction which appear to mediate the relationship. Identification of these interactional rules in finer detail than has been possible in this comparative, ethnographic study (for instance, at the level of detail found in the analysis in Florio 1978 or Dorr-Bremme 1982) would probably discover even more striking consistencies than have been shown here and perhaps throw more light than has been possible here on exactly what behaviors constitute the "self discipline" so conspicuous in the classrooms of the more successful implementers of aesthetic education and how children learn to engage in them. Such micro-ethnographic study would help establish whether the regularities

found in the six classrooms observed for this study are found consistently.

Checking the generalizability of the findings of this study could also be done at a more macro-level, through correlational survey research. It would be extremely interesting, for example, to pursue the question if there is any relationship between the overall quality of the arts experiences that students receive and the quality of their engagement in academic lessons of all sorts (assuming that the rule structure of the classroom and that of the environment in which students participated in arts events were sufficiently similar to expect transfer of learning from one to the other). A correlational study into the interaction of arts-based instruction (in which quality of content would be a key variable) with overall quality of instruction (the degree to which students and teacher cooperate to produce a coherent teaching/learning event) might elicit useful information about this question. Quality of arts content might best be determined by some type of panel judgment, using teams of professional artists or arts specialists; and students' willing compliance with teachers' "rules of the game" in the enactment of lessons of all types might be determined through a carefully constructed attitude survey. Correlation between overall quality of instruction and overall academic achievement is a separate question, which would also be interesting to investigate.

Observations of a wider variety of settings in which aesthetic education occurs would add greatly to the findings of this study. It would be interesting to discover, for instance, if it is possible

for the classroom teacher (no matter how well trained in arts content) to provide the same quality of arts instruction as an outside resource person. Because of budget cutbacks in the Riverton City Schools, there are a number of teachers currently (as of fall 1981) working in self-contained classrooms who have previously worked as arts consultants. Documenting the adjustments teachers must make to go back to the self-contained classroom after working as consultants would be interesting; and it would be even more interesting to find out, after these teachers have had time to make the adjustment, if they are able to solve the problems of time and organizational complexity in the elementary classroom in ways that allow them to give more direct instruction in the arts than the teachers observed for this study.

It would also be interesting to observe lessons in the classrooms of teachers like Ms. Rausch, who has more training in various art forms than most teachers, to see if their teaching of the arts differs significantly from that of the teachers observed for this study. Ms. Rausch's self-reports suggest that she is comfortable doing rather sophisticated drama exercises with her fifth/sixth-grade classes and teaching children to play the song flute and to read music (more direct instruction than any of the observed teachers gave) but that she must limit the amount of time she spends on arts-based activities as severely as any other teacher. She reported considerable use of subject integration, and it would be interesting to document instances of subject integration in Ms. Rausch's classroom to see if the arts content of the lessons was more apparent

than in the lessons observed for this study; also to see if the arts content genuinely reinforced rather than detracting from the "point" of the academic lesson.

More and better analysis of professional artists working with children in the public elementary schools would be very informative, judging by the indications uncovered here that some of the best arts instruction provided in the Riverton elementary schools was provided by such people. One might compare the effects of such lessons on children from a wider variety of classrooms (for instance, compare the influence of the mime performance described in Appendix O on Ms. Abbott's class at Pine Manor with that on a class whose teacher did not work with the aesthetic education program staff, did no pre-teaching to prepare the students for the performance, and held no follow-up discussion). And it would be interesting to observe more different artists working with elementary children. All the artists observed for this study were skilled at working with young children as well as in their art forms, as they had been carefully selected with this criterion in mind. But what would happen to the educational environment of the children if they were working with an artist who was not skilled at responding to and teaching young children? One suspects the effects on children and on the general climate of instruction in the classroom would be quite different from those observed. Would such arts lessons even have dramatic structure?

Videotapes of professional artists working with elementary children would be extremely useful in analyzing the processes

involved in highly intense, intensely interactional lessons by artists-in-residence. It is possible that the factors which made a large difference in the quality of the arts events led by teachers and those led by professional artists are not to be found in the structuring of the event, per se, but in some other aspects so subtle that they cannot be adequately studied through naturalistic observation alone. The observer made no attempt to describe in detail the most intense and most complex of the lessons led by professional artists (the lesson briefly described on pages 197 - 198) and is dissatisfied with the quality of the brief description she did attempt. Microethnographic analysis of permanently recorded behavior would literally allow researchers to see behavioral regularities that are beyond the power of the naturalistic observer to perceive and describe with sufficient accuracy to allow meaningful analysis.

The data on which the present study is based are complex and intriguing. They suggest that the power of the arts is great, both to influence the ways in which educational activities in general are enacted and to elicit the willing acceptance by all participants of "rules of the game" that apply in academic settings. The charting of the dramatic structure in school lessons developed in chapter four suggests a way of looking more precisely at the qualitative differences between events whose surface form may be identical and thus may help account for differences in learning and achievement that are very difficult to explain through approaches able to take account only of external form ("low-inference" procedures characteristic of

much educational inquiry). This study has raised a great many more questions than it has answered. It is to be hoped that in future researchers will pursue some of the questions which this study has raised.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE NATURE OF THE ARTS

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SUPPLEMENTARY LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE NATURE OF THE ARTS

Concern for the Symbolic Nature of the Arts

Project Zero (discussed in relation to the CEMREL curriculum on pages 64 - 67 in chapter one) seems to represent a logical end point (certainly a reductio ad absurdem) of an influential line of thinking about aesthetics in recent philosophical literature. A brief discussion of some of the main spokesmen for this line of thought, who focus quite differently at times on the problem, is in order. The overall focus of these philosophers is on the symbolic nature of the arts and the relationship of the types of symbolism found in the art forms to other human symbol systems.

While Santayana does not deal much with the concept of symbolism, many of the concerns he does express seem to underlie the tradition, as in his observation that "mind grows self-perpetuating only by its expression in matter," and his oblique reference to human symbolism's role in the cumulative nature of man's cultural achievements: , "Until art arises, all achievement is internal to the brain, dies with the individual, and even in him spends itself without recovery, like music heard in a dream." (Both of these

quotations are found in the passage from Santayana 1924: 13 on page 42 of the text.)

Ernst Cassirer conceives of the arts as one of the major types of symbolic form on which human culture is based, the other primary types being natural language and science.

> Like all other symbolic forms art is not the mere reproduction of a ready-made, given reality. It is one of the ways leading to an objective view of things and of human life. It is not an imitation but a discovery of reality.... Language and science are the two main processes by which we ascertain and determine our concepts of the external world. We must classify our sense perceptions and bring them under general notions and general rules in order to give them an objective meaning. Such classification is the result of a persistent effort toward simplification. The work of art in like manner implies such an act of condensation and concentration (Cassirer 1944: 143).

Cassirer suggests, as do others in this tradition, that mythic and poetic language preceded the development of fully "rational" verbal and mathematical symbolic systems:

> Even though sensuous and spiritual elements seem to have been inextricably intertwined in the origin of language, this correlation, precisely because it is a correlation, does not argue a relation of one-sided dependency between the two. For intellectual expression could not have developed through and out of sensuous expression if it had not originally been contained in it; if, as Herder said, sensuous designation did not already embrace a basic act of "reflection" (Cassirer 1953: 319).

This speculation is congruent with that of Jaynes (1977) that the growth and differentiation of all human language is a metaphoric process. And, since metaphor, or the "as if" quality, is a basic characteristic of all play (as Huizinga uses that term), both are congruent with Huizinga's conviction that all human civilization has arisen "in and as play."

Susanne Langer (one of the most influential theorists among artists, especially musicians) was strongly influenced by Cassirer and certainly belongs to the tradition of those concerned about the symbolic nature of the arts. She criticizes Santayana's conception of the arts as insufficiently symbolic:

> So, in a sense, the thesis that artistic quality is an objectification of feeling was set up by Santayana even before the turn of the last century; only it is the sense that makes all the difference. Both "objectification" and "feeling" have such radically different meanings in his theory and mine that there is little relationship, even historically, between our respective assertions, although the same words occur. The process of objectification he called -- as I would call it -- "projection"; but by "projection" he did not mean symbolic projection, he meant the supposed process of "projecting" sensations actually occurring in our own bodies onto an outside world as qualities of "matter" (Langer 1967: 107).

Langer's use of the concept of symbolism to describe the way in which formal elements work together to create a work of art (meaningful only in its entirety) is a much broader use of the concept than is general in everyday life. In everyday life one thinks of "symbols" as the type of symbol found in natural language or mathematics (or, for that matter, musical notation), symbol systems in which the individual symbols stand for concepts in a rather arbitrary way and in which syntax provides flexible rules for combining individual symbols (meaningful in their own right) into larger meaningful configurations. Arnheim would call the symbols associated with language and mathematics "signs" because of their arbitrary nature and would reserve the term "symbol" for abstractions which are isomorphic in some way with their referents and thus refer directly to essential features of the referents (the type of

symbolism far more common in the arts than in natural language (1969: 138-139).

Langer explicitly acknowledges that her usage of the concept "symbol" is considerably broader than usual: "All conscious experience is symbolically conceived experience; otherwise it passes 'unrealized'" (Langer 1967: 100). Project Zero theorists also make it clear that their concept of symbolism covers a very wide range of human activity, so wide that one must make clear the differences between kinds of symbol systems if the work can be expected to have any explanatory value.

> Indeed a special venture of this book is to underscore some fundamental differences among linguistic, pictorial, and other means of symbolizing (Perkins and Leondar 1977: 4).

Later Perkins and Leondar spell out the intended range of the concept:

> The enterprise fails at the outset unless symbol takes its most generic sense, ranging over speech and writing of any sort, musical scores, gestures, maps, diagrams, cattle brands, traffic lights, paintings, sculptures, dance performances, and so on. Two further points sharpen the concept. First, parts of symbols may also be symbols. A whole painting is a symbol, and the man in the center is also a symbol read in the context of the whole. Second, symbols become so through functioning as members of a symbol system (Perkins and Leondar 1977: 7).

The first point in the quotation above is more puzzling than enlightening, as Perkins and Leondar, elsewhere in their introduction to The Arts and Cognition, discuss the inherent lack of translatability of most artistic symbols from one medium to another or from one symbol system to another and contrast this characteristic with the symbol systems of language and mathematics (in which translation

from one system to another with little or no loss of information is usually quite possible). What such lack of translatability on the part of artistic symbols suggests is that Langer's assertion that a work of art is normally significant only as a whole may well be a key to understanding the type of symbol system exemplified by the arts. The only obvious point of stressing the possibility of "symbols within symbols" is to suggest that the arts are characterized by syntactic rule systems like those of language and mathematics. However, if Langer's observation is correct, this cannot be the case; at best arts symbol systems would be characterized by the sort of linguistic rules which govern the combination of phonemes (sounds which have no meaning in themselves) into words (sounds which carry meaning). This sort of elliptical allusion to points which purport to be self-evident but do not necessarily relate to other assertions in any logically meaningful way is somewhat characteristic of Perkins and Leondar (1977) and other publications by Project Zero authors, with the exception of works by Gardner reviewed for this report.

Metaphor and Psychic Distance

Huizinga (1970) describes play as stepping out of "real" life into a different sphere, which is limited by mutually agreed upon rules and usually has strict limits in time and space, in which there is an awareness that what is occurring is not serious because it is not "real." What takes place on the "play-ground" is characterized by absorption, which leads to devotion and ultimately to rapture. It is also characterized by the formal characteristic of disinterestedness, because the action is external to the immediate needs of

the individual although ultimately necessary for the health of society (Huizinga 1970: 27-28). Of play-grounds Huizinga says: "All are temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart" (1970: 29).

Langer's description of the metaphoric or illusory nature of the arts is particularly compelling:

> Every real work of art has a tendency to appear thus dissociated from its mundane environment. The most immediate impression it creates is one of "otherness" from reality -- the impression of an illusion enfolding the thing, action, statement, or flow of sound that constitutes the work. Even where the element of representation is absent, where nothing is imitated or feigned -- in a lovely textile, a pot, a building, a sonata -- this air of illusion, of being a sheer image, exists as forcibly as in the most deceptive picture or the most plausible narrative. Where an expert in the particular art in question perceives immediately a "rightness and necessity" of forms, the unversed but sensitive spectator perceives only a peculiar air of "otherness," which has been variously described as "strangeness," "semblance," "illusion," "transparency," "autonomy," or "self-sufficiency" (Langer 1953: 45-46).

Langer suggests that a moving picture is not a dream but has the same form and inner logic and, therefore, provides the "illusion" of a dream. In the same vein, she analyzes the plastic arts, both two- and three-dimensional, as "virtual space." More specifically, painting is "virtual scene," sculpture "virtual kinetic volume" or "kinetic organization," and architecture is virtual "ethnic domain." She analyzes the performing arts as follows: music is "virtual time" (vital, experienced time); dance is "virtual gesture" or "virtual powers;" literature is "virtual life" (experienced events); poetry and the novel "virtual history" (having the form of memory); drama "virtual destiny;" and film "virtual dream." She analyzes the comic rhythm as representing a pure sense of life (restoration of

equilibrium and successful self preservation), while tragedy represents "virtual future," a rhythm of "self-consummation." And what creates these illusions is an "isomorphism" between the art form and the phenomenon of which it is an illusion. (These analyses constitute much of the substance of Feeling and Form, 1953.)

Dewey defines knowledge as instrumental and, because of his conviction that an essential characteristic of art is its non-instrumental character, he rejects the idea that art is a special, perhaps superior way of knowing. And he contends that the "intimate union of doing and undergoing" necessary to appreciate the organization of the whole work of art (Dewey 1934: 52) cannot be achieved without considerable "psychic distance" from the work, so that one is not totally swept up into the experience but always maintains a critical distance or awareness that the work of art is just that (1934: 256).

The psychological "distancing" characteristic of the arts, as of all play, is intermediate between the general mammalian communication system (described by Bateson 1972: 365 ff.) -- communication of relationships and intentions in the context in which participants are immersed -- and fully digital verbal language, which is capable of communicating information totally outside the situations in which the information was generated. In arts events what is communicated is context-specific (being "untranslatable"), but considerable psychological distancing is achieved by the bracketing of the event from the everyday flow of action and interaction, and especially by the fictional or metaphoric nature of the event, so that actions do

not have the same literal meanings they would have in the context of everyday life.

Intensification

While "orderly form" is found in many forms of play which are not recognized art forms, a sense of "organic form" (as Langer described it) is absolutely integral to the arts and gives the arts their "vital import" (again, Langer's phrase). Moreover, that sense of "organic form" appears to characterize the visual or environmental art forms and the performing art forms in equal measure.

Organic form is expressed through manipulation of the formal properties of the media used in works of art (such attributes as line, color, shape, design principles, etc. in the environmental arts and such properties as rhythm, pitch, intensity, duration, direction, etc. in the performing arts). One of the more confusing aspects of the formal properties is that the same word may be used to describe properties of both plastic and performing arts media; these words are based on genuine similarities (for instance, "rhythm" connotes repetition of forms in both painting and music), but the properties are not the "same" in any meaningful way. In this semantic tangle are reflected both the union of doing and undergoing of which Dewey spoke and the property of "untranslatability" discussed by Goodman and Perkins and Leondar: the fact that the arts are only meaningful in their immediate context, as a total experience.

Lomax (1968) defines singing as verbal patterns which are intuitively recognizable as "singing" in any human culture primarily

because they are the most redundant verbal patterns in the cultural repertoire. (He uses "redundant" not in its pejorative sense but rather as the term is used in information theory, to signify any signal conveying information in excess of the absolute minimum required for unambiguous transmission of the information.) This observation appears to be true for all art forms: they tend to be redundant in the way in which all the formal properties of the media are organized. For instance, in songs there is normally redundancy not only in terms of vocabulary but also in terms of rhythm, pitch, stress, aural texture, and the other formal properties of sound. This redundancy often includes actual repetition, creating the rhythms which tend to be a key formal element in any art form.

The degree of redundancy characteristic of the arts tends to be higher than that in other human communication systems, higher than Colby's (1946) estimate of fifty percent average redundancy in natural language, and much higher than the even more "elegant," efficient language of mathematics. This characteristic of high redundancy may well be the basis for Perkins' and Leondar's (1977) description of the arts as having "dense semantic structure." Bateson's description of primitive art (1972) also emphasizes the importance of subtle variations in a highly orderly, predictable whole. Redundancy is reinforced by the tendency of the arts to focus perception through appeal to only one or a limited number of senses.

The function of highly patterned, highly redundant manipulation of the formal elements in facilitating coordination (sometimes

literal synchronization), which is necessary for the pursuit of most human activities, is most apparent in the critical importance of timing to all of the performing arts. It is difficult to demonstrate that any of the environmental or plastic arts actually facilitates coordination of activities, but it is reasonable to suppose that human activities can be harmonized -- subtly -- through creation of an orderly, highly patterned, common environment: an environment on which humanity has left its imprint.

As Chapple and Coon (1942) point out, very simple forms of redundancy would serve to achieve harmony in simply organized social activities, whereas more complexly organized redundancy would be required to synchronize more complex human interactions, in which individuals play specialized roles requiring specialized skills. In support of this thesis, both Chapple and Coon (1942) and Lomax (1968) demonstrate that art forms are, in fact, more complexly organized in societies in which human activities are more complexly differentiated. Lomax attempts to demonstrate this with considerable rigor in his comparative study of folksong styles, through a technique called "cantometrics" (and a supplementary technique called "choreometrics").

The formal properties are the vehicles through which signal redundancy is achieved, but they are at the same time the vehicles for whatever degree of complexity is achieved through the art form. Each art form operates under local cultural rules which establish the degree and type of variation which is allowed the formal properties in each art form. So long as these rules (actually

"maxims" in linguistic terminology) are observed, the work of art will not violate the local participant's perception of regularity, order, and a high degree of predictability. For instance, according to Chapple and Coon, "The Arab of the Hadhramaut ... has a range of two or, at the most, three notes, which he repeats constantly" (1942: 600). Modern Americans, by contrast, may use any notes within in a normal human range, but these notes must be appropriately related (according to the diatonic scale) or most members of the culture will perceive them as discordant and disorderly.

In general, the greater the variation allowed within each parameter, the more complex and potentially varied the resulting art form. The greater the number of performers, the greater the complexity may be: for instance, one drum may vary only according to tempo and rhythm, while tone color, pitch, and other formal qualities of sound remain constant, but two drums not only may create a more complex rhythm than one but may also provide some variation in other qualities such as pitch and resonance. The greater the number of formal properties which are allowed to vary within permissable limits, the greater the potential complexity.

And the maxims which set permissable limits are (like classroom rules) constantly being negotiated. Part of the "stretching" involved in all art forms (even those apparently most static) is a constant but often unconscious process of negotiation between artists and audiences about the range of permissable properties which may vary and the types of variation allowed. Only in this fashion can arts traditions change in response to changes in the need for

equilibrium in human groups. Dewey gives a particularly good description of the fluidity of the rules governing the arts in Art As Experience (1934).

While many of the rules valid at any particular time and place for particular art forms can be precisely formulated and communicated through verbal language (or even mathematics) -- rules of perspective or of musical composition, for instance -- the process of learning them, like the process of becoming intuitively but not consciously aware of the phonemic, syntactic, and semantic rules of the language one speaks, is frequently not a conscious process. Even though verbal discussion of artistic maxims may speed the learning process by alerting the learner to those aspects of the experience which are significant and should be attended to, a certain amount of simple exposure to the art form, in a culturally appropriate context, is probably necessary before the emotional and "feeling" responses are fully developed. And a highly discriminating, culturally appropriate response to any art form can presumably be developed through repeated exposure, without conscious attention to the rules, particularly if the learner is also exposed to people who already understand the rules and show by example what is important to attend to. During the millenia before the advent of writing or musical notation there is considerable evidence that the arts thrived, and surely they must have been transmitted by primarily unconscious means.

People can learn to appreciate art forms which are not part of their native cultures, just as they can learn to speak languages

other than their mother tongues. It takes some time, nevertheless, for a person accustomed to the dominance of melody and harmony in the western European musical tradition to be able to attend adequately to the more complex rhythms characteristic of most African music. In general, the environmental arts transcend cultural boundaries more easily than do the performing arts, perhaps because the technical possibilities for manipulating space and physical objects are more limited than those for manipulating sound and movement; perhaps because the design of any object tends to communicate some information about its function; and perhaps because vision is a more "objective" sense than hearing, kinesthesia, and touch and does not stimulate the autonomic nervous system so directly. And, since, if the visual arts do serve to bring people into harmony with one another, they do so in subtler fashion than the performing arts, the environmental art forms need not depend for their effect on immediate establishment of common rhythms and reciprocity between performer and audience.

Part-Whole

A related consideration is the part-whole relationship, which in the arts is generally such that only the whole is meaningful or imparts the "vital import" of the work of art. The formal properties themselves can be distinguished from one another readily: a painting must (because of the nature of the media used to produce it) have the properties of line, color, shape, texture, etc., and all are present simultaneously. But, when a critic discusses the

texture of the painting, the informed viewer knows what aspect of the painting he is talking about and does not confuse it with those aspects which define the use of "line," for instance. The formal properties themselves may vary either continuously or discontinuously (as Gardner 1973 points out in his distinction between "allographic" and "autographic" art forms). But it is not the elements but the way in which they are combined to form the whole work of art which is significant and communicates. The whole work (even one which is experienced over time and never presented to the perceiver whole, as in drama or dance) produces an overall effect on the audience which is qualitative ("figurative" in Eisner's term, or continuous rather than digital, to use the mathematical analogy) and must be evaluated primarily in qualitative terms.

Another consequence of the analogic and iconic character of arts events is that one type of art form may be "mixed" with impunity with any other art form and with a wide variety of non-arts events. Music and dance are habitually associated in all cultures, as are literature and music. Even art forms as intrinsically different as painting and dance may be mutually reinforcing. Not only are stage sets, costumes, etc. used to enhance the effect of ballet or drama, but I know at least one museum docent who teaches school children to appreciate visual arts in part by having them dance to express their feelings about painting and sculpture. Langer (1953: 150) points out that some art forms tend to be dominant in perception when two forms are mixed; for instance, a poem set to music becomes a song,

loses its identity as literature, and is perceived simply as an element of the music.

It is also difficult to draw hard and fast dividing lines between different art forms, which sometimes appear to be arranged on continua and to "slide into" one another whenever differences in media do not create clear boundaries. For instance, the dividing line between dance and mime is quite fuzzy: how much "acting" is required for a performance to be mime rather than dance, and how precisely does "acting" differ from the "gesture" of dance? And the precise dividing lines between poetry and oratory and between poetry and narration may be equally difficult to pinpoint. Moreover, even when the media employed are obviously different, subcategories of an art form may be defined by the proportion of the various media which are employed (a continuous criterion) rather than by simple presence or absence (a digital criterion). How much singing, for instance, does a theatrical presentation tolerate before it is perceived as opera rather than drama?

One of the more intriguing puzzles about the nature of the arts -- which are often defined in terms of sheer appeal to the senses -- is why two of the senses (taste and smell) are virtually never utilized as channels for arts events and a third (touch) is only marginally used (having a secondary role in three-dimensional visual arts, such as weaving, pottery, sculpture, or architecture). Ironically enough, the only art form which appeals to all senses equally is literature which, in its written form, appeals to none directly, the visible words being translated into mental images in

order to produce their aesthetic impact. Literature is a powerful testimony to the illusory or metaphoric character of the arts.

Prall (1969) rejects the notion that taste and smell are not suitable as sensory channels for works of art because, to use these senses, you must incorporate the stimulus into your own body. Nevertheless, it does seem likely that the physical incorporation of the stimuli into one's own body does violate the fictional or "as if" character of art, which requires some minimal distance of the arts stimulus from the perceiver. Prall suggests, rather, that it is the continuous nature of the stimuli of taste and smell which prevent these senses from being utilized by the arts, and this observation is well taken. One cannot appreciate significant relationships when there are no differentiable "parts" of a phenomenon. As Arnheim puts it:

> Although the senses of smell and taste, for example, are rich in nuances, all this wealth produces -- at least for the human mind -- only a very primitive order. Therefore, one can indulge in smells and tastes, but one can hardly think in them. In vision and hearing, shapes, colors, movements, sounds, are susceptible to definite and highly complex organization in space and time. These two senses are therefore the media par excellence for the exercise of intelligence. Vision is helped by the sense of touch and the muscle sense, but the sense of touch alone cannot vie with vision, mainly because it is not a distance sense (Arnheim 1969: 18).

The obvious exceptions to the rule that taste and smell are not suitable as channels for arts events tend to prove the correctness of Prall's and Arnheim's observations. Gourmets, the artists of cuisine, have cultivated palates far more highly developed than those of us who enjoy food primarily for its instrumental value; unlike most humans, they can distinguish the original ingredients

of food quite sharply in the finished dish. And, in carefully planned gardens (the best exemplar of the "art" of smell), both the mixture and the sequence of smells can be manipulated in clearly artistic fashion.

These observations suggest some generalizations: in order to be suitable as a channel for the arts, the sensory mode must both stimulate the autonomic nervous system (the channel through which the orderliness -- or signal redundancy -- of the message is incorporated into the organism) and must provide information at some necessary distance from the organism, a distance which allows the perceiver at least to distinguish among the digital "parts" of the continuous "whole."

At the opposite end of the spectrum of senses from smell and taste is sight: the sense which receives environmental information from the greatest distance from the perceiver but has the least immediate effect on the autonomic nervous system (though certain visual gestalts, particularly those signalling "danger" or "sex" or "food," may evoke strong conditioned responses). In general, the visual arts evoke "cooler" (less immediate, less intense) emotional responses from audiences than any of the performing arts (in which hearing and kinesthesia are generally "at play," often in addition to sight). Two-dimensional visual arts also tend to evoke "cooler" responses than those plastic arts which appeal to the sense of touch as well as sight (for instance, basketry or sculpture).

The continuous nature of the stimuli which appeal to the senses of taste and touch throws light on one final puzzle also, the

distinction (if any) between ritual and the arts. That the criteria for ritual and art are different and that ritual is more allied with "real" life than most forms of play (perhaps serving as a link between the "real" world and the "ideal" world of play) is suggested by the fact that eating provides an excellent occasion for ritual (and serves as an occasion for some ritual in all cultures) but is an occasion for art only under unusual circumstances.

Emotional Bonding

Huizinga (1970: 31) points out that, when a group regularly plays together, its sense of community is strengthened, the "play world" tends to become more permanent as a "play community," and the people have a feeling of "being apart together." A function of the arts is to enable members of human groups literally to synchronize and harmonize their feeling states.

Gardner comes close to specifying "emotional bonding" or "group cohesion" as a function of the arts when he relates the literature on infant bonding to his discussion of the arts and education (and only his preoccupation with individual developmental psychology seems to prevent his making the point explicitly).

> A further attribute of the young human is his intense interest in the world of persons. From an early age the child pays special attention to other people and to manifestations of them -- he alerts to the human voice, responds to a smile, focuses upon faces and facelike configurations.
>
> .... Disruption of the tie between parent and child after the first year of life can upset the child; with a lengthy separation from the love object having devastating traumatic effects. Perhaps, in fact, the development of a strong emotional relationship to one or more caretakers, and then gradual separation from them for increasingly lengthy

> periods, is a prototypical experience integral to species survival. At any rate, an affective involvement with other individuals is a pivotal developmental event, probably essential for later fulfillment of the parental role; these primordial ties will be reflected in the involvement with various kinds of symbolic objects, such as those involved in the arts (Gardner 1973: 91-92).

The work of some anthropologists supports the notion that a function of the arts -- perhaps the most basic and most general function -- is to help people gain and regain the equilibrium they need to live as social animals. This idea implies that the equilibrium communicated through arts events should change as the actual needs for equilibria change, both within the individual and within the group. Correlations between the type of interactions demanded by cultural adjustments to the environment and to other people and the type of organization of formal properties of artistic media demonstrated by the art forms of a cultural group have been shown with more or less rigor by Chapple and Coon (1942) and by Lomax (1968). This notion is consonant with the Greek idea that the function of poetry and drama is catharsis (a notion discussed at some length in Cassirer 1943 and 1944).

When she suggests that art is a way of symbolizing human feelings more adequately than they can be symbolized through natural language, Langer (1953) specifically includes in "feelings" not only the emotions but such internal sensations as those which arise from the operation of the autonomic nervous system. From an early date western European philosophers have intuitively related the emotions to the action of the autonomic nervous system:

> Philip Melanchthon, for example, defined pleasure not as the seeking or the attaining of good but in physiological terms: "The perception in the nerves or nerve coating of a congruent object, a perception not injuring or lacerating the nerves but totally adapted to their conservation." This definition would have been foreign to Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas.... Morally neutral description and analysis were becoming the criteria for classification of affects and have remained so for over 500 years. Soul and body were now seen as less isolated, and a synergism between mind and biology was assumed.... In a remarkably prophetic essay, Scipio Claramontius (1565-1653) argued that the most reliable signs of affect were to be found in the pulse and respiration because these two systems reflected the "heat of the heart" (Kagan 1978: 23).

Psychologists, to date, have failed to demonstrate synchrony between expressions of affect and changes in the autonomic nervous system and have found little consistent covariation within the autonomic nervous system itself (Lewis, Brooks, and Haviland 1978: 114-116). Nevertheless, correlations have been demonstrated (and replicated) between "cardiac deceleration and attending among infants and young children" (Lewis, Brooks, and Haviland 1978: 116). It is possible that, while flexibility (or lack of synchrony) within the autonomic nervous system itself might work against the possibility of demonstrating synchrony between individual expression of affect and the autonomic nervous system in general (what Lewis, Brooks, and Haviland were studying), it might facilitate synchronization of members of a human group coordinating their efforts in a common "participant structure," through synchronization of one component of the autonomic nervous system, the likeliest candidate being heart beat.

There are those who point out that emotions can be expressed and perceived through the arts without actually being felt (an

observation congruent with the fictional or metaphoric nature of the arts) (Dearden, Hirst, and Peters 1972). However, as Cassirer quotes Plato as fearing (Cassirer 1943: 196), expression of emotion may be "contagious," so that the individual members of a group begin to synchronize their internal responses.

Cassirer discusses the cathartic effects of arts experience and the way in which the arts express emotion in a manner which makes both the preceding observations plausible.

> The highest intensification of our emotional life is thought of as at the same time giving us a sense of repose. We live through all our passions feeling their full range and highest tension. But what we leave behind when passing the threshold of art is the hard pressure, the compulsion of our emotions (Cassirer 1944: 148).

Langer (1967) suggests that artistic symbols are grounded in the internal, feeling states of the organism, whereas Arnheim in his analysis of visual art (1974) characterizes it somewhat more precisely as the organization of sensory stimuli characteristic of gestalt perception in its most concentrated form. What the arts express appears to be grounded in basic organic tendencies which humans share with other mammals, a "relational" communication system through which animals signal their interactional dispositions and intentions to one another. (See Bateson 1979 for a fuller description of this system, contrasting it with the type of digital symbolism exemplified by natural language and mathematics.)

The more closely one examines everyday behavior, particularly interactional behavior, the more patterned it appears to be. Such micro-behaviors as rhythmic "beat" in everyday discourse appear to

be unconscious regulators of human interactions, part of what Malinowski (1922: 18) called the "inponderabilia" of social life, as demonstrated, for instance, by Erickson (1981; 1982b). Individuals appear to be more or less skilled in the use of these regulators (and, accordingly, more or less skilled in interaction with others) but all seem equally unaware of how they are accomplishing interaction. One function of the arts appears to be heightening of the effects of these regulators so as to bring them to conscious attention.

In apparent contradiction to the proposed function of the arts as a mediator of social life is the role of the artist in modern society as iconoclast, apart from and attempting to be in advance of social mores. Huizinga cites this trend as evidence that modern society has lost the play function in key social institutions such as the arts.

> A gradual process extending over many centuries has succeeded in de-functionalizing art and making it more and more a free and individual occupation for individuals called artists. One of the landmarks of this emancipation was the victory of framed canvases over panels and murals, likewise of prints over miniatures and illuminations. A similar shift from the social to the individual took place when the Renaissance saw the main task of the architect no longer in the building of churches and palaces but of dwelling-houses; not in splendid galleries but in drawing-rooms and bedrooms. Art became more intimate, but also more isolated; it became an affair of the individual and his taste. In the same way chamber music and songs expressly designed for the satisfaction of personal aestheticisms began to surpass the more public forms of art both in importance and often in intensity of expression.
>
> Along with these changes in form there went another, even more profound in the function and appreciation of art. More and more it was recognized as an independent and extremely high cultural value. Right into the eighteenth century, art had occupied a subordinate place in the scale of such values.

> Art was a superior ornament in the lives of the privileged (Huizinga 1970: 227-228).

That modern artists are conscious of this loss of function is attested to in a longitudinal study of students at the Chicago Institute of Art.

> When historians of civilization, scholars like Spengler, Toynbee, or Sorokin, come to writing the sections in their work that deal with modern art, their scorn is difficult to contain. They decry the artist's loss of values, his loss of faith, his sensuality, his lack of principle. They believe, like the majority of Middle Americans do, that art is being destroyed by incompetent artists.
>
> From our young artists' point of view, the situation looks exactly reversed. They say they would be happy to spend their lives painting Pre-Raphaelite Madonnas or Byzantine icons if doing so made sense. But they know that Madonnas and icons are no longer part of the symbolic reality on which culture is based. They would gladly embrace a faith and serve a set of principles if there was one available. They cannot be blamed for not being able to create a faith ex nihilo. The few principles that are generally accepted in our society, such as electoral democracy, private ownership, or civil liberties, are poor subjects for inspired pictorial representation.
>
> Historical periods that produce great art tend to have a rich store of universally shared symbols for artists to draw on (Getzels and Csikszentimihalyi 1976: 195-196).

One would expect the affective bonding function of the arts to become more complex as more of human social life is organized in complex, hierarchical, gesellschaft ways rather than in face-to-face, gemeinschaft, "family-like" groups. (Gesellschaft and gemeinschaft, terms introduced by Tonnies and popularized by Weber, are generally accepted by social scientists as describing contrasting methods for organizing human behavior for tasks which require group cooperation.)

As actual needs for equilibrium change, both within the individual and within the group, one would expect that the equilibria

communicated to people through the arts must change. As occupations and technology -- or social interactions of all types -- change, art forms presumably change in a direction which helps establish the equilibria demanded by the new occupations. As societies are differentiated into social classes and other specialized groupings, one would expect the development of segmented art forms, each segment specific to a particular group. As age groups become more differentiated in their cultural experiences (a phenomenon of rapid social change) they presumably should respond to quite different types of arts events. Yet, while the social groups "cemented" through the arts (or other forms of play) may have become smaller and more specialized, the bonding function of the art forms has not been lost. The intensity of the reactions of members of the "youth culture" to the recent deaths of Elvis Presley and John Lennon testify to the significance of rock music to this subculture.

In the recent past the pace of social change has become so rapid that artists, rather than perceiving themselves as preservers of a cultural heritage (as in many traditional cultures) see their function as one of innovation, experimentation, and development of a wide variety of new patterned ways of organizing and perceiving the world. As artists have developed this self concept, their audiences -- those who value their work -- have also become smaller and more specialized. Art is differentiated according to social class. Bourdieu and Darbel (1966) present convincing survey evidence (gathered in France) that one of the functions of modern art is to provide different social classes with different self concepts (the kind of

people who patronize art museums as opposed to the kind of people who patronize pool halls and pubs, for instance). They find that the higher the level of formal education attained, the likelier the individual is to visit art museums and value the type of art displayed there. Dimaggio and Useem (1978a, 1978b, and 1980) have re-analyzed existing survey data to test Bourdieu's concept of art as cultural capital, one factor which helps middle class and upper class individuals retain their privileged status, and they have replicated the findings in Bourdieu and Darbel (1966). In a hierarchically organized, modern industrial society, only the art forms of the educated, upper classes are apt to receive general social recognition as "high" or "pure" art representing "culture."

The potential conflict between classroom teachers and art specialists over the content of and approach to art education becomes more understandable in this context. The arts specialist presumably reflects the sophisticated arts activities characterizing the _gesellschaft_ nature of so much modern interaction. (For a fine description of the way in which artists fit, often uncomfortably, into the modern economic structure, see Getzels and Csikszentimihalyi 1976.) Classroom teachers, by contrast, are usually much more concerned about the arts as a basis for establishing a "family-like" _gemeinschaft_ classroom community and thus engage in what may, in that sense, be thought of as a more "primitive" type of art activity than the professional artist recognizes as art. The meaning of classroom art activities may be closer to the meaning of church-sponsored art in the middle ages than to the meaning of art to the professional

artist-in-residence who comes into the school to expose children to the arts and to be a role model for those who develop vocational aspirations in the arts. (However, the field notes do not reveal this potential conflict actually enacted in situations where classroom teachers and artists-in-residence were working together in Riverton. The conflict was observed between national-level teacher trainers and curriculum disseminators who worked with staff of the Riverton program and the Riverton staff, who felt they were restrained by the realities of classroom life from implementing the program in the way the developers desired. It was also evident in the ways teachers and professional artists and arts consultants talked about the values of school art. The reasons for both the enactment and non-enactment of this potential conflict are explored in the factual chapters of this study.)

APPENDIX B

AMERICAN AESTHETIC EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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AMERICAN AESTHETIC EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

With a few notable exceptions the arts have never been in the foreground of the curriculum of American schools. In Coming to Our Senses: The Significance of the Arts for American Education (American Council for the Arts in Education 1977), perhaps the most ambitious inquiry into this question in recent years, Americans' historical distrust of the arts is accounted for by the general acceptance of the Puritan ethic, the work ethic. According to the Arts, Education, and Americans Panel (that produced this report), the Puritan mindset is deeply suspicious of any activity undertaken "just for fun" (all play, in fact).

In fact, the arts have never been totally absent from American life and education. The type of literature studied in schools has remained surprisingly constant since the first colonial schools were established. It would appear that emphasis on this type of literature stems from the European seventeenth and eighteenth-century "courtesy tradition." (See Belok 1968 for a detailed account of the influence of the "courtesy tradition" on early American textbooks.) As Belok summarizes it, the courtesy tradition includes two rather different strands of thought, one

(stemming from the Renaissance tradition of the educated man) that values knowledge of literature and the fine arts for their own sake, and the other (the Lockean tradition) that values scientific inquiry and practical utility above the traditional "ornaments" of the cultured gentleman. Clearly American schools and American culture have been more influenced by the Lockean tradition than by the Renaissance tradition. However, those "ornaments" felt to inculcate morality have always been included in the American curriculum, and these have generally included "great" literature and oratory. Moreover, vocal music has been taught in American schools since colonial times, beginning with the establishment of "singing schools" sponsored by churches for the purpose of enabling congregations to sing hymns in parts. (See Fouts 1972 and Graham 1971.)

Even the pragmatic "courtesy tradition" has been responsible for some attention to the arts in the schools. Both Benjamin Franklin (who founded the influential Philadelphia Academy) and Horace Mann (chief architect of the common schools during the early nineteenth century) advocated the teaching of drawing in the schools in part because draftsmanship is a useful vocational skill. Two quotations from Franklin will serve to illustrate the rather schizophrenic influence of pragmatism and the work ethic on the development of the arts in American schools.

> As to their Studies, it would be well if they could be taught <u>every</u> <u>Thing</u> that is useful, and <u>every</u> <u>Thing</u> that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short (as quoted in Fouts 1972: 470).

However, Franklin could find practical, vocational uses for art education.

> Elementary art work in drawing and perspective were early mentioned by Franklin as an aid to creative expression. He quoted Locke on the usefulness to gentlemen of drawing as a means of communication and expression of ideas, and added that it was no less useful to a mechanic who can improve the design of his work in carpentry, ship building, engraving, painting, cabinet making, carving, and gardening and thus impress his employer (Butts and Cremin 1953: 78).

The degree to which instruction in the arts has been related to considerations of ethics and morality in America, even during periods of secularization, is reflected in Thomas Jefferson's proposed reform of the curriculum of William and Mary College, in which the first of the eight professorships he proposed was:

> 1. Ethics (moral philosophy, law of nature, law of nations) and fine arts (sculpture, painting, gardening, music, architecture, poetry, oratory, criticism) (Butts and Cremin 1953: 84).

And Jefferson was clearly one of the few American educators who was more influenced by the courtesy tradition of the Renaissance than by the utilitarian tradition of John Locke.

It was in the progressive movement and in the general climate for educational reform around the turn of the twentieth century that John Dewey and other educational leaders began to develop what might be termed a concept of aesthetic education (building upon the ideas of Plato and Schiller) rather than simply advocating instruction in particular art forms. Like the "courtesy tradition," the progressive education movement was one in which the entire curriculum was conceived of as integrated with and suffused with moral content.

> It was the progressive educators' commitment to the value of individualism, above all else, that set their classrooms off from the more traditional approach to education. Memory work was abandoned as children were taught to organize and to draw meaning from their own experience. Humanism and an equally enthusiastic acceptance of Freudian psychology helped to make "self-expression" the watchword of progressive schools. In Caroline Pratt's Play School, as in many other equally experimental schools, children were encouraged to express through art, music, and creative writing what they had seen, heard, and felt. As Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker announced, the outstanding educational discovery was "that every child is born with the power to create." And in Schools of Tomorrow, Dewey urged teachers to find "the spontaneity, the liveliness, and initiative of the pupil" aids in teaching, instead of being, as under the coercive system, nuisances to be repressed (Bowers 1967: 456).

Another movement in public education was occurring during the progressive era, which worked in a different direction from the liberal, Deweyan attempt to integrate the entire school curriculum. This was the development of the comprehensive high school as the usual type of publicly supported secondary education in the United States. Not only did this development contribute to a general tendency toward fragmentation of education in the experience of the child, but it also focused the attention of educators on credentialing of teachers and the "professionalization" of education. The arts were taught in the new high schools but as one of a number of specialized subject areas.

> As school organization financially and sociopolitically was of paramount interest in the twenties and early thirties, it was inevitable that the status of the arts and art education should be examined in those terms (Logan 1955: 165).

Coming to Our Senses documents a new movement toward aesthetic education, which began during the 1960's and continued during the 1970's. The study relates this new interest in aesthetic education and the arts to:

> three innovative practices which can be described as basic changes in elementary education. They have been initiated and publicized in the last decade, and arts education has been close to their core. The three practices are open education, the ungraded school, and team teaching (American Council for the Arts in Education 1977: 60).

The same report also summarizes movement and countermovement in the promulgation of aesthetic education in American public schools since 1970.

> During the troubled period of the recession, education budgets were cut almost as drastically as those of arts institutions....
>
> The decade saw a rise in public concern for the reemphasis on "basic education." Troubled by statistics that indicated a deterioration in the school population's ability to read and write, the public lined up enthusiastically behind a "back to basics" movement that boded no good for arts educators unless they could prove that their subjects qualified as basic to learning.
>
> Lest this chapter appear to conclude on too bleak a note, it must be recorded that during the past decade many constructive and affirmative steps were taken to bring the arts into the mainstream of American education. The list is long. It includes the strengthening of the Central Midwestern Educational Laboratory (CEMREL), which was already providing leadership in helping train classroom teachers to become arts educators; the JDR 3rd Fund's Arts in Education Program; the creation in 1973 of a major national enterprise, the Alliance for Arts Education, in order to fulfill the mandate of the John F. Kennedy Center that it concern itself with arts education on a national basis; the Artists-in-Schools program of the National Endowment for the Arts, which got under way in 1969; and finally and perhaps immodestly mentioned, the creation of this public Panel (American Council for the Arts in Education 1977: 46-47).

The panel report also reflects a current dilemma among proponents of aesthetic education: the inherent contradiction between a commitment to teaching all academic content "in and through" the arts and the natural desire of professional artists, art educators, and critics to "professionalize" the teaching of the arts in the

schools. Much of the content of Coming to Our Senses reflects the anxiety of those who are professionally concerned with the teaching of the arts in schools to have their professional competencies more adequately recognized by school systems. The panel's discussion of "Who shall teach the arts?" reflects this anxiety especially.

> The question of who shall teach the arts, and with what training, is a lively one. Should the arts be taught by specialists or by generalists? Should the age level of the student determine this? If so, at what age should a change occur? Are arts for all young people or only for those with special interest or talent? Does this affect the kind of teacher needed? Should the emphasis in teaching be directed toward theory, appreciation, and history, or toward participation in creative arts experiences? There can be no simple answers (American Council for the Arts in Education 1977: 138-139).

This is a very quick historic overview but sufficient to show that a conception of the arts as being at the heart of the curriculum is rare in American schools and that there is considerable disagreement among those who advocate more attention to the arts in American schools as to the educational functions the arts can and should serve. A quotation from a report of a meeting of the CEMREL Arts and Humanities Research Advisory Committee to set priorities for research into aesthetic education makes it clear that defining the domain of aesthetic education and resolving differences among the varying concepts of aesthetic education are top priorities for one relevant group of researchers and educators:

> Several end points were identified as desirable, perhaps the most basic being summarized in the following comment [by a committee member]:
>
> > "I would say that the most critical end product after five years is to be able to define more clearly -- for teachers too -- what is it that you talk about when you talk about aesthetic education. Because I think that

> the definition task is still a challenging one. I cannot imagine that it would stop."

This concern is relatively simple -- the extreme difficulty of studying or improving instruction in a content area which is currently so difficult to identify when it occurs in classroom instruction. Clearly different consumer audiences place different values on and have different implicit or explicit definitions of the domain; and a major problem for the RSU is negotiating and reconciling these points of view sufficiently to enable precise communication (Coe 1979b: 3).

APPENDIX C

AN ACCOUNT BY THE RESEARCHER OF HER PERSONAL HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS, AS RELEVANT TO HER ABILITIES AND BIASES AS AN ETHNOGRAPHER

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I am in my mid-forties, and educational research is a "second career" for me. My first career was in community development, primarily in American Indian communities during the decade of the 1960's. Since my major employer during that decade was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker based peace and human service organization based in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, I was also involved, through the AFSC Community Relations network, with the civil rights and peace movements. I was particularly interested in (and responsible for work with) community involvement in the educational system, initially on American Indian reservations and later as part of the southern civil rights movement and the urban "Black Power" movement.

Shortly after receiving my M. A. in anthropology (which had entailed short-term field work on the Mississippi Choctaw reservation in Mississippi during 1959) I worked for six months for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. There I did an applied educational research project sponsored by the Georgia Teachers and Educators Association.

My work in American Indian communities began with a two year

VISA assignment on an Apache reservation in Arizona (my interest having been stimulated by the field work in Mississippi). (VISA was an AFSC program similar to the Peace Corps and VISTA but on a much smaller scale.) Thereafter, I was National Representative for American Indian Program for the AFSC, a job that required me to provide technical assistance to AFSC staff and committees involved in work with American Indians and to represent the AFSC at the national level in Indian affairs. More recently I served for several years as assistant director of a private Native American scholarship and educational counseling service based in Denver, Colorado and as director of a "hunger and human needs" program of the AFSC, which covered eight midwestern states.

I have always considered myself an "applied" anthropologist, not particularly interested in traditional "pure" ethnographic research. My second career in educational research, from my perspective, is simply another type of applied anthropology. I discovered that educational researchers are beginning to turn to ethnographic techniques through five years of work with CEMREL, Inc., the St. Louis-based educational laboratory which developed the aesthetic education curriculum on which the Riverton aesthetic education program is based. As a "generalist" for CEMREL I conducted ethnographic formative evaluation of the aesthetic education packages during their early development, wrote one of the final packages developed for the program, and was introduced to educational evaluation and research methods. I am currently a graduate student in the College of Education at Michigan State University.

I grew up in the Mississippi river city that is called Riverton for the purposes of this study. I attended the Riverton public schools except for the eighth through the tenth grades, when I went to a private boarding school in Florida. I think I must have had the bad luck to be assigned the worst primary and elementary level teachers in the entire school system; I was in the fourth grade before I had a teacher who appeared to like children. My mother made a practice of making sure that my younger sister was assigned to the alternative teacher at almost every grade level. The school I attended (called Trapeer Junior High for purposes of this study) was in a solid, middle class neighborhood, but the schools then had a "lock step" curriculum geared to less able students than the majority of children in my classes. (Trapeer was then a nine-grade school, grades one through nine, and it was all-white, as the Riverton schools were still segregated by law.) I developed a lifelong suspicion of formal education as a result of my experiences at Trapeer and of an even more disastrous experience in a private kindergarten (there being no public kindergartens in Riverton at the time).

The suspicion was fed by the fact that I had been raised on tales of an excellent private "dame school" which both of my parents had attended in Riverton as children, so that I knew it was possible for school to be a more stimulating, happier experience than I was having. I feel sure that my emotional commitment to improving the schools stems virtually entirely from the ennui of my first eight years of schooling. I did learn what I needed to know, having an educative home environment, but I was consciously aware, from a

rather early age, that the worst thing about school was that it was interfering with my education, which could not begin until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The family in which I grew up was marginal in several ways to the white southern middle class society of which it was part. During my formative years (and since) my mother was active in a variety of volunteer activities, of which about half were interracial. I was taken along to many interracial gatherings and thus was part of a very select community; only a very small proportion of either the white or the black community was involved in such gatherings. I cannot remember a time when I did not know prominent members of the black community. I was a member also of a large extended family but generally felt more "at home" in the interracial gatherings to which I was taken than in large family gatherings (where there were usually relatives who vented their disapproval of my mother's activities).

My family also had black servants (as did virtually all middle class families at that time in that place), and I was conscious from an early age of cognitive dissonance in my relationships with blacks: the difference between the quasi-family relationships with black servants and the respect relationships with prominent black adults at the meetings my mother took me to. I think I developed more empathy (as well as respect for powerful people in my life) from the relationships with the servants. I remember being taken to a party at the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) when I was very young, three or four. We danced the Virginia Reel. I was

included in the dance, and so were the black servants at the YWCA. I remember my gratitude for being included in that adult event and a strong feeling of co-minority status with the servants who were also included.

At home my feeling of kinship was based on something more tangible. I was a child of the late depression years, and my family was the poorest of any in my parents' social circle. There was a sort of "revolving fund" of clothing and toys among the people we knew and the relatives, and I was aware that, after my family had taken what we needed from the revolving fund, the next to have toys and clothing passed along to them were the servants.

When I was older (about nine or ten) I made two discoveries that challenged the self concept I had developed rather traumatically: 1) that Riverton had a political boss; and 2) that, while my family was financially worse off than our friends, we were not really "poor," for there were people who did not even have adequate clothing and food. We were simply the least affluent of the "old" Riverton families, and our social influence was rather greater than our financial influence. I remember these discoveries as being interrelated.

My mother became involved in reform politics shortly thereafter, and I was an enthusiastic volunteer in a political campaign that broke the Riverton machine's hold on state government. The reform political coalition that was formed for the first time in 1948 for this campaign continued to oppose the machine in local politics in the succeeding years. In 1954 my mother ran for the elected school board and was the first candidate for many years to be elected

without the endorsement of the local political machine. She served on the school board for twenty-four years, retiring from the board in 1979.

Because of my mother's long-term involvement with the Riverton City Schools, my entree to the school system is unusually good. However, returning to Riverton to do the present research after spending most of my adult life elsewhere, I find I am a "stranger" as well as a "friend." The civil rights revolution has taken place since I last lived in Riverton and has brought about major changes in Riverton's social organization. The general cultural climate has changed enormously; the size and makeup of the population have changed; and the culture of the schools has changed since my childhood.

One of the more bitter ironies of this return has been the discovery that the Riverton City Schools are better places for children and for learning than I remember them (as experienced during the second world war), yet their reputation has suffered a great deal since I was a child. The vast majority of white parents took their children out of the public schools at the time of court-ordered busing, and they are now convinced that the public schools are educational wastelands, an impression the media have done little to dispel. So the morale of the school staff is not as good now as it was then, when I was having to deal with the many but unacknowledged educational inadequacies of the Riverton City Schools.

APPENDIX D

ACCOUNT OF RIVERTON STATE UNIVERSITY SUMMER TRAINING WORKSHOP IN AESTHETIC EDUCATION

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Retrospective Accounts of Training at the Beginning of the Program

Ms. Rausch and Ms. Underhill, in their joint interview, made a number of comments about their training in aesthetic education, which are worth quoting in more detail here than is possible in the body of the thesis. Both had received training rather shortly after the program was established in the city schools and shortly after the completion of their own undergraduate training. Ms. Rausch had participated in the first summer workshop in 1974, and Ms. Underhill had been involved in the first series of intensive, two- to four-day workshops at the Carver Aesthetic Education Learning Center during the same year. Their comments set the stage for the account of the 1981 workshop (and provide some basis for comparing the two week summer workshop sponsored by Riverton State University with the less intensive exposure Ms. Underhill and most of the teachers in my sample had received).

> Underhill: I didn't know anything about aesthetic education when I began. My first year here, I was called by my principal (myself and then another teacher) to go out to the Carver Center to the workshop for ... something like three or four days the very first year we went out there.

And we were involved in different activities to get us to ... know what aesthetic education was and to present all the concepts to us.... And then, when I got out there and got involved in all the activities, the movement, rhythm, dramatization -- just all the different things that they had -- I didn't realize how [to take] this and [put] it into your everyday classroom situation....

[Much later in the discussion, talking about the impact of aesthetic education on her own life]: I have to go back to my shyness. I never took the initiative, unless somebody drafted me.... But, I found in going to the workshop, where we each have to contribute something in order for the total group to get something out of it, you've got to play your part.... Well, now I've found that ... I lean a little bit more toward dramatics, ... and I may still at this old age go on and ... do something about that....

[Later in the discussion, talking about how her expectations had differed from her experience at the workshop]: When I first heard ... looking at the word and thinking: all technical and theory ... and a lot of research and writing of papers.... Then we went to that first meeting. I think she told us -- we took off our shoes, we sat in a great big circle, we each got up and introduced ourselves and did a funny -- well, she said, "Just do something funny, just do something with your body, whatever you want to do...." That kind of flipped me too, because that's not at all what I went out there for. I went out there with pad and pencil in hand ... because I knew the principal was demanding of me to come back and tell the rest of the staff ... all that went on, and then I had to come back and tell them, "Well, we sat around and played games and we made faces, and we wrote sentences, using ... all different kinds of colored words and stuff...." It just didn't add up, and I was saying to myself, "Surely I'm missing a point here," just underlining that my senses aren't picking up....

I went: "So this is staff development credit!... I'm having such a good time!"

Rausch: I decided that I'd always wanted to take Orff music ... I had a lot of music background, as a child ... I'd heard a lot about Orff. So they assigned me Dr. Thomas for an advisor, and I went to see him about signing up, because I wanted to ... learn some more things to use in my classroom. And he handed me this brochure (you know, CEMREL) and said, "You might be interested in this." So I looked it over and it sounded interesting. I had done a lot of work with the deaf children in volunteer programs, and so I thought, "Well, this might also help" ... acting out a lot of the things you can't get through verbally with. And so

I signed up for it and took it. It was the very first course, and some of the ... people, the participants in it, have been lasting friends. We've kept in touch....

I have used a lot of things from the workshops, and then I've ... taken off from it, and I have gone into the area further. I got my Masters just recently ... and I went back and I took my extra hours outside of education in speech and drama. And I took creative dramatics, took children's theater.... And so I really enjoy it. And I do use it a lot in my classroom. However, I don't use it cookbook style....

[Much later in the discussion, talking about the similarity between the children's reactions to aesthetic education and hers initially]: When I took the aesthetic workshop, the main thing I remember was ... you went into class and you felt like, "Well, what are we doing?" We never really knew.... At first I thought ... it's disorganization. What is it? Ernie, Bella just kind of -- we did things, but there was never any ... "Class, this semester we are going to learn this, and you are expected to do this" ... there was nothing like that. And I heard a lot of teachers ... the first reaction is ... "It won't work. What <u>is</u> aesthetic education? What is this all about?" And, of course, after going through all these exposures ... it dawns on you ... it's nothing really new or special, you've had it all your life. But I remember that that was really kind of worrisome because, as teachers ... all the courses are so structured, you walk in and: "We're going to do this, because this, and we're going to do this, because that." They walked in there, and we were just doing games and fun, and there was no ... structure to it. What we didn't know [was] there was structure to it, but, because of the type of thing it is, you can't really structure it, if that makes any sense....

Dr. Thomas made us keep a diary ... we had to turn in a diary. That was the <u>only</u> requirement. And it was really bugging people ... "Well, what do you want in it?" He gave very vague things about it ... "Write down your experiences." And people kept questioning him.... He'd go [gesture], this kind of attitude, and he'd come back with a question.... He was the one with grades, the credit, and all that.... It was really kind of frustrating at first....

And he never did give us a definition.... We kept waiting for what is aesthetic education.... He never did give us one. And I'll never forget ... one of the ladies ... in our class walked out after the first session and said, "I can't

> believe we're getting three hours of credit for this! This is too much fun!"

Undoubtedly the 1981 summer workshop went more smoothly than these early training sessions that Ms. Underhill and Ms. Rausch described, but the emphasis on experiential learning and fun were much as they described it, in 1981. The participants appeared to have a better idea than Ms. Underhill and Ms. Rausch had had of what to expect from the workshop, because a good many were taking the workshop on the recommendation of friends who had been in earlier workshops. Dr. Thomas, in his interview for the study, had the following to say about the development of the workshop over time.

> Bella and I have been doing the workshop for a number of years ... I guess eight years.... Our initial experiences were a little bit clumsy, although vitalizing ... but I think we've established a relationship to work together and respect for each other's input. And it's worked out to a very good team situation, plus the dynamics of bringing ... a group of people together and listening to what's happening ... and really being tuned in to them, again, being aware ... of what's happening with that particular group at that point in time.... And experience can work against you ... if it turns you into a rut, but we always program the workshops, where we can experience something new ourselves too ... so it's kept us alive.

The 1981 Summer Training Workshop

On the first day of the 1981 aesthetic education workshop, Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines distributed two ditto sheets, one detailing a short list of conditions to which the students were agreeing and the other outlining the workshop activities. With names deleted, these activities and agreements follow.

Agreements:

1. Keep a daily log including definitions and comments concerning Aesthetic Education; descriptions and attitudes

toward Aesthetic Experiences; thoughts, feelings, reactions to workshop activities; reactions to readings; and drawings, poems, songs, pictures and creations, and a special section on classroom ideas.

2. Prepare an individual project for use in teaching/learning situation by using music, art, slides, drama, poetry, etc. for presentation to your workshop group. (5-8 minutes - time will be called). Be sure to capitalize on your own aesthetic and creative talents.

3. Participate in at least three Aesthetic Experiences outside the workshop format and record in some appropriate fashion in your log.

4. Participate in a satellite group by working as a team member for discussion activities and group-oriented activities.

5. Read, summarize and critique Harry S. Broudy: "The Aesthetic Image." Include this in your log.

*Make-up assignments will be assigned for participants absent for any of the activities.

The schedule of events follows:

July 14 - Defining Aesthetic Education
Objectives and Activities of Workshop
Slide-Tape Presentation
Point of View - Photography
Reading Assignment: The Aesthetic Image, bring logs and cameras
Discussion of Reading

July 15 - Visual Literacy
Shared lunch
Film
SPACE Place
Establishing Groups
Assignments - Senses
Time

July 16 - Awareness Session
Shapes and More Shapes
Film
1:00 - Crichton Art Gallery

July 17 - 7:30 - Breakfast in the Park
Tone Color
10:30 - Drama for Children
1:00 - Green Dragon Players

July 18 - Contract for Aesthetic Experiences

July 20 - Word Pictures
Movement
Laboratory Time
Group Presentations
1:00 - Throwing a Pot

July 21 - Group Presentations
Lab Time
Moods of Music
1:00 - Clinton Gardens

July 22 - Group Presentation
Crichton Methods to Write Poetry
11:00 - Downtown Visitation (Bring a Lunch)

July 23 - Project Presentations

July 24 - Project Presentations

July 25 - Workshop Evaluation

Before the end of the first session the workshop leaders had also provided the participants with a list of names and addresses of all twenty-three participants (including the two leaders). (One student dropped out after the first day, so that I was actually one of a group of twenty.)

Activities were formally scheduled for the two Saturdays during the two week workshop, but in both cases these activities were meant to be done individually, away from the campus, so there was no whole group meeting. On other days the workshop generally began about 9:00 a.m. and was over by 4:00 p.m. Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines led the workshop as a team during the first week; Dr. Thomas was sole leader during the second week, as Ms. Raines was out of town on

vacation. As bad luck would have it, Dr. Thomas was called out of town to deal with a family emergency early Tuesday afternoon, July 21, and was absent for the balance of the workshop. The group followed through with the events already scheduled for Wednesday without formal leadership; the schedule for Thursday and Friday was cut back to essentials (the individual project presentations) under the direction of a graduate assistant in the College of Education, since some official supervision of the workshop group was necessary to ensure that students would receive credit for their work.

On the first day of the workshop, most participants had assembled by 8:30 a.m. (the formally scheduled starting time), but Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines were not ready to begin the session until twenty minutes later. During the awkward waiting period (during which Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines were in and out of the room but not interacting with the group), I overheard another participant (a teacher about my own age) say to a friend (eying the tape recorder prominently displayed at the front of the room), "I hope he doesn't turn on the tape recorder and leave. That's what a lot of them out here do. That's all I need!" This led directly into a rather bitter discussion of the morale problems of the staff of the Riverton City Schools at the time. (Later the same day I overheard several other participants discussing the cut in the aesthetic education program staff that had already taken place and the signs that the program was on the way out. One participant commented, "A few years ago, all you heard about was aesthetic education," but added that now that these participants were getting around to taking the training,

aesthetic education was going to be "out" and something else would be "in.") Thus, the workshop began with signs of disaffection among the teachers who took it. But they also were making comments that suggested they hoped for stress relief and some new instructional techniques that they could use in their classrooms.

It took less than thirty minutes for Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines to explain the handouts (including the Broudy article, which participants were to read and be prepared to discuss the next morning). They then involved the group in the first activity: drawing an "imaginary animal," with some of the creator's own characteristics. Participants were asked to find partners (whom they did not already know) and introduce each other to the group, using the partner's picture as the basis for the introduction. The emphasis of the workshop was on having the group participate (as fully as they could be persuaded to participate) in a series of activities designed to expose them briefly to a wide variety of art forms (dance being the least used of the arts during the workshop) and to induce them to perceive their world through "new lenses." Much of Dr. Thomas' direction of the workshop appeared to have as its aim helping participants overcome their inhibitions -- participate fully and express themselves freely -- and helping them understand the importance of allowing children the same opportunities. At 9:20 during the first session, while he was still explaining the schedule of activities, Dr. Thomas urged the group to take advantage of the opportunity to "act crazy" within the safety of the workshop group:

"People know that people in the arts are crazy," and he suggested that the group "tap into that."

As predicted by both Dr. Thomas and Ms. Raines, the workshop group went through the same stages earlier groups had gone through: from suspicion and passive resistance for most of the first week (highly muted but present) to increasing trust in the leaders and in each other and increasing willingness to engage in risk taking and to "act crazy." By the time Dr. Thomas had to leave the group during the second week, there was sufficient esprit de corps for the group to carry on without formal leadership, having learned which members of the group could be counted on to perform which leadership roles. Unfortunately, because of Dr. Thomas' absence, morale suffered badly during the last two days of the workshop when the group had to "perform" individually, not only for each other but for a profoundly uninvolved graduate assistant, who told them frankly that he resented being called away from his own vacation to "babysit" them.

While the group did read and discuss the Broudy article and participants were required to write critical reviews of the article in their logs, there was virtually no academic or theoretical discussion of the nature of aesthetic education. Participatory activities were built into the discussion of the Broudy article and follow-up activities. For instance, the group had been subdivided into small groups by the second morning, and each group was given the task of coming up with a description of a large black umbrella: one group to describe its "sensory" qualities, another its "formal" qualities, and another its "expressive" qualities (these being the

three areas Broudy emphasized in his description of aesthetic education). That there was considerable conceptual overlap among the categories was allowed to emerge out of this activity. That night as "homework" the group was given copies of a chapter from a teacher education booklet published by CEMREL, in which there were a number of exercises requiring the reader to describe the sensory, formal, and expressive qualities of a number of works of art.

There was time set aside on most days for people to work on their logs. Several examples of representative pages from the researcher's personal log follow at the end of this appendix. I was able to observe how some of the participants went about the assignment of writing an assessment of the Broudy article in their logs. While at least one participant willingly spent a lot of time on her critical review, took the initiative to discuss it with other members of the group, and revised it frequently as new activities gave her fresh insights into the article, most of the group appeared to tackle the assignment as a necessary evil -- the one dull, academic assignment in an otherwise "fun" two weeks. The relative lack of overt, academic discussion of the article certainly allowed those participants who were not inclined toward philosophy or theory to slough off this assignment as the sort of meaningless academic task they had to expect if they wanted the three credit hours.

The Broudy article discusses aesthetic education in the general context of value education: describing the sensory and formal qualities of art in fairly similar terms to my description of "intensification" and the part-whole relationship characteristic of the

arts (see Appendix A) and drawing heavily on Langer in justifying his analysis. Broudy describes the expressive qualities of the arts in terms of the values that the "aesthetic image" conveys (reminiscent of the discussion of "psychic distance" and the metaphoric character of the arts in Appendix A). Broudy asserts that the basic unit of aesthetic education is the "aesthetic image" which is created by imaginative perception of sensory phenomena. He dismisses the idea of a "broader aesthetic" dimension (implicit in the notion of an "elegant" theory, for instance) because of his assertion that the aesthetic must be based on actual sensory perception. Although he discusses literature and poetry sensitively and at length, he does not really deal with the implied contradiction: that the actual perception of words on a page is rather irrelevant to the purely imaginary sensory images created by literature and poetry. The workshop group did discuss this contradiction to some degree, noting that the most vivid of the images Broudy described in the article (all quotations of poetry) were totally imaginary or "abstract."

The first written work -- undertaken before the "imaginary animal" exercise on the first day -- was a short definition of aesthetic education which each participant wrote and handed in but did not sign. These definitions ranged in complexity and comprehension from, "You said when I asked you about the course it was applying the arts to education. I'm still not quite sure what you meant and have no idea what the definition is," to, "Aesthetic education is the ability to use the senses to observe and appreciate the

beautiful world in which we live," to "the study or knowledge of the 'fine arts' -- music, art, drama, nature and its forms, etc., and an appreciation for these things." On the final day of the workshop the participants were asked to write a "post" definition of aesthetic education. While it was not always possible to tell which "pre" and "post" definitions had been written by the same individual (since the definitions were unsigned), it appeared -- judging by those that were clearly recognizable as being in the same handwriting -- that individuals who started the course with a "loose" idea of what aesthetic education was tended to write a sharper, more detailed "post" definition, whereas those who articulated a crisp, sharp conception of aesthetic education on the first day tended to write a "looser," "freer" definition on the final day. My own definitions can be given as an example of the latter trend:

> Pre
>
> Aesthetic education is about a million or more methods for incorporating arts activities -- visual arts, drama, dance, film, "happenings," whatever -- into the traditional school curriculum. It is a way of breaking students' habitual passive mode of receiving information and has a marked effect on classroom climate. Generally it has the effect of making students happier and more active learners but -- depending on which attributes of the arts the teacher emphasizes -- it can be used to promote everything from "group think" to individual innovativeness and expressiveness.

In my log, after the first day of the workshop, I wrote:

> My definition today was that of a reasonably well informed outside observer. I wonder if my definition at the end of the workshop will be from a different perspective -- more that of a participant.

That expectation may have influenced the "post" definition, which follows.

Post

> Aesthetic education is fun. It's releasing the teacher's and learner's creative energies -- accenting the positive rather than the negative (from being cooped up). It's helping the students retain and enhance their capacity to participate in and enjoy the arts. It keeps kids human as they grow up.

The chart (Table 2) on the next page summarizes briefly the themes in the "pre" and "post" definitions of aesthetic education that were produced by workshop participants. Since all the definitions were short, only the presence or absence of ideas can be noted (unlike the definitions generated by the in-depth interviews, where many shades of gray emerged). The themes reported here were derived inductively from the full body of interview material, the workshop definitions not being rich enough for this purpose.

Following the chart there are reproductions of several typical pages from the researcher's workshop log.

Table 2. THEMES VOICED IN 21 "PRE" AND 16 "POST" DEFINITIONS OF AESTHETIC EDUCATION

	PRE	POST
Arts specifically mentioned	9	8
Arts not mentioned (includes one response, both pre and post, too vague to classify at all)	12	8
Awareness and perceptual training:		
Immediately applicable to all of life	9	10
Specific to the arts (appreciation of, response to arts events)	4	8
Arts-specific goals (psychomotor, affective, cognitive)	0	1
Curriculum integration	5	1
Quality of life:		
"Opens up" creativity and expressiveness	7	8
Improved classroom climate/ organization	2	1
Permanent recreative resource	0	3

Yeah - We receive to the
a REMREL Alibi Paper, a day
"Wish Book" a day Office
a Life Gift," — To MAKE NEW AGAIN —
It reminded me of a hair I write
in the time of my lost major life
decision — when I left GEMREL
or MSU —

Should my own armed
I see over my Earth to
Make Lost time round?

Examining Point of View

Frame Come

Cut out the black in the middle.
Start at the dotted lines.

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Arguments of literature concern on -
My definition today was that of a reasonably well
informed artistic observer. I wonder if my definition of the end
of the workshop will be from a different perspective - more
that of a participant. (Remember - Ernie said I could
have more copies of the "pre" & "post"

STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Music

presents

HORN QUARTET CONCERT
, Conductor

Sunday
July 19, 1981

Music Auditorium
3:00 P.M.

Program

Sonata for Four Horns (1952) — Hindemith
Fugato
Lebhaft
Variationen

Sonata for Four Horns (1957) — Tippett
Allegro molto moderato
Allegro giocoso
Lento cantabile tranquillo in stilo nocturno
Allegro molto e vigoroso

Two Duets — Schuller

Little Symphony for Four Horns (World Premiere) — Robert Patterson
The Muzak Man
Incoherent Thoughts
Scherzo
And Now, the End

Mon. 7/19/81 — Concert — Ct. MORE ORNAMENTAL METAL —

More of the Laocoon group of aesthetic experiences

Pushing the brass as far as it will go — and there are choreography in movements of the conductor

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND PROCEDURES

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND PROCEDURES

The interviews were all administered on a relatively open ended basis and were not all based on the same interview schedule. The interview with the two CEMREL staff, with Mr. Tannenbaum (Director, Arts and Humanities Group) and with Dr. White (Director, Aesthetic Education Program) focused solely on the questions of their (and the CEMREL program's) definitions of aesthetic education and criteria for recognizing when aesthetic education was occurring in an elementary classroom. The rest of the interviews were designed to elicit the respondent's experience with the Riverton program, as well as the respondent's personal definition of aesthetic education and opinions about its use and function(s) in elementary schools. They are all based on an interview schedule developed almost a year before the intensive research started, when a retrospective case history of the Riverton program was taken from Ms. Bella Raines, program director. The questions of the schedule developed then were as follows.

1) How would you define aesthetic education? What contribution would aesthetic education make to a child's general education if the school system were able to do everything you'd like it to do?

2) How many schools and how many teachers (at what grade levels) are currently using aesthetic education in some

way? How would you describe these schools and teachers in terms of socioeconomic status and the nature of their interest in aesthetic education? What percentage of schools and teachers would you estimate are involved with aesthetic education?

3) Would you describe how you work with teachers? Do you work directly with any other types of people, for instance, children? principals? volunteers? Are there other school system staff available to help you with the training activities; if so, how do they help?

4) To what extent are you and the center involved in the aesthetic education training offered through Riverton State? Has the role of Riverton State changed since the center first started?

5) How do you recruit teachers? Are you looking for particular kinds of teachers?

6) What schools and teachers have been most successful in the way they have used aesthetic education? Why? Which have tried aesthetic education and given it up or been less successful? Why?

7) In your experience, is it important to obtain the support of others besides individual teachers? If so, who and how do you go about getting their support? How have all these groups demonstrated support or lack of it, in your experience? (Groups you might consider: children; parents; volunteers; principals; central administrators; board of education; mayor; city council; technical assistors from outside the school system? inside the school system? Other?)

8) Do you find you are able to keep track of short-range and long-range changes in the classroom practices of teachers who use aesthetic education? To what extent would you say the original intent of the program has been modified in practice? How would you describe the effects of what these teachers are doing in aesthetic education on children in their classrooms? What sorts of teachers have been the most enthusiastic users of aesthetic education, and what do you see as their motives?

9) How do you use CEMREL aesthetic education curriculum materials to help teachers introduce aesthetic education practices? Do you have other sources of curriculum ideas and, if so, what are they and how do you use them? How do you compensate for not having specific materials when particular materials you feel you need are not available? To

what extent have teachers supplemented the available materials with their own ideas? How successful would you say this supplementation has been?

10) Have you had any difficulties in introducing aesthetic education curriculum ideas other than those we have already discussed? How secure or insecure a part of the Riverton public school curriculum is aesthetic education currently? What would be necessary, in your opinion, for aesthetic education to be practiced more widely in the Riverton school system?

11) If you were to start all over again, knowing what you know now, what would you do differently? Whose support would you obtain? What resources would you want to be sure you had? (If you have been called on to give advice to people who are just considering instituting aesthetic education, it would be interesting to know what advice you gave them.)

This same interview schedule was used in the interviews with Ms. Raines' two assistants, Ms. Vinson and Ms. Yarrow, on the understanding that the questions applied not to the entire aesthetic education program (as in the interview with Ms. Raines) but only to the particular schools, principals, teachers, etc. with whom each worked.

The remaining interviews were all based on a simplified interview schedule (meant to apply to as wide a range of respondents as possible), distilled from the original schedule created for use with Ms. Raines. The following is the final interview schedule (used with the remaining twelve respondents -- six teachers, three principals, two Junior League volunteers, and one central administrator -- and with Ms. Raines in a second interview held at the conclusion of the research).

GENERAL SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR CASE HISTORIES

1) Please tell me about your experience with the aesthetic education program --

How you learned about it?
Any training you received?
Your involvement over the years and now?

2) If there were no restrictions and you were given an opportunity to set the program up just the way you wanted it, what would you do?

3) Who has been involved in aesthetic education in your experience in addition to children, teachers, and the aesthetic education staff? Who should be involved?

4) How do you define aesthetic education, and what do you think its role(s) in the schools -- are -- ought to be?

5) Is there anything important about the program I haven't asked about? If so, please tell me about it.

In none of the interviews did the interviewer attempt to "cover" the questions in the strict sequence of the interview schedule. In most cases the interviewer showed the respondent the list of questions at the beginning of the interview, explained that she was interested in the respondent's views on these topics, asked that the respondent discuss all of them at some point during the interview, and then checked periodically to make sure all points had been touched on. This "loose" interview format, while ensuring that all respondents discussed the same content to some degree, allowed for a free flowing conversation in which the respondent was encouraged to air his or her own concerns freely and thus elicited information on a number of topics not covered by the interview schedule (at the expense of occasionally failing to cover all the questions on the schedules).

In most cases the respondents were asked to describe their experience with the program before responding to the other questions, as this was a relatively non-threatening way of getting the conversation going. (In some cases respondents later went back and corrected

misstatements of fact that they had made in this early part of the interview. Apparently their memories had improved as they "warmed" to the topic and subsequent questions triggered a variety of associations.)

The amount of interviewer direction and probing varied considerably from interview to interview. Some respondents began by telling the interviewer what they assumed she would want to know (not necessarily responding to the questions on the schedule). In these cases there was no problem initiating the flow of conversation, but the interviewer occasionally had some difficulty persuading these respondents to attend to the questions on the interview schedule. In the one joint interview with two teachers in one school (that with Ms. Rausch and Ms. Underhill at Quincy), both teachers willingly responded to the questions of the interviewer, but their responses triggered so many associations and responses from one another that the interviewer occasionally had difficulty inserting the next question. This interview, by far the longest and richest of the series, generated so many ideas and so much information that both the interviewer and one of the teachers began to write notes to themselves to remind themselves of questions to ask or points to make the next time they had the floor.

At the other end of the spectrum in terms of initial responsiveness, there were respondents who asked for lengthy explanations of the research and needed considerable reassurance that their answers would not be misinterpreted before responding to the interview schedule. To respondents who expressed any initial hesitation, the

interviewer not only explained the research project but stressed that what she wanted was not an "official" history of the program or an "official" definition of aesthetic education, but rather their particular experience with the program and what it meant to them. She pointed out that the research design required her to obtain these "personal" documents from a cross section of people who had been involved in the program, in a variety of roles. (With one exception, Dr. White, all respondents eventually responded freely and thoughtfully to the interview schedule. Dr. White's interview was used primarily as a source of suggestions for the literature review for this research. When Dr. White's views are quoted in the body of the thesis, they were obtained from documentary sources and not from the interview.) In each of the interviews in Riverton (except for the two Junior League volunteers who were recommended by but not directly recruited by Ms. Raines), it was Ms. Raines rather than the researcher who made the appointment for the interview, so that the respondent was aware that the aesthetic education program knew about and endorsed the research project.

Because the interviews were designed to elicit topics the researcher had not thought to ask about initially, some important topics were discussed in only some of the interviews, not all of them. Some questions were developed as the researcher noted striking consistencies in early responses to the interview schedule and later made a point of eliciting information on these topics if it was not volunteered. For instance, noting how frequently respondents cited previous arts experience (especially childhood exposure to the arts)

in explaining their current interest in participating in the aesthetic education program, the researcher learned to ask about all respondents' prior arts training and experience. Another question worked so well as a probe in one of the first interviews that the researcher began using it consistently: "What was the easiest thing for you about participating in the program, and what was the most difficult?"

APPENDIX F

PROCEDURES FOR CHARTING DRAMATIC STRUCTURE

APPENDIX F

PROCEDURES FOR CHARTING DRAMATIC STRUCTURE

1. In a written description or permanently recorded audiovisual record of events, locate an event that appears to be a coherent whole (has a recognizable beginning, middle, and end). In a completely individualized classroom, for instance, it is difficult to identify such events unless the focus of attention is the individual student (or perhaps a small group working independently together on a project). (While events without a recognizable beginning, middle, and end can be charted, they cannot be expected to have a "shape" indicative of dramatic structure.)

2. Read or observe carefully the account or record of the event, and make a note of the junctures at which significant changes appear to take place (where there is a change of activity, or the same activity continues but the activity structure changes, as when a class starts writing after the teacher gives them instructions on what to do; where the focus of the group on what occurs changes noticeably in some way, either becoming more intense or less intense as participants are distracted by some sort of interruption).

3. Draw a baseline, and then (freehand) draw a line indicating the intensity of the concentration of the group on the focus of the activity. (The focus of the activity should be clear if a clear beginning and end are apparent in the activity. If it is not clear what the group is supposed to be focusing on, this should be clarified before proceeding.) Except for minor "bumps" in the line (normally indicating an interruption so mild as to cause the group to lose concentration only momentarily) the line should be reasonably straight for each segment between the junctures of structural change already identified. In general, a group may be assumed to be centering in on their task or activity so long as the work or activity is proceeding without obvious difficulty, in which case the line will trend upward. If the group activity is interrupted for a period but the group does not seem to have lost their concentration when they resume the activity, a horizontal line indicating the period of the interruption demonstrates that they have remained "on hold" (to use the telephonic metaphor). Whenever group attention is clearly distracted from the activity or the task at hand, the line depicting group concentration trends downward until it is clear that the group is centering in on the activity once more (or on a related activity that follows appropriately and is related to the "point" of what they are doing).

> It should be emphasized that the precise slant of the lines is unimportant. All that conveys meaning is the relative slant of the lines. A steeper line indicates that there has been some clear indication that the group is more deeply engaged in the activity. A line that trends upward less steeply than the preceeding line indicates that the group has encountered some difficulty and is concentrating on

> the activity less easily -- that it takes more effort to focus on the point of what is occurring. It does not indicate that the group is losing concentration or being distracted; when that happens, the line should trend downward until the distraction is over and the group focuses on the point of what they are doing again. Similarly, a steeper descending line means that the group is losing concentration faster than they previously were, that the distraction was greater than before. Similarly, when a group appropriately loses concentration on the event (because the climax of the event has been reached and they are turning their attention to something else), the rate at which they let go of the event and move on to something else is indicated (roughly) by the slope of the line.
>
> Near the beginning of the event, it is possible that the line depicting concentration level will dip below the baseline (if the group is distracted very early in the event, before they have the opportunity to get "into" it). Assuming the event has been selected because it appears to be a coherent whole, the line will eventually rise above the baseline again as the event is not aborted but continues to its appropriate climax.

There may be times during an event with reasonably coherent structure when there will be a mixed attentional pattern, with some members of the group attending to a distraction or interruption while others continue to focus on the "point" of the event. This situation is depicted by a wavy line () which will normally be horizontal because it is very difficult to judge whether engagement is waxing or waning when a substantial proportion of the group are not attending to the event at all. However, there will be times when those members of the group who are attending to the event remain clearly absorbed in it and ignore whatever distractions are present, and in those cases the line of engagement -- although it is still wavy -- should continue to rise.

4. At each major change juncture (already identified), draw a straight line vertically to the baseline. Then continue to

draw the line of engagement, changing the slope to whatever is appropriate for the next segment of the activity. Continue in this fashion until you reach the climax of the activity, which is normally the high point of the line of engagement. A sharply falling line of engagement usually follows the climax, indicating that the group is proceeding to another activity and beginning to concentrate on it.

5. When an "engagement" line has been drawn for the entire activity, write a brief description of the major action that took place during each segment of the activity (as defined by the vertical lines which have been drawn between segments). Label each segment (I use an alphabetical labeling system, A, B, C, etc.), and label each description with the same label as the segment of the activity that it describes.

6. If an accurate time line is available for the activity, redraw the chart so that the baseline represents the precise time of the activity (according to an appropriate scale, which for a very short activity might be each inch or half-inch representing one minute). Make sure that each segment is accurately measured on the baseline, so that the relative time taken for each segment of the activity is visually apparent. This step will frequently change the perceptual "shape" of the chart substantially, even though the relative slope of the lines -- which carries the information about group engagement level -- remains the same.

Even if no precise times are available for the event, estimate

the relative lengths of each segment of the activity as accurately as the data permit, and redraw the chart accordingly.

These procedures are based on the experience of the researcher in developing the charts and of two friends (neither of them familiar with the classrooms described) who charted several of the lessons described in these appendices so that the researcher could compare their charting with her own. If given to someone totally unfamiliar with the charting procedure, they would clearly need to be accompanied by examples of charts of lessons with good and poor dramatic structure. When the original set of instructions (which were rather more complex and less coherent than those given above) were given to the independent charters, they were accompanied by sample charts of imaginary lessons, one with particularly good dramatic structure and one with particularly poor dramatic structure. The independent charters produced charts reasonably congruent with those the researcher had already drawn for the same lessons.

APPENDIX G

DATA SOURCES

APPENDIX G

DATA SOURCES

DETAILED INTERVIEWS:

Preliminary:

Pseudonym	Title of Respondent	Date
1) Ms. Bella Raines	Aesthetic Education Area Specialist, Riverton City Schools	5/12/80
2) Mr. Arnold Tannenbaum	Director, CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group	9/10/80
3) Dr. Calvin White	Director, CEMREL Aesthetic Education Program	9/11/80

Spring Semester, 1981:

1) Ms. Debra Vinson	Resource teacher, Aesthetic Education, Riverton City Schools (RCS)	2/2/81
2) Ms. Patricia Yarrow	Resource teacher, Aesthetic Education (RCS)	2/16/81
3) Ms. Lavonne Lewis	Fourth/fifth-grade teacher, Ardennes (RCS)	5/12/81
4) Ms. Carol Carberry	Second-grade teacher, Victory Road (RCS)	5/14/81
5) Ms. Roberta Sondheim	Second-grade teacher, River Haven (RCS)	5/14/81
6) Ms. Dorothy Abbott	Sixth-grade teacher, Pine Manor (RCS)	5/18/81

Pseudonym	Title of Respondent	Date
7) Ms. Louise Rausch/ Ms. Nella Underhill (joint interview)	Fifth/sixth-grade and Fourth-grade teachers, Quincy (RCS)	5/27/81
8) Mr. Leonard Croft	Principal, Pine Manor (RCS)	5/28/81
9) Ms. Rose Wilcox	Principal, Oakcroft (RCS)	5/28/81
10) Mr. Victor Bird	Director, Division of Title I Programs (RCS) (former Assistant Superintendent for Instruction)	6/3/81
11) Mr. Benjamin Groves	Principal, Ingham Place (RCS)	6/3/81

Fall, 1981:

1) Ms. Ann McNeil	Junior League Community Arts Chairman (1972-1973)	10/19/81
2) Ms. Nan Forrest	Junior League Community Arts Chairman (1975-1976)	10/20/81
3) Dr. Ernie Thomas	Professor of Education, Riverton State University	11/3/81
4) Ms. Bella Raines (second interview)	Aesthetic Education Area Specialist (RCS)	11/24/81

FULL DAY OBSERVATIONS (target classrooms):

1) Ms. Danielle Beauvoir	First-grade teacher, Vineland (RCS)	1/29/81 2/24/81 3/12/81 4/8/81 5/7/81 5/15/81
2) Ms. Dorothy Abbott	Sixth-grade teacher, Pine Manor (RCS)	2/20/81 3/4/81 3/19/81 4/10/81 5/13/81 5/18/81

FULL DAY OBSERVATIONS (contrasting classrooms):

	Pseudonym	Title of Respondent	Date
1)	Ms. Olivia Anderson	First-grade teacher, Vineland (RCS)	2/6/81
2)	Ms. Lynn Youngblood	Sixth-grade teacher, Far Oaks (RCS)	2/11/81
3)	Ms. Doris Fellows	Fifth/sixth-grade teacher, Roseglade Magnet (RCS)	5/19/81
4)	Ms. Fannie Gladstone	Fifth-grade language-arts teacher, Trapeer (RCS)	5/20/81

PART-DAY OBSERVATIONS:

1)	(two classes at Delphi School, with poet-in-residence program)		1/19/81
2)	(two classes at Trapeer Elementary, with poet-in-residence program)		1/19/81
3)	Ms. Dorothy Abbott	Sixth-grade teacher, Pine Manor (RCS)	1/21/81 2/2/81
4)	Ms. Fanny Gladstone	Fifth-grade language arts teacher, Trapeer (RCS)	1/22/81
5)	Ms. Doris Fellows	Fifth/sixth-grade teacher, Roseglade Magnet (RCS)	1/22/81
6)	Ms. Danielle Beauvoir/ Ms. Olivia Anderson	First-grade teachers, Vineland (RCS)	1/27/81
7)	Ms. Olivia Anderson	First-grade teacher, Vineland (RCS)	2/26/81
8)	(Aesthetic Education Learning Center activities)		3/2/81
9)	Ms. Lynn Youngblood	Sixth-grade teacher, Far Oaks (RCS)	1/30/81 3/13/81 3/20/81 3/27/81 4/24/81 5/8/81

VIDEOTAPING SESSIONS (target classrooms):

Pseudonyms	Title of Respondent	Date
1) Ms. Danielle Beauvoir	First-grade teacher, Vineland (RCS)	4/27/81 (a.m.)
2) Ms. Dorothy Abbott	Sixth-grade teacher, Pine Manor (RCS)	5/1/81 (p.m.)

VIDEOTAPE VIEWING SESSIONS:

1) Ms. Danielle Beauvoir; Ms. Beauvoir's class	First grade, Vineland	4/30/81 4/30/81
2) Ms. Dorothy Abbott; Ms. Abbott's class	Sixth grade, Pine Manor	5/3/81 5/4/81
3) Ms. Bella Raines	Aesthetic Education Area Specialist (RCS)	6/24/81 10/21/81
4) Ms. Olivia Dancer	Poet-in-Residence, Crichton Memorial Art Gallery	10/21/81
5) Dr. Ernie Thomas	Professor of Education, Riverton State University	11/3/81
6) Mr. Arnold Tannenbaum	Director, CEMREL Arts and Humanities Group	11/3/81

FIELD NOTES AND PERSONAL LOG, Aesthetic Education Workshop, Riverton State University (7/14-7/24/81)

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES:

Junior League of Riverton Yearbook

CEMREL, Inc. transcript of 1980 Summer Training Institute, Aesthetic Education (comments by Mr. Arnold Tannenbaum and Dr. Calvin White at institute at CEMREL Aesthetic Education Learning Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

Selected materials, Riverton aesthetic education program files

APPENDIX H

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF SCHOOLS VISITED DURING COURSE OF RESEARCH

APPENDIX H

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF SCHOOLS VISITED DURING COURSE OF RESEARCH

PSEUDONYMS AND BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF TWELVE SCHOOLS VISITED:

Ardennes Elementary

Grades K-6, with about 400 students (medium-sized). Located in affluent East Riverton, an open space school, Ardennes is subdivided into self-contained classrooms without walls rather than being compartmentalized, has an innovative design and attractive decor.

Delphi School

Grades K-6, with about 400-450 students (mid-sized). Located on the campus of Riverton State University and traditionally used for teacher training and to test innovative curriculum; primarily for the children of the Riverton State faculty but there are some children in the school under the normal school system attendance policy (including busing for desegregation).

Far Oaks Elementary

Grades K; 4-6, with about 550 students (rather large, with more students at each grade level than the K-6 schools). Located on one of the busiest east-west streets in Riverton, directly opposite the most prestigious midtown subdivision, originally a "showcase" school with grades 1-12, very ornate. The large campus currently houses a 10-12 high school and a Voc-Tech Center, in addition to the elementary school, and serves primarily a nearby black community (low and middle income) which had its own community school prior to desegregation.

Ingham Place Elementary

Grades K-6, with about 800 students (a very large school). Ingham Place is located in a newly developed suburban area, near the ghetto area of North Riverton, is primarily black with many children from nearby public housing (the rest from owner occupied houses), is in a relatively low-income area with few cultural opportunities easily

available. Ingham Place has a reputation in the school system as a "problem school" but the new principal is changing that.

Oakcroft Elementary

Grades K; 1-6, with about 500 students (mid-sized). Oakcroft is located in southeast Riverton in a solid, middle class neighborhood near some outlying public housing developments which provide some of the school population. The principal has been able to make aesthetic education a schoolwide effort.

Pine Manor Elementary

Grades K; 4-6, with about 550 students (rather large, especially considering the large number of students at each grade level). Located in suburban south Riverton near the state border, Pine Manor serves a mixture of middle and lower income students, with an average proportion of white students (about 26%). It has a number of programs for students with special problems, including the school system's Hearing Impaired program (at these grade levels) and a bilingual/counseling program for Southeast Asian refugees; many children from these and other special education classes are mainstreamed into the regular self-contained classrooms.

Quincy Elementary

Grades K-6, about 550 students (rather large, but with fewer students at each grade level than schools that do not have all the elementary grades). Located in a midtown neighborhood, Quincy serves primarily a lower middle class neighborhood and is predominantly black. It is one of the schools in which Junior League volunteers worked during the early years of the program, and the program is beginning to "catch on" schoolwide, with teacher leadership and principal support.

River Haven Elementary

Grades K-6, with about 500 students (mid-sized). Located in a prestigious East Riverton location, River Haven seems smaller than it is. It is located on a large campus, is pleasantly decorated but with no dramatic features.

Roseglade Magnet

Grades K-6. This small school (about 200 children at seven grade levels) is half of a large school in a low-income, black community in near North Riverton. (The neighborhood school serves about 250 students in a traditional educational format.) The magnet school is an "open" alternative school allowing students great flexibility in choosing their own curriculum and attracts middle class students (about half white) from all over the metropolitan area.

Trapeer Junior High

Grades K; 4-9, with about 600 students in the elementary grades, K; 4-6 (rather large). The elementary grades are located in a separate building connected with the junior high building, and have a separate principal from the junior high. Located in a middle class, naturally desegregated midtown neighborhood, Trapeer is directly opposite the city zoo. Grades 5 and 6 are fully departmentalized.

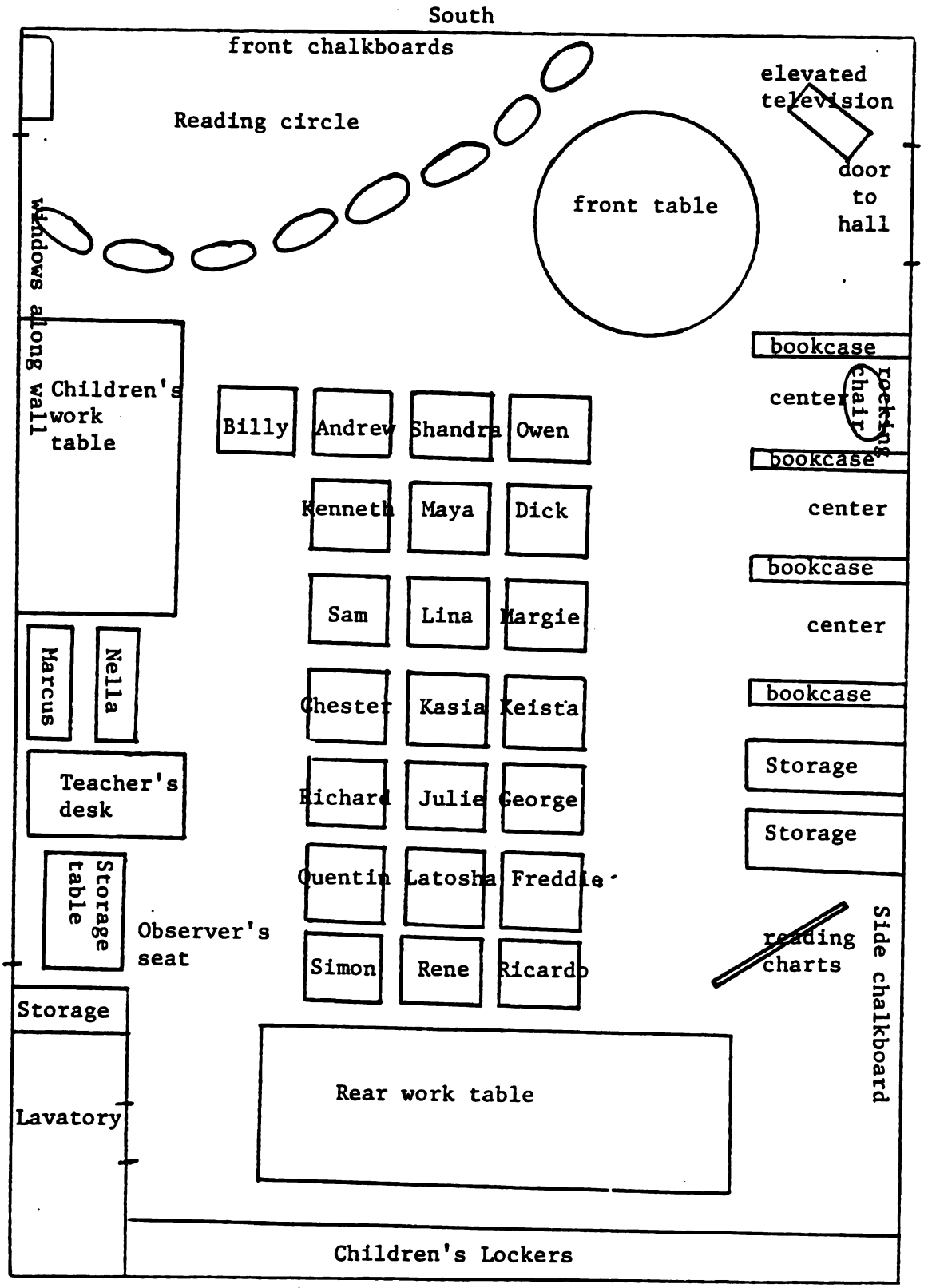
Victory Road Elementary

Grades K-6, with about 375 students (medium-sized). Victory Road is part of a complex of schools serving a suburban East Riverton community with a distinct identity; the complex includes a junior and a senior high on the same campus as the elementary school. There are self-contained classrooms; only one teacher is really "sold" on aesthetic education. Victory Road has a reputation as a "good" school and has a higher proportion of white students than most Riverton schools.

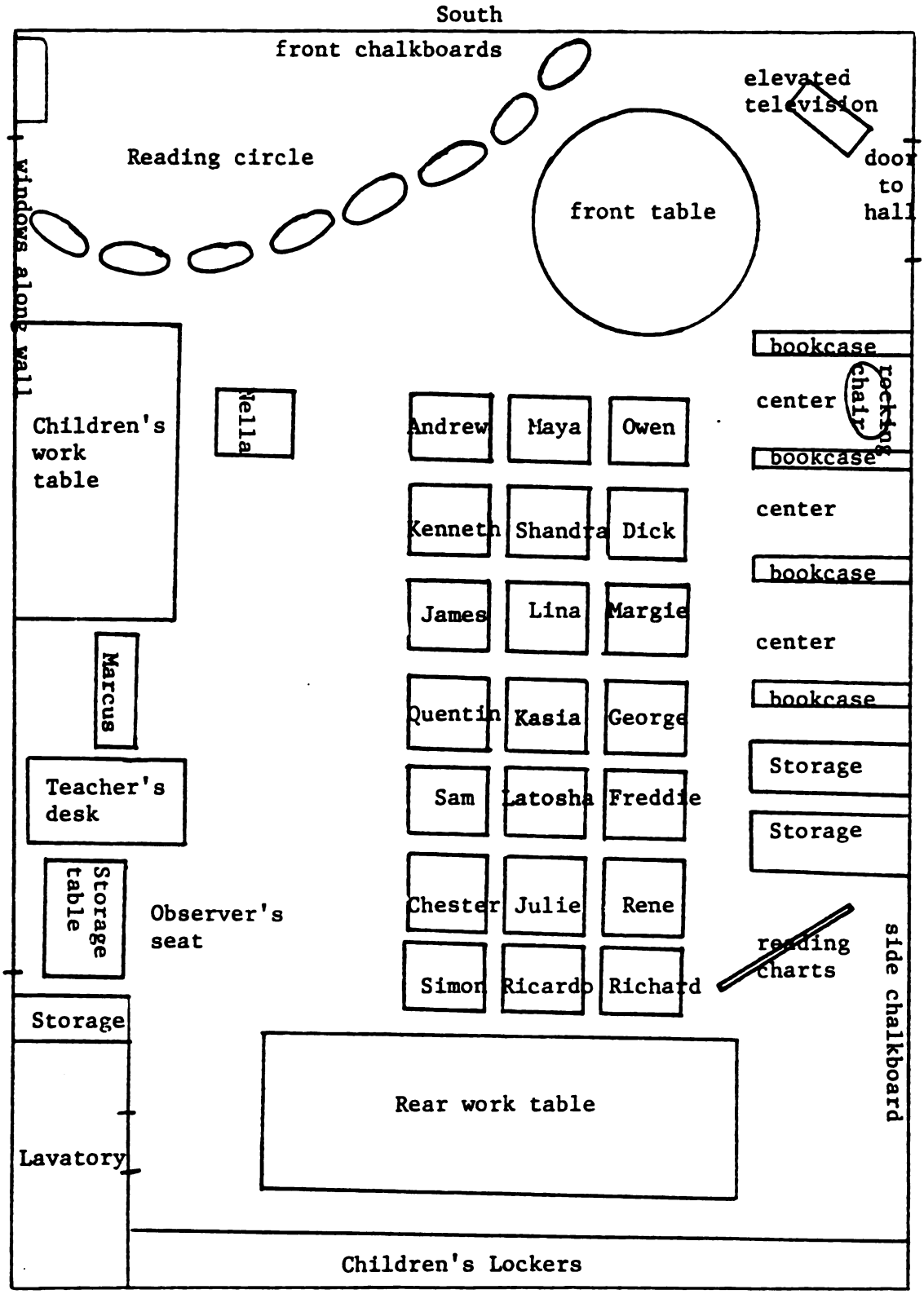
Vineland Elementary

Grades K-2, with almost 600 students (a large school, with many children at each of the first and second-grade levels). Vineland is located in a lower middle class white neighborhood in northeast Riverton. The school is now about 90% black, with many students from public housing, is a Title I school with many special programs for students at educational risk.

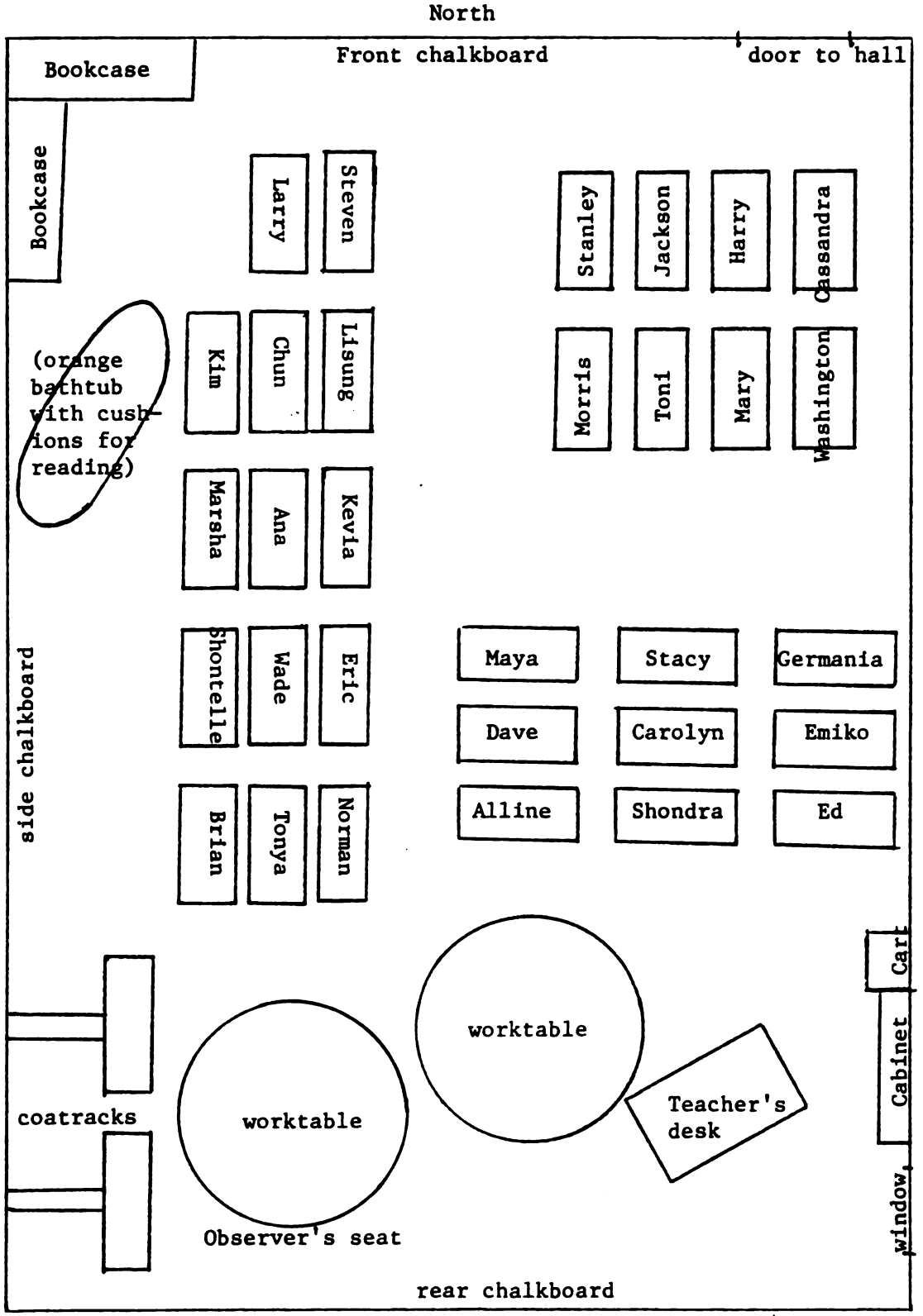
CLASSROOM MAP, MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM AT VINELAND (winter 1981)



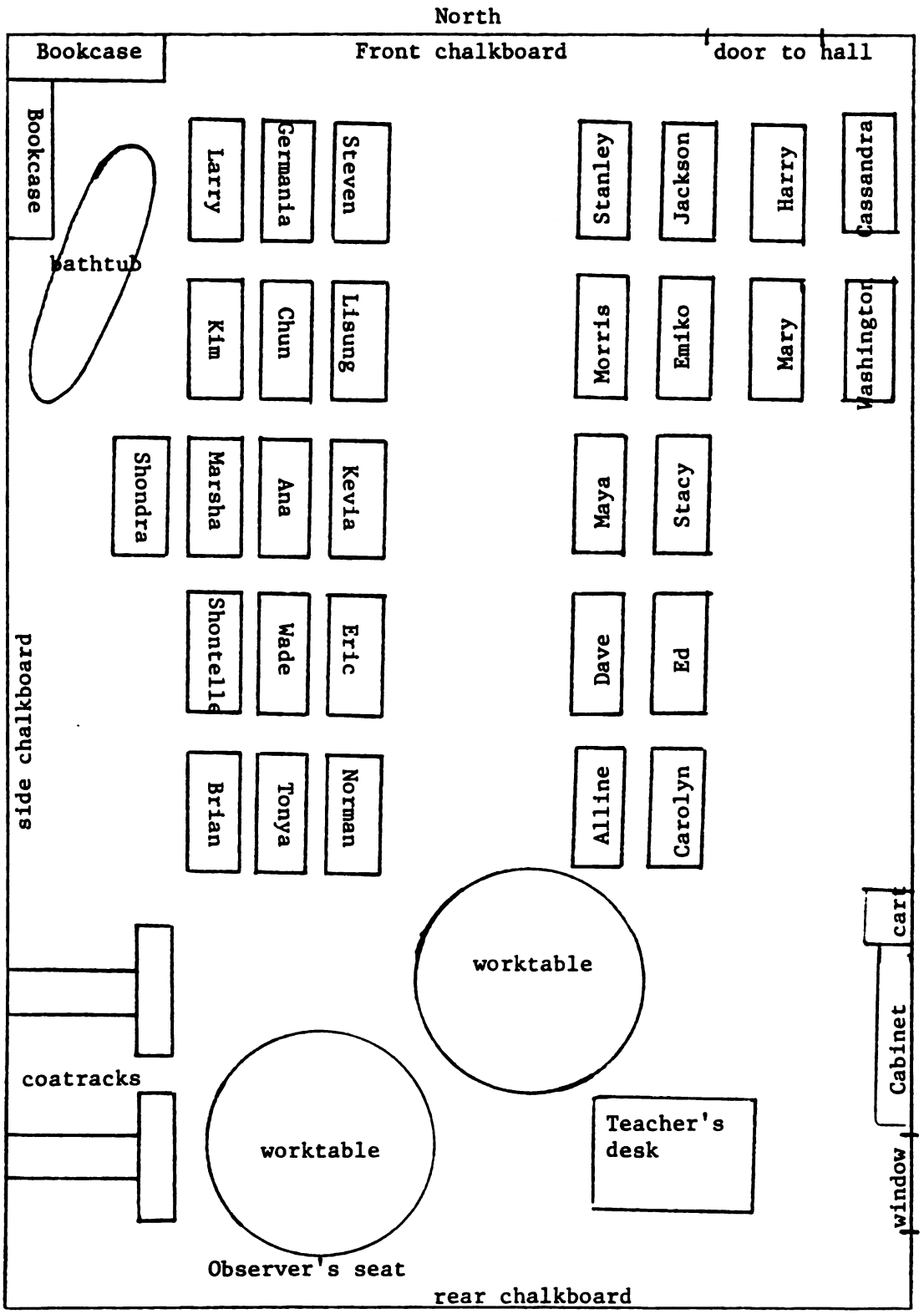
CLASSROOM MAP, MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM AT VINELAND (late spring 1981)



CLASSROOM MAP, MS. ABBOTT'S ROOM AT PINE MANOR (winter 1981)



CLASSROOM MAP, MS. ABBOTT'S ROOM AT PINE MANOR (late spring 1981)



APPENDIX I

MATHEMATICS CONTEST (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

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It is shortly after the lunch break, and the observer and Ms. Yarrow (aesthetic education resource teacher) have come in and set up the videotape equipment during lunch. This is the afternoon Ms. Abbott's class is to be videotaped.

The students are very conscious of the videotape equipment as they organize for instruction after the lunch break. Although the teacher warns them that dire consequences will follow if they pay attention to the video monitor during the lesson, most students are watching the monitor and reacting as Ms. Yarrow experiments with panning.

The teacher goes to the front of the room, holding a pad of paper, and announces, "Clean sheet of paper and a pencil, please." The students giggle as they get out paper and pencil. Ms. Abbott smiles at the class as she waits for them to get ready.

Ms. Abbott sits down on a stool near the door to the hallway and addresses the class, "Okay, let's have a contest." A number of students respond, "All right." The teacher elaborates, "A math contest, boys against girls. Winners and losers will both receive something." (Students react with pleasure, "All right!") Ms. Abbott tells them that the losers may not be happy with what they receive, but the winners will. She gets up and announces, "All right, I need a captain for the boys" (many boys' hands go up immediately) "and he will call the girls, and I need a captain for the girls that will call the boys." (Girls' hands go up.) The teacher chooses, "All right, let's see, Maya, you be the girls' captain, so you come right up here with your pencil and piece of paper." Maya walks to the front of the room (with some reluctance; of all the girls who raised their hands to volunteer, she had seemed least eager). Ms. Abbott appoints Wade to be boys' captain, and he goes and stands next to Maya, but Ms. Abbott has him stand next to the other front chalkboard (where the girls will work their math problems).

Ms. Abbott gives the class directions for the contest: "All right, we're going to start at the very beginning of all the different kinds of math that we've done all year. I'm going to say the

problem one time, only once. I'm not going to say the number but one time. So not only is this a math skill but it's a listening skill. We'll start with easy math problems, and then we'll build up. All right? Wade, call the boys and Maya, call the girls." Students raise their hands to volunteer, but a number call out that they thought Wade was to call the girls and Maya the boys. Ms. Abbott agrees, "I mean, call the girls. Maya, call the boys. Excuse me."

Maya calls on Harry, and Wade calls on Tonya, and the two students come to the board and take their places. A student asks Ms. Abbott if they should work the problems at their seats while the contestants work them at the board, and Ms. Abbott says, "I would and see if they're correct before I do." She responds to another student's question while Harry and Tonya wait.

Ms. Abbott addresses the students at the board: "This is an addition problem, column addition." The two contestants position themselves to write on the board. Ms. Abbott dictates, "Eight thousand five hundred seventy-eight," (both students write it down, Tonya in a very jerky and excited fashion) "plus two hundred sixty-nine," (both students write again), "plus twenty-eight thousand, eight hundred three," (Harry writes down the number but there is a pause as Tonya erases what she has written and re-writes it) "plus fifty-seven thousand, nine hundred fifty. Add." The students at their desks write while the two contestants work the problem on the board, Harry working easily and smoothly but Tonya making such frenzied, jerky movements that she reminds the viewer of a comic in a silent film. Harry finishes long before Tonya, and Ms. Abbott has him stand between his problem on the board and Tonya, with his back to Tonya, presumably to discourage her seeing his solution. Tonya checks her answer, with the same frenzied movements, and eventually writes down two final numbers, very large.

Ms. Abbott says, "All right, look at the answer on your paper." She has the two students at the board sit on the floor so the audience can see their answers. Then she says, "The answer should have been ninety-five thousand, six hundred." This is the answer Harry got but Tonya did not, and the boys make pleased noises ("all right!") while the girls look disappointed. While Harry walks back to his desk, Ms. Abbott explains to Tonya (pointing to the board), "All right, Tonya, you do not have your numbers under the proper columns correctly, so it's boys one, girls zero." Tonya walks slowly back to her desk, and Ms. Abbott tells the captains to call another pair.

They call Larry and Kevia, who go to the board. Ms. Abbott tells them, "Yours is a subtraction problem." Then she waits while Kevia erases the board. Ms. Abbott dictates, "Seventy-two thousand, eight hundred forty-four minus six thousand, eight hundred ninety-five." The students work the problem at their seats and at the board. Larry finishes working the problem, stands with his back to Kevia, then leans over, makes a correction to his problem, and straightens

up. Kevia finishes her problem with a flourish, and the teacher looks carefully at both answers, then walks back to the stool near the door. She says, "All right, the answer is: sixty-five thousand, nine hundred forty-nine." Larry raises a clenched fist, and Kevia bends over, clasping her hands (both reacting to having the correct answer). Both boys and girls make pleased sounds at their seats. The teacher says, "Okay, boys have two, girls have one." She tells the captains to call the next pair, and they call Steven and Shondra to the board.

Ms. Abbott tells the students, "All right, this problem is multiplication involving parenthesis." There is a pause, as the two contestants stand facing the board poised to write. The teacher begins to dictate, "All right, inside the parenthesis" (Steven writes a parenthesis mark on the board, and then Shondra does so, apparently taking her cue from Steven). The teacher continues, "Three times two" (both students write). The teacher tells them to close the parenthesis, and both do so. The teacher finishes dictating: "times two." Both students start working the problem in a deliberate, well organized fashion, finishing quickly. The teacher looks carefully at both answers and says, "All right, both of you got it right. You brought down outside the parenthesis. Good. Okay, now, the answer should be twelve, and it should have been a two liner. Remember? All right, boys three, girls two." The teacher returns to the stool and sits.

Only a few students raise their hands to volunteer for the next turn. The captains call on Ana and Dave, who go to the board. They wait while Ms. Abbott responds to a student's (inaudible) question. Then she dictates, "All right, here we go: three hundred" (there is a pause while the students write down the number) "times two hundred." The students work the problem on the board and at their seats. Ana writes down several rows of zeros, but Dave uses the shortcut method and finishes before Ana. The teacher checks both answers and responds, "Good. Sixty thousand. Both of them got it. That's good."

Chun volunteers strenuously for the next turn (one of the few students to volunteer), and Maya calls on him. Wade calls on Shontelle. When both students are poised to write on the chalkboard, Ms. Abbott dictates, "Fourteen dollars and eighty cents" (students write) "times six." Students work the problem at the board and at their seats. Chun checks his work and adds the decimal point to his answer. Shontelle takes longer to work the problem. As she begins to check her answer, Ms. Abbott asks Chun what the answer is, and he answers, "Eighty-eight dollars and eighty cents." The teacher asks Shontelle, "What do you have? The same?" When Shontelle nods, the teacher responds, "Right," then tells the class, "You must have your dollar sign, you must have your decimal point. And both of them do."

The next two contestants are Jackson and Marsha. Ms. Abbott gives them the problem, "Five hundred and eighty-six times nine hundred and fifty-seven." Marsha has to kneel to finish her problem. (Chun, working the problem at his seat, finishes and begins to watch what is going on at the chalkboard just a second before Marsha begins checking her work.) Ms. Abbott comes to the board, looks at Marsha's problem, and waits for Jackson to finish. When he does, the teacher asks Marsha to read her answer, and Marsha says, "Five hundred sixty thousand, eight hundred two." (Jackson begins to erase his problem, which was incorrect.) Ms. Abbott announces, "All right, the girls have caught up with the boys." The girls react with excited body movement and some squeals. The teacher comments, "All right, this is too easy, let's get harder. Let's go to fractions." (Students react with apprehension.) Ms. Abbott corrects herself, "Well, we'll do one division problem, then we'll move on to fractions."

The next two contestants are Cassandra and Ed. Ms. Abbott waits for Cassandra to erase Marsha's problem, then dictates, "Fifty thousand divided by sixty-one." As the students work the problem at the board and at their desks, the teacher comments, "This is the last easy problem." Ed occasionally looks frustrated as he writes, and Cassandra has to kneel as her problem nears the bottom of the chalkboard. Most of the students at their desks take longer to work the problem than Ed and Cassandra. Ms. Abbott asks Ed what the answer is, he tells her, and Ms. Abbott responds, "Right. Both of them got it. Good."

Washington and Stacy are the next two contestants. The teacher announces, "All right, let's work a little with unknowns. Do you remember unknowns?" Stacy nods her head, as do a few of the pupils at their seats (and a few chime in, "Yes, maam"). Ms. Abbott continues, "All right. I'm going to ask you a question, and then you will fill in the blank, where I ask you the question. Do you understand, Washington?" (Washington nods.) Ms. Abbott proceeds, "All right. What times five equals two hundred fifty?" As Stacy starts writing the problem as an equation, Washington stands and looks puzzled, and Ms. Abbott repeats, "What -- which is the unknown -- times five equals two hundred fifty?" Washington begins to work the problem, but he works it as a multiplication problem rather than as an equation. The teacher watches Washington as he works. As he reacts, she says quickly, "I didn't say that was wrong. I didn't say anything." When Stacy boxes in her final answer, the teacher goes and looks at Stacy's problem, then returns to watching Washington work. When he finishes she asks him what the unknown is, he points, and the teacher asks, "Five?" (Chun shakes his head vigorously at his desk.) Washington says, "Fifty." Ms. Abbott responds, "Fifty? All right, box it in," and Washington does so.

Ms. Abbott turns to the class and asks, "All right, now, shall I give him credit for this one?" Most of the girls immediately call out, "No!" (and Kevia's voice is particularly urgent as she shakes

her head vigorously and calls out, "No, maam!"). Ms. Abbott asks, "Why not, Kevia?" Kevia is tonguetied, "Because -- Oh! I know! He didn't -- he didn't...." Another girl volunteers, "He didn't write it the way you wanted him to write it." Three or four girls call out slightly different versions of this response (Kevia merely raising her hand and calling, "I know, Ms. Abbott"). The girls continue talking loudly, protesting giving Washington credit. The teacher goes to Washington and tells him, "All right, there's a way to think through this. You obviously thought through it, because you have the right answer. But it's written as an equation. Do you remember how we learned to write the equations?" Washington nods, and Ms. Abbott tells him to look at Stacy's problem. She adds, "All right, now, you have the right answer. You know how to get it." She turns back to the class, "So this time shall we give him credit?" The girls protest even more vigorously, "No! No!" (A few boys call out, "Yes!") As the girls continue to protest, Ms. Abbott bends over laughing. Finally she makes a "cutting" gesture, the class quiets down, and Ms. Abbott holds Washington's arm while she tells him, "Okay, Washington, there's a certain way to do it that will make it easier, so next time ... try to think through like Stacy did, okay?" As she walks briskly back to the stool she adds, "Okay, that's the girls' point." The girls move excitedly in their seats and squeal in excitement. Washington walks slowly back to his desk, Stacy erases and returns to hers. The level of excitement remains high as the two captains slowly choose another pair of contestants.

Stanley and Carolyn are the next contestants, and the teacher gives them another unknown equation problem: "Seven hundred thirty-two divided by what -- or the unknown -- equals twelve?" When the contestants finish, the teacher asks Stanley the answer, and he tells her. She responds, "Right, sixty-one, good. We have to say twelve into seven hundred thirty-two." (She points to his solution as she explains to the class.) As the captains choose another pair of contestants, Ms. Abbott says, "All right, let's find the unknown in another position."

The next pair are Allina and Brian. As Brian approaches the board slowly, with apparent reluctance, Ms. Abbott tells him, "Brian, this is another unknown." Saying, "Yes'm," Brian erases Stanley's problem. When both students are ready, Ms. Abbott says, "All right, unknown divided by fifteen equals fifteen." She repeats, "What, divided by fifteen, equals fifteen?" Both pupils at the board divide to find the answer (the appropriate algorithm for the previous two problems). Allina writes "1" in her box, then puts up her hand to keep Brian from seeing the answer. The teacher looks at her answer and then looks at Brian's. She tells the two contestants to sit on the floor briefly and asks the class to look at their problems. (Both had gotten the answer "1.") Ms. Abbott comments, "What, divided by fifteen, equals fifteen? All right, what you're saying to me, then, if you're saying 'one,' then you're saying, 'What, divided by fifteen, equals fifteen? Now, fifteen into one won't

be fifteen." (Allina starts and makes an expressive gesture as she realizes her mistake. Larry shakes his fist, and other members of the class are making frustrated gestures.) The teacher summarizes, "So neither of you get a point. And send two more to the board."

Norman's hand is the first one up, and Maya calls on him as Allina walks slowly and dejectedly back to her desk. Wade calls on Emiko. The two students start to work on the same problem, and Ms. Abbott comments, "Now, think, Emiko, what -- same problem, same equation -- if you've already done it at your seat, don't do it again -- what, divided by fifteen, equals fifteen?" Norman works the problem quickly and then covers his side of the board, turning his back to Emiko to keep her from seeing the answer. Emiko seems to be very puzzled, makes a few gestures but does not write anything. Then she erases Allina's problem but does not write. The teacher comes to the board and looks at Norman's problem, then walks back to the stool. Pupils are whispering at their seats. The teacher asks Emiko if she is ready. When Emiko admits she is stumped, Ms. Abbott tells her to look at Norman's problem, "All right, look back at Norman's. What, divided by fifteen, equals fifteen? What do you have to say? Fifteen --" (Ms. Abbott is joined at this point by most of the class chanting in unison with her) "<u>times</u> fifteen." There is an excited babble, as both Norman and Emiko walk back to their seats. The teacher continues, "Which is?" Most students call out the correct answer: 225. As Norman sits down, his neighbor Eric raises both arms in a clenched fist "victory" salute and then stretches. There is a babble of excited conversation, as most pupils move in their seats, and many stretch. Tonya begins calling urgently to the teacher. Ms. Abbott comments, "All right! You tied it again. It's seven-seven. Next two?" Then Ms. Abbott responds to Tonya's urgent call, but Tonya appears to have forgotten what was so urgent.

Kim and Mary are called to the board. When they are ready, the teacher announces, "This is a -- okay, let me give a fraction because Kim's there, okay? Let's add fractions. I was going to give one more unknown, but we'll add fractions." As she starts to dictate the problem, Chun interrupts her, "He was doing it!" As he gets the teacher's attention, Chun points to the board and repeats, "He was doing it, I saw him do that." Ms. Abbott asks, "The unknowns?" Chun nods and says yes. Ms. Abbott responds, "All right. But this, this would not be fair, though." Chun settles back in his seat as Ms. Abbott dictates: "All right, we're going to add fractions. One-fifteenth -- one-fifteenth plus sixteen-fifteenths equals?" (Kim writes a minus sign instead of a plus sign but corrects it immediately.) Both students work the problem, Mary working it vertically while Kim works it horizontally. Ms. Abbott walks to Kim and watches him work the problem, her hand on his shoulder in a protective gesture. Mary finishes and glances at the teacher, who nods slightly. Mary stands with her back to Kim, shielding her answer, as he finishes working the problem. When he finishes, the teacher says, "All right, both of them got it. One and

two-fifteenths. Good." She walks rapidly back to the stool, while Carolyn erases and Kim returns to his seat. Ms. Abbott comments, "He doesn't do his like we do ours. That's all right." Then she responds to a pupil's question about the correct answer to the problem.

The next two contestants are Lisung (Kim's sister, also not fluent in English, since the two recently immigrated from Korea) and Eric, who is hearing impaired. Ms. Abbott gives them another problem in adding fractions, "Five-eighths plus three-eighths." Again Eric works the problem vertically while Lisung works it horizontally. Lisung shields her problem with her hand while she works. She and Eric finish at almost the same instant, and Ms. Abbott comments, "Both of them got it, right. Eight-eighths equals one, good. Look how Lisung does hers."

Ms. Abbott says, "All right, next two to the board." Students look around expectantly, but the two captains are unable to locate students they have not already called on. Ms. Abbott says, "Everybody hasn't been, who hasn't been to the board?" When no one responds, she says, "You said fifteen each? All right, then start ... around again. Let's get harder." Students begin to call out that the two captains have not been to the board, and Ms. Abbott responds, "All right, you two haven't been? Well, congratulations." The two captains take their place at the board. Some of the students are giggling, and the teacher adds, "Your turn! All right, since you're the captains, we'll...." She is interrupted by student comments on the situation. Maya and Wade are erasing the board.

When they are ready, Ms. Abbott says, "No, we'll work up." (One of the students must have suggested that she give the captains the most difficult problem.) Ms. Abbott dictates: "Seven-eighths minus three-eighths." All the students work the problem, and Chun, the first to finish, stretches in his seat. Maya finishes her problem and stands with her back to Wade, shielding her answer. When Wade finishes, Ms. Abbott looks at the problems and says, "Right. One-half. Good. All right, start again. Let's get hard again. This is too easy." Most of the students raise their hands to volunteer.

Maya and Wade call the first two students who competed, Harry and Tonya. Tonya walks very slowly and reluctantly down the aisle to the board, and Ms. Abbott comments, "Move, girl, you're moving like the dead." When both students are in position, Ms. Abbott dictates: "One hundred nine-sixths minus eighty-five sixths." The students work the problem at the board and at their seats, and Tonya is not as tense and jerky in her movements as she was during her first time at the board. When Harry finishes, the teacher again turns him gently away from Tonya, shielding his answer. Tonya begins to make very jerky, panicky movements as she continues working her problem,

and the teacher says softly, "Come on, Tonya." Tonya makes dramatic, very jerky gestures as she checks her answer. Before Tonya has finished checking, the teacher comments, "Both of you got four." She tells Tonya, "But you almost missed it. You subtracted wrong the first time." Tonya nods and smiles, saying, "I know." The teacher says, "Okay," and both students return to their desks, Tonya smiling, giggling, a great deal more relaxed. The teacher comments, "All right, both of you regrouped. Twenty-four-sixths is four. All right, let's go."

Kevia and Larry are the next students called to the board. As they erase, Ms. Abbott announces, "This is addition of fractions, addition: forty-seven and one-tenth plus forty-eight and seven-tenths." Kevia draws a line and begins to add, but Ms. Abbott says, "Wait, wait, that's not all. I was waiting on Larry to catch up." When Larry finishes rewriting the problem, Ms. Abbott adds, "Plus forty-one and three-tenths." Several students laugh, as all write down the problem. The teacher finishes, "That's it." Students work the problem at the board and at their seats; it takes longer to work this problem than most they have had to date. When some have finished but some are still working, Ms. Abbott asks, "Who hasn't missed any yet, at their desks? Not missed one?" About half the students raise their hands, and the teacher comments, "Good." Kevia has finished and is shielding her answer from Larry, but Larry continues to work even after the teacher asks him if he has finished. When he finishes, Ms. Abbott asks him what the answer is, and he replies, "One hundred thirty-seven and one-tenth." The teacher responds, "Right. Both of you got it. All right, good. Eleven to eleven." As the two return to their desks, Steven has his hand up. The captains call on Steven and Shondra.

Students at their desk look very attentive as they wait for Steven and Shondra to erase the board. When the students are ready to compete, Ms. Abbott dictates, "Nine and one-seventh minus four-sevenths." All the students work the problem; when she finishes, Lisung gets out her notebook and pages through it. Ms. Abbott goes to the board and watches first Steven and then Shondra as they work the problem. Steven finishes and shields his problem from Shondra. Larry, at his seat, beats his hands together in a gesture of excitement and suspense. When Shondra finishes, Ms. Abbott announces, "All right, boys lead for the first time today." She smiles and walks back to the stool as the boys cheer loudly. Steven returns to his seat, while Shondra stands and looks at her problem. Students continue to talk excitedly. Ms. Abbott talks briefly with some of the students, then tells Shondra, "All right, now, Shondra, now look where you regrouped. If you regroup -- if you borrow a whole number one from nine, that leaves you with eight and how many sevenths?" As Shondra continues to look puzzled, Ms. Abbott repeats, "How many?" Shondra says, "Seven." Ms. Abbott responds, "Seven-sevenths? You've already got one-seventh, what does that make?" Shondra says, "Eight." Ms. Abbott says, "Eight-sevenths, right." Shondra returns to her seat.

Ana and Dave are the next two contestants. Students talk quietly as Dave erases the board. Ms. Abbott asks Dave if he is ready, and he stands poised to write. All students seem to be waiting suspensefully. Ms. Abbott dictates, "Three and one-fourth minus two and one-half." All the students work the problem. The teacher asks Ana what answer she got, and Ana answers, "One-fourth." Ms. Abbott asks Dave, who says he got one and one-fourth. Ms. Abbott responds, "One and one-fourth? Both of you missed it. Send two more to the board." Ana and Dave straighten up and laugh at each other, then return to their seats, while the captains call Chun and Shontelle to the board. Ms. Abbott and the students at their seats talk quietly while Chun and Shontelle rework the problem (Shontelle not completely erasing Ana's work). When Chun and Shontelle finish, Ms. Abbott tells Ana and Dave, "Now, you two look and see where you made your mistake." She asks Shontelle the answer, and Shontelle replies, "Three-fourths." Ms. Abbott comments, "Three-fourths. Both of you got it. Good."

As the captains call Marsha and Jackson to the board, Ms. Abbott announces that the boys are still leading, thirteen to twelve. When Marsha and Jackson are ready, Ms. Abbott dictates: "Five and three-tenths plus four and five-sixths." It takes the students a long time to work this problem, and the chalkboard is covered. Both Marsha and Jackson subtract instead of adding (they seem to be concentrating on the difficult problem of converting to a common denominator). As the students at the desks wait for them to finish, there are many gestures of excitement and impatience, Larry clapping his hands together and clenching his fists, Chun fidgeting in his seat. Larry leaves his desk, looks over Jackson's shoulder at his problem, and then sits down again. Finally, when the two students finish, Ms. Abbott tells them, "I can't believe this. Both of you. Look up there. This is an addition problem." To Jackson she says, "You have the right sign, but you subtracted, Jackson. Marsha has the wrong sign. All right, send two more people to the board."

As the captains call Ed and Cassandra to the board, the teacher tells them, "Now, think. You can work with what they've got." As they start to work, the teacher repeats the problem for them. Ed and Cassandra work the problem, and about half the seated students continue to write. Ed finishes first and shields his answer from Cassandra. Cassandra asks Ms. Abbott if they have to show all the work, and the teacher says, "No. If you want to do the shortcut in your head, that's fine." When the students finish, Ms. Abbott asks Ed for the answer, and he answers incorrectly. The teacher reports the correct answer, which Cassandra got, and many of the girls laugh while the boys look disappointed.

Ms. Abbott announces, "Tied up again. All right, since it's tied up again, we'll only go seven more problems regardless. And you have to go with the seven people that have not gone twice. All right, who's next?" The captains call Stacy and Washington to the board.

As the two students wait for Ms. Abbott to dictate a problem, Washington erases his chalkboard and Stacy throws her head back, apparently to ease the tension. Ms. Abbott says, "All right, here we go, this is multiplication of fractions, and you must cancel out. Multiplication of fractions. Five-sixths times four-fifths times one-half." Some of the students react in consternation at the difficulty of this problem, and Stacy re-writes the problem before working it. Students whisper as they work at their seats, and all take a long time to work the problem. Finally the teacher tells Stacy and Washington that they have three more seconds, and Stacy quickly finishes her problem, while Kevia nods her head vigorously at her seat. Steven flops his head on his desk (his consistent reaction when the boys lost a point). Ms. Abbott says, "All right, Washington, look at Stacy's problem. How do you multiply fractions?" The girls laugh loudly as Washington goes and looks at Stacy's problem; they make excited movements in their seats. Stacy is jumping up and down at the board while Washington looks back and forth between his problem and hers. Eric sits with his head in his hands. Washington erases his problem, and Stacy erases hers very quickly and hops down the aisle all the way to her desk (apparently a simple release of excitement). Washington returns to his desk more slowly.

The next two contestants are Carolyn and Stanley. The teacher gives them a problem: "Two and two-fifths times one and five-twelfths." This is a very difficult problem, on which all the students work for a long time. When the two students at the board finish working, the teacher comments, "All right, send two more to the board." Carolyn and Stanley walk slowly back to their desks, and the captains call Norman (whose hand is raised) and Emiko. The teacher repeats the problem for them, "Two and two-fifths times one and five-twelfths. Multiplication of fractions." Then she repeats the problem again. The two students work for quite awhile, and finally Emiko reaches a solution and draws a circle around it, while Norman looks stumped. The teacher says, "Give you about one more minute, Norman." Norman erases and starts writing again. Many of the students at their desks are also still writing. There are suppressed giggles as Norman erases a second time and starts again. Eric claps his hands to his head, and Steven is making very frustrated gestures. Emiko is grinning and laughing quietly as she shields her answer. Finally Ms. Abbott says, "Norman, go look at Emiko's." The girls scream and laugh as Norman looks at Emiko's problem. The teacher, hand on Norman's shoulder, quietly explains to him where he had gone wrong. Then Norman returns to his seat, grinning slightly, while other pupils continue to comment loudly.

Kim and Allina are the next contestants. Several students complain to the teacher that it's supposed to be Mary's turn. Allina stops erasing the board and looks interrogatively at the teacher. The teacher says, "It doesn't make any difference. All right, six divided by one-fourth." She repeats, "Whole number six divided by one-fourth." A student asks if they may do it the short way, and

she says they may. Allina and Kim finish their problems almost simultaneously, and the teacher responds, "Good. Got two thinkers up there now. Twenty-four is the answer. All right, send two more to the board." Both students sit down, and the captains call Lisung and Eric. Again several students protest that it's Mary's turn; both Eric and Lisung, who are walking to the board, stop and look at Mary. Lisung continues to look uncertain, but eventually both she and Eric go to the board and erase. Ms. Abbott dictates: "One and eight-fifteenths...." Both students start writing but look puzzled. (Eric is hearing impaired, and his hearing aid is not functioning properly this afternoon; Lisung is Korean, not yet fluent in English, and dependent on Chun to translate for her.) The teacher goes to Eric and repeats the number clearly for him; Eric nods and writes it. Then Ms. Abbott goes to Lisung and repeats the number three times. Lisung writes "1" and draws a line to indicate a fraction but continues to look puzzled and does not write when Ms. Abbott repeats the fraction again. Ms. Abbott tells Chun to explain to Lisung in Korean, and he tries, but Lisung still does not understand. Students are making suggestions, and finally a student calls out, "Tell her eight over one." Chun speaks in Korean, but Lisung does not respond to either his Korean or Ms. Abbott's repeating the whole problem in English. Ms. Abbott follows the student's suggestion and repeats, "Eight. Whole number one and eight over fifteen." Lisung writes the fraction correctly, the teacher says, "Right, okay," some students laugh, and others clap. Ms. Abbott continues dictating the problem: "Divided by five-sixteenths, five-sixteenths." Both students finish writing the problem on the board without difficulty.

This seems to be a difficult problem for all the students, and Steven is holding his head in his hand as he writes at his desk. All work for a long time, and many look puzzled. Eric finishes working and starts checking his work. Lisung continues to work the problem. Finally the teacher goes to Eric and asks him if he thinks he's ready. He does not answer but shakes his head and continues working. Lisung begins checking her problem. Eric finishes. The teacher tells Lisung, "I'd say you've got about twenty more seconds. Can you tell her that, Chun?" Chun speaks briefly to Lisung in Korean. Lisung continues to work her problem while some of the students laugh quietly. The teacher asks the class, "How many have the answer?" Most of the class raise their hands. Ms. Abbott tells Lisung and Eric not to turn around and asks the class, "How many have --?" (She holds up four fingers.) She adds, "And a fraction?" Students look startled, and there is a chorus of, "No, maam." Ms. Abbott looks at Lisung's problem and announces, "Okay, both of you are wrong. Send two more to the board."

The captains call Mary and Brian, while the teacher urges them to come quickly, and some students protest, "You told them." She says,

"That wasn't all. Don't worry." She repeats the problem for Mary and Brian and then adds, "I'll see the work anyway on the board." Ms. Abbott repeats the problem again when both Mary and Brian are at the board and ready. She adds, "I'm going to call time on both of you." As the two students begin to work the problem, she tells the class, "All right, now the score's fourteen -- I'm sorry, sixteen to fourteen." A student asks, "Whose favor?" She says, "Girls' favor." The girls squeal and clap, and there is some laughter as the students at their seats watch the students at the board work the problem. The teacher goes to the board and watches Mary work. Larry leans forward to look at Brian's problem. A number of students are giggling tensely. The teacher says, "Wouldn't it be hilarious if the girls won? Have they ever won a math contest?" There is a contentious discussion among the students in response to this question, some contending that it's the boys who never win any contests and others contending that the boys usually win the math contests and the girls win the language arts contests. Mary finishes, and the teacher says, "All right, let's be quiet so Brian can try and finish his." The class quiets down, but some students continue to giggle softly. Stacy is bouncing up and down quietly in her seat, and most of the students are fidgeting. The teacher tells Brian, "Brian, I'm going to give you about one more minute." A little later she says, "Brian, about ready to call time." Finally she says, "Okay, time." The girls scream, laugh, and clap. Kevia throws her arms in the air. Over the clapping the teacher announces, "Four and sixty-eight seventy-fifths." (This is the answer Mary has.) The clapping and cheering by the girls continue as Mary returns to her seat and Brian erases his problem.

The contest continues with the captains going to the board again. As Brian returns to his seat, Tonya consoles him loudly, "Oh, Brian, Brian, Brian!" Ms. Abbott says, "Hush, that's all right. That's all right." The class continues to talk and laugh as Wade and Maya finish erasing and look expectantly at the teacher, who proceeds to give them a problem in multiplication of decimal numbers: "three hundred eleven one-thousandths times nine-hundredths." Wade looks puzzled and gets a slow start working on the problem. The teacher reminds Carolyn that she is supposed to be working the problem at her seat (the first student to neglect this). As the students work at their desk, it is clear that they are very excited; many are fidgeting. The teacher urges Wade to hurry up and finish. When he does finish, the teacher announces that the boys have won this point, and the boys cheer (Chun waving his hands wildly and Larry jumping up out of his seat). Students talk loudly and sound very excited.

The teacher has to remind the captains to send two more to the board. They call Tonya and Harry. Tonya drops her eraser just as the teacher begins to dictate the problem, and the girls begin urging her to "think good," "think about the problem," "go slow." Ms. Abbott says, "All right, now listen. Don't let them distract you." She dictates the final problem: "One thousand six hundred forty-three

ten-thousandths. I'll give it again: one thousand six hundred forty-three ten-thousandths." (Tonya writes a fraction and the teacher reminds her, "This is decimals." Tonya says, "Oh," erases, and writes the number again as Ms. Abbott repeats it a third time.) Ms. Abbott continues, "Divided by three and one tenth." All the students work on the problem. Tonya checks her decimal points and begins working the problem. Again her movements are jerky although not as nervous as the first time she came to the board. A student asks Ms. Abbott if they should check their solutions, and she says she thinks they should. Tonya begins to check her work with dramatic, very jerky movements. Harry finishes checking his solution (a multiplication problem) and draws an emphatic line from one problem to the other. Then he faces the audience and waits in a relaxed posture for Tonya to finish. In fact, the answer to his problem is correct but the answer to the "checking" multiplication problem is incorrect, so the two do not match up. Students begin giggling in response to this. Tonya looks over at Harry and continues working on her checking problem. A student asks what the giggling is about, and Ms. Abbott says, "Look and see. If you look at the board and you're a good observer, you'll see what they're finding." Then she asks Tonya if she's through. Tonya says, "No, maam," and with exaggeratedly jerky movements she erases both her problems and completely reworks them, making a careless error as she does so (her original solution was correct). Students' laughter increases, especially as Harry continues to show no concern over what they are laughing at. Finally the teacher says, "All right, Tonya, I'm going to call time on you, you've got one more minute." Tonya works even more frantically, and the giggles increase as Harry watches Tonya work. Several students are jumping up and down in their seats. When Harry looks away from Tonya, the laughter increases. Tonya finishes reworking her problem.

The teacher responds, "Don't anybody say a word. Now look up there. Both of them have the same answer, but what -- all right, he has fifty-three one-thousandths. When he checked, he got one thousand six hundred and forty-five ten-thousandths." (Harry looks startled and looks at his problem carefully for the first time.) Ms. Abbott continues, "She has fifty-three hundredths. The answer was fifty-three thousandths." Students giggle, and Steven jumps up from his desk. The teacher tells him to wait and tells Tonya, "And you don't have the numbers over one another correctly." She tells the class, "So neither one of them gets a point." Students respond loudly (some calling out, "All right!") while Tonya stomps up the aisle to her desk. The teacher is showing Harry what the problem is with his problem. Then she tells the class, "I told you there'd be seven more problems, that was the seventh problem. This is the end." (A girl calls out, "Oh, we won!") Ms. Abbott tries to tell the class the final score, but she is drowned out by the girls' screaming, jumping out of their seats, and loudly celebrating their victory. Ms. Abbott doubles over laughing, then begins to try to re-establish order. As she begins to exhort the boys to be good losers, the tape ends.

APPENDIX J

LANGUAGE ARTS CONTEST IN MS. ABBOTT'S SIXTH-GRADE CLASS

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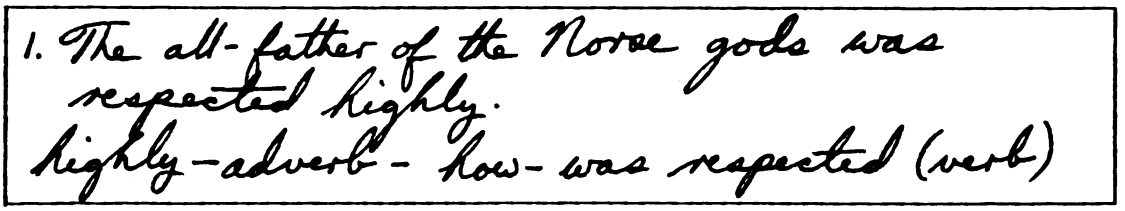
Eric, Ms. Abbott, and Tonya dance into the room doing the Bunny Hop and singing the "Bunny Hop" song. (The class had learned the Bunny Hop earlier in the day as part of the "Fabulous Friday" dance activities led by the aesthetic education resource teachers.) They are the last ones in the room from a restroom break, after lunch, and the teacher says, "Everybody in your seat." Eric goes to Ms. Abbott before sitting down and rubs her back gently, then returns to his desk.

Ms. Abbott says, "Okay, let's have -- get out the English from yesterday that we didn't get checked and we'll have a contest." She goes to her desk and holds up a box of chocolate covered cherries, remarking, "We'll see how many of these you can win." Students react, "Ooh!" Ms. Abbott checks in her desk and says there are "probably enough." She tells the class they need two things, a pen and the English paper that they did not finish checking yesterday -- "and a still body." Tonya raises her hand, then lowers it. Ms. Abbott asks Shontelle what the score was yesterday when they stopped, and Shontelle says, "Four to one, girls' favor." Ms. Abbott repeats the score, and some of the boys protest. Steven erases the front chalkboard.

Ms. Abbott says, "I want the two people who went to the board yesterday to go." She warns the rest of the class to pay "intelligent attention; fake it, if necessary." And she reminds the class, "Because the losers do maid service after the party today." The teacher warns, "I'll take points away from your team if you're noisy," and the buzz of student talk stops. She asks Cassandra to "see that everybody has the correct paper out on your side of the room" and asks Shondra to check the papers on her side of the room. (There is a center aisle which clearly separates the two "sides.")

Emiko and Stanley go to the front chalkboard and begin writing sentences on the board. Cassandra goes to the teacher and tells her, "I have the hiccups." Ms. Abbott asks, "What should I do?" Cassandra returns to her seat. (Presumably Cassandra also told the

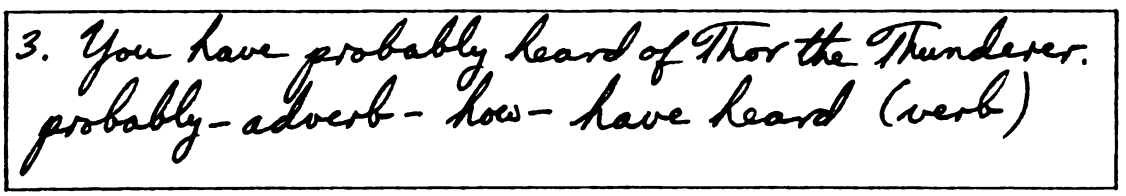
teacher that all the students on her side of the room had the correct paper out, but the observer did not hear that exchange.) Ms. Abbott comments, "Thank the people who came back [from lunch] and alphabetized for me." The observer copies down what Emiko has written on the chalkboard but does not have time to copy sentence two, which Stanley has put up. Emiko's sentence and analysis are:



Shondra reports to Ms. Abbott about the homework on her side of the room, and Ms. Abbott says, "Okay, thank you very much." Shondra sits down.

The teacher asks, "Okay, are you ready, Emiko?" Emiko reads what she has on the board, explaining that the only adverb in the sentence is "highly," that it answers the question "how," and that it modifies the verb "was respected." Ms. Abbott responds, "Exactly right. Okay, Stan." Stanley reads what he has on the board, and Ms. Abbott tells him that "was" is only part of the verb. Other students (especially the girls, since the contest pits the girls against the boys) volunteer to correct the sentence for him, but the teacher tells them, "He got half of it." She tells them to let him figure out the other half of the verb. Stanley corrects his work and says that the verb is "was named." Ms. Abbott says that is right and repeats Stanley's entire response.

Ms. Abbott says they are ready for number three and number four. She adds, "If you went to the board yesterday, please don't raise your hand. Let everybody have a turn. Is the score five to two now?" Shontelle says, "Yes, maam." Only a few of the students raise their hands to volunteer, and the teacher calls on Stacy and Washington to take three and four respectively. (The observer notes that Shontelle, the scorekeeper, is sitting on the rim of the bathtub rather than in her seat, presumably to see the board better.) Stacy writes and analyzes her sentence quickly, whereas Washington writes in very large letters which sprawl all over his half of the chalkboard. Again the observer has time to copy what the girl has written but not what the boy writes. Stacy has written:



Ms. Abbott calls on Stacy to report. When Stacy reads what she has on the board, the teacher responds, "Right." Washington then reports, Ms. Abbott prompting him once not to forget to report one of the points he has written on the board. When he finishes, Ms. Abbott comments, "Right. Good for you."

Ms. Abbott announces, "Okay, two more who have not been to the board." She calls on Ana and Norman. The students tell Ms. Abbott that Norman has already been to the board; Ms. Abbott calls on Ed, but the students tell her Ed has already been to the board also. She then calls on Brian (the only student she has called on who did not have his hand raised to volunteer). As Brian goes slowly and apparently reluctantly to the board, Ms. Abbott assures him he can do it: "You've been here, you haven't missed a day since I introduced adverbs, you can do it." As Brian takes his place at the board, "Ms. Abbott comments, "Brian, I believe you have a girlfriend. You have come two days in a row looking like a million dollars." Tonya, who sits in front of Brian (and whom the teacher has appointed to "look after" Brian, a mainstreamed, special education student), giggles so hard she begins to choke, and Ms. Abbott tells her to control herself.

While the two students write their sentences and analyses on the board, the principal makes an intercom announcement asking all teachers to allow all students who wore a Pine Manor School T-shirt to school today to write their names on slips of paper and bring the slips to the cafetorium. Tonya, Norman, Stacy, Alline, Carolyn, Mary, Germania, Shondra, and Jackson troop to the teacher's desk in the rear of the room. They are all wearing school T-shirts. Ms. Abbott asks Dave to take all of the slips to the cafetorium because he is the "doodad today." (In Ms. Abbott's room the students systematically rotate the job of "pet for the day," presumably to avoid any chance of the teacher's falling into the habit of calling on only a few students to run errands for her. The day's "pet" leads the classroom opening exercises, is responsible for washing the blackboards at the end of the day, distributes lunch cards, locks the classroom door whenever the entire class leaves the room and unlocks it when they return, and runs all errands for the day.)

Both Ana and Brian are writing more slowly than previous students at the board, but both continue writing their problems on the board (even though Ana is wearing a school T-shirt and might like to enter the contest in the cafetorium, for students wearing the T-shirts). The students gathered around the teacher's desk all write their names on slips of paper and give them to Ms. Abbott, then return to their desks. (Jackson is the last to do so.) The teacher of the upper elementary special education program for the hearing impaired comes into the room and consults with Ms. Abbott. Ms. Abbott asks if she has everyone's name, everyone who has on a Pine Manor T-shirt today. Students point out that Ana, who is at

the board, is wearing a school T-shirt, and the teacher asks Ana if she wants the teacher to write her name on a slip of paper for her. Ana says yes.

Emiko goes to the teacher's desk as the other teacher leaves the room after consulting with Ms. Abbott. Emiko tells Ms. Abbott that she brought her T-shirt to school today though she is not wearing it, and she asks permission to go put it on. Ms. Abbott says, "Okay," and asks Emiko to put the T-shirt on over the outfit she is wearing.

Ana has finished writing her problem on the board and tells Ms. Abbott, "We're ready." Brian is still writing his sentence and has not yet started writing his analysis, and a number of students point out that Brian is not finished. In a moment Brian starts writing his analysis on the board, having finished writing the sentence, and Ms. Abbott says, "Okay, Ana, let's go." Ana says she wants to change the first word, but Ms. Abbott tells her, "You seemed ready." Ana reports on what she has written on the board. When she finishes, the teacher tells her, "That's only half." Ms. Abbott says, "The girls missed, what happened to the boys?" Ms. Abbott announces that another girl may finish Ana's problem but that it will still only count half. She calls on Cassandra (one of a number of girls who raise their hands to volunteer) to finish Ana's problem. Cassandra goes to the board and starts writing, adding another adverb, "easily," to the lines of analysis and proceeding to analyze it. While Cassandra writes, Ms. Abbott goes to the board and quietly coaches Brian, pointing out several mistakes he has made and waiting while he corrects them.

A boy from the upper elementary class for the hearing impaired brings a flower vase full of fruit tree blossoms into the room and gives the teacher a message from his teacher. He appears to be deaf and his speech is difficult to understand. Ms. Abbott thanks him, and he leaves the room, taking the vase of blossoms. Ms. Abbott discusses with the class what kind of blossoms were in the vase and asks the observer if she knows. (She does not.) Ms. Abbott then remembers and tells the class they were Japanese cherry blossoms.

Ms. Abbott says, "Cassie, take the second part, please." Cassandra reports on the second adverb in the sentence, which she has analyzed, and the teacher says when she finishes, "Exactly right." Ms. Abbott reminds all the students to "fix your paper if you missed this." Ms. Abbott then tells Brian that he left out one thing in his analysis, the "question" the adverb answers, and asks him probing questions about it.

The hearing impaired boy with the vase of blossoms comes back into the room and says, "Ms. Nance said keep it." Ms. Abbott tells him, "Thank you very much," and puts the vase on top of one of the storage areas in the rear of the room. The boy leaves the room a

second time. The school secretary announces over the intercom that Ms. Abbott has a telephone message. The class laughs (apparently in response to all the interruptions which are keeping them from getting on with their contest). Ms. Abbott tells the intercom, "Thank you," to which the school secretary replies, "You're welcome."

Ms. Abbott then continues coaching Brian, reminding him, "What three questions does an adverb answer?" Brian responds with "when" and "where" but does not remember the third question. Ms. Abbott prompts, "Tell me the three questions we learned Monday." She prompts some more, but Brian does not respond, and Ms. Abbott then asks the class to "help him out." A number of students tell Brian, "How." Ms. Abbott asks Brian which of the three questions this adverb answers, and he says, "Where." (This is incorrect.) The teacher responds, "'Where'? Okay, write it down and read the sentence." She continues to prompt Brian as he reads the sentence and his analysis. He finishes reporting on the first adverb in the sentence and begins to report on the second adverb, which he had not analyzed until the teacher coached him. Before he can report what he has on the board, Ms. Abbott asks him whether the adverb answers the question "where," "how," or "when," and Brian answers (this time correctly), "When." Ms. Abbott responds, "Good, change 'where' to 'when.'" A number of students -- girls -- protest giving Brian credit for this answer, but Ms. Abbott tells them that he got the correct answer. Brian finishes reporting out his answer, and Ms. Abbott says, "Good, Brian, I'm proud of you, you're trying harder."

Ms. Abbott announces that they are ready for seven and eight and calls on Tonya and Eric to put them on the board. Tonya and Eric go to the board, erase, and start writing their sentences on the board. A number of students call out to Eric (who is hearing impaired) that the comb in his back pocket is falling out. It falls, Eric is alerted and retrieves it immediately. One of the students asks Ms. Abbott if it is her day to take recess (she alternates recess duty with two other teachers), and Ms. Abbott says it is. The students clap and several ask Ms. Abbott if they may stay out until 3:30. Ms. Abbott tells them they're losing valuable time, they're not going out at all "until you finish three things I want you to finish. Make it easy on yourselves." The students immediately orient themselves to the board and appear to pay attention.

Dave goes to Ms. Abbott and asks her if he isn't supposed to do something. Ms. Abbott tells him, "Give your paper to Ed to correct and take them right now, thank you, darling." Dave goes to the teacher's desk, takes the slips of paper with the students' names on them, and leaves the room. Tonya and Eric are both still writing their problems on the board. (Tonya is making an obvious error, analyzing "mighty" as an adverb, even though she has identified it correctly as an "adj." in the analysis of the first adverb in her sentence, which is correctly analyzed.)

Ms. Abbott announces, "Let's go. What's 'mighty'?" Tonya says it's an adverb and begins to erase "adj." in the analysis of the first adverb on the board. Ms. Abbott says, "No," and the boys all cheer. Dave returns to the room and to his desk. Ms. Abbott tells Tonya that "mighty" is an adjective, not an adverb, and Tonya corrects her problem by erasing the entire analysis of "mighty." Ms. Abbott says, "All right, so no points for the girls. All right, Eric." Eric makes his report, and the teacher says, "Yes." The boys cheer.

Ms. Abbott says they're ready to do the last sentences, nine and ten. Several boys call out to ask what the score is now, and Shontelle says, "Six to five." Ms. Abbott asks who hasn't been to the board, looks around the room, and says, "Head to the board, Mary and Wade." One of the girls says, "Wade's been," but the teacher disagrees, "No, he went yesterday and corrected someone's." A student asks, "What if it ends in a tie, does everybody clean up?" Ms. Abbott laughs but does not answer. Mary and Wade go to the board and erase, then begin writing their sentences on the board. Germania goes to the teacher with a question about the homework, and Ms. Abbott responds, "He doesn't, right, so explain that to him when he comes back in here." (Presumably they are talking about Morris, who is out of the room at Title I math.)

The school secretary announces over the intercom that Ms. Yarrow (the aesthetic education resource teacher who had led the "Fabulous Friday" program that morning) said "just to hold the film and she'll pick it up on the twenty-second." Ms. Abbott responds, "Thank you." Then she asks, "Who just fell out of their seat?" Tonya explains why she fell. Ms. Abbott asks, "Mary, ready, darling?" Mary says she hasn't finished, and the teacher tells her, "Let's hurry." Alline goes to Ms. Abbott and tells her that Mary has copied the sentence wrong out of the book. Ms. Abbott announces that Mary has the sentence wrong, and then Ms. Abbott reads sentence nine from the book. A number of students say that that is what Mary has on the board, and Ms. Abbott comments, "All right, Alline wrote the sentence wrong." Alline returns to her seat, looking embarrassed. The teacher has Mary report on her sentence and says at the end of the several analyses, "Yes." The girls clap, and Norman exclaims, "The girls won!" Dave asks the teacher, "Why do the girls always beat us?" Ms. Abbott asks Wade if he is ready. Wade reports on his problem, and the teacher evaluates, "No, it doesn't answer to 'is related.'"

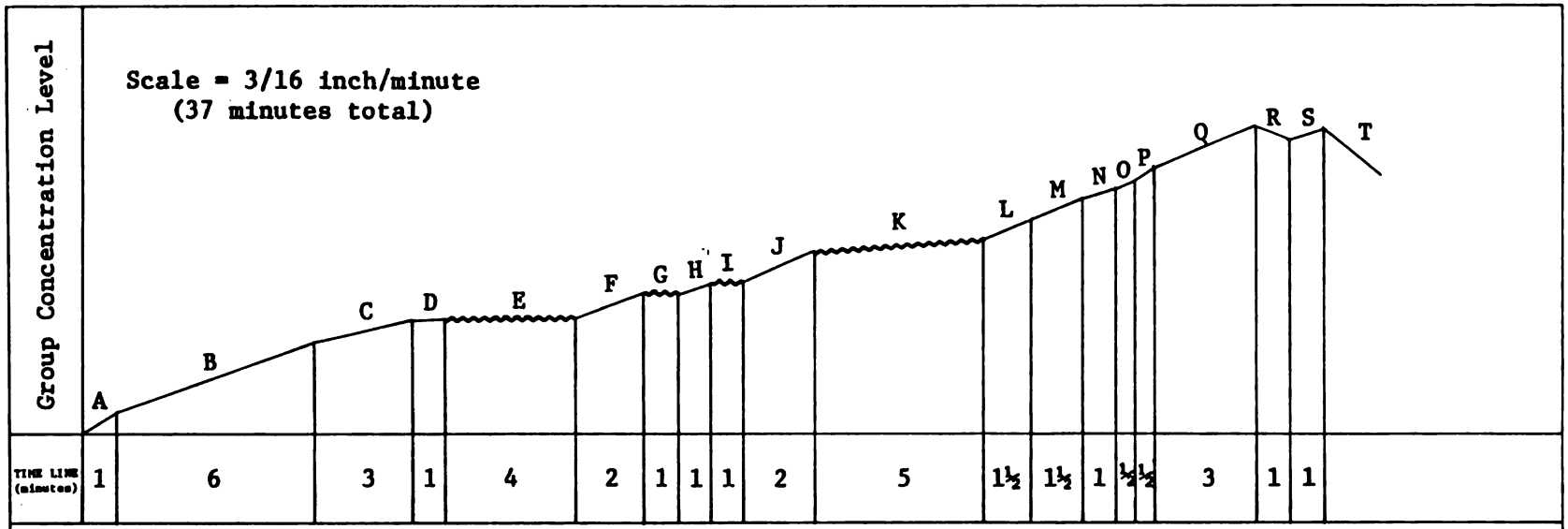
Ms. Abbott asks Shontelle what the score is, commenting, "Let's make it real tight." Shontelle responds, "Seven to five." Ms. Abbott asks if the girls are "willing for the boys to go up and make up points?" There is a loud (apparently universal) chorus from the girls: "No, maam!" The girls continue repeating, "No, maam," for some seconds. Ms. Abbott asks Chun to "go up there and work on that sentence." Chun goes to the board and begins to rework the sentence Wade had missed. Some of the girls protest, and Ms.

Abbott tells them he is not going to get credit for reworking it, because, "You said you were unwilling. You may regret it, they may be unkind to you later." Norman says, "Let's do math, Ms. Abbott, they never beat us at math." Other boys agree that they usually win at math and the girls usually win at English. Ms. Abbott says, "Zip." The students quiet down and watch Chun work the final sentence.

Ms. Abbott asks Wade to "come do something for me, please." Wade goes to the teacher, who asks him to "go ask Ms. Roberts if it's convenient for her to go out at 1:30, not 1:15" [for recess]. Wade leaves the room. Ms. Abbott has Chun report on the sentence he has analyzed. After he reports his analysis of the first adverb, Ms. Abbott comments that the first half is right. He reports his analysis of the second adverb, and the teacher responds, "Right, good for you."

Wade returns and reports to Ms. Abbott. She tells Wade, "All right, now go ask Ms. Nance." Wade leaves the room again. Shontelle erases the chalkboard. Ms. Abbott announces, "The girls won, so this afternoon, when the party's over...." She sings the phrase, "The party's over," and asks if the students have ever heard that song. A number of students say yes. Ms. Abbott goes on to tell the boys, "Then kindly and sweetly clean up the party, and the girls will not say one unkind word or even grin." Some of the girls react to this by beginning to tease the boys, and Ms. Abbott says sharply to Tonya, "No, not slapping hands. That's the tackiest thing I've ever seen." Tonya, looking really puzzled, responds, "Tacky?"

Ms. Abbott directs the class to get ready for another activity, assuring them, "This is not a test." As the students follow her directions, she turns to the researcher and comments wryly that this is the only class she has ever had where she had to preface an activity with the assurance it was not a test.



A: Transition after lunch break. Teacher tells students to resume contest, announces prize.
B: As the first 2 students go to chalkboard and start working problems interrupted the day before, the teacher continues to organize the contest. Students are easily distracted, but the girls protest the teacher's decision about the point, which focuses attention.
C: Second pair of students goes to board (not much excitement, both work problem correctly).
D: Class waits while teacher reassures Brian he can do it, persuades him to try.
E: Third pair works their problems. Teacher and class are distracted by 4 interruptions.
F: Ana reports on her problem, teacher says it is half right, calls on Cassandra to finish it.
G: Interruption while Cassandra works. Teacher and class discuss interruption (a flower from another teacher).
H: Cassandra reports, the teacher says her work is correct.
I: Two interruptions (class laughs at second).
J: The teacher coaches Brian and has him report. Girls' team protests when teacher gives him a point.
K: As the next pair goes to the board and starts to work, there is a good bit of off-task talk, and students are easily distracted. Teacher reprimands class, which becomes orderly, then sends a student out of room on an errand.
L: Tonya and Eric report. Boys cheer when they win a point.
M: Teacher calls last pair to board and they start to work.
N: Two interruptions (intercom message and Tonya falling out of her desk).
O: Alline goes to teacher and tells her Mary (at the board) has copied her sentence wrong from the book. The teacher has the class check: Mary is correct and Alline incorrect. Alline returns to her desk red-faced.
P: The girls realize their team has won and clap. The class discusses whether the girls win all the contests or not.
Q: Teacher tries to persuade the class to let the boys have another chance to win but the girls refuse. Teacher sends Chun to the board to correct Wade's sentence.
R: Teacher sends Wade on an errand away from the room, then has Chun report on the sentence he has corrected.
S: Teacher gives a very energetic summary of results of contest.
T: Teacher directs students to prepare for another activity.

Figure 15. LANGUAGE ARTS CONTEST (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

APPENDIX K

MORNING ROUTINE IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM (VIDEOTAPED)

APPENDIX K

MORNING ROUTINE IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM (VIDEOTAPED)

It is the morning Ms. Beauvoir's class is being videotaped, and the students are still very much aware of the camera and of the video monitor the observer and Ms. Yarrow (aesthetic education resource teacher) have set up.

Ms. Beauvoir is sending the students to the board one at a time to work simple arithmetic problems that they had for seatwork the day before. Andrew is at the board now and reports on his problem. Ms. Beauvoir sends Owen to the board and tells George to turn around. Andrew waves at the video monitor as he returns to his seat and Owen goes to the board. Ms. Beauvoir tells Owen, "Tell me what it says, so I can hear you." Owen turns to the teacher and tells her he thinks his answer is incorrect.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Help him out for me, Lina." Lina takes the chalk from Owen and writes the answer to the problem while Owen stands and watches her. As soon as Lina finishes writing the teacher says, "Okay, take the next problem for me, Dick." Dick takes the chalk from Lina and starts to write as the teacher says, "Come on, Quentin" (a mild reprimand).

Dick reports, "Five plus five equals ten." The teacher says, "Take the next problem for me, Latosha." Latosha takes the chalk and writes the first numeral of the answer but hesitates over the second. Andrew calls out, "I can do that, Ms. Beauvoir," but Ms. Beauvoir responds, "Let her try." Latosha finishes writing "16" and turns to face the teacher. Ms. Beauvoir tells her, "Read it." Latosha says, "Six plus seven ... eleven."

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, take the next one, Julie." James has raised his hand and is calling out, "I can!" The teacher tells Andrew to turn around as Julie writes the answer to the next problem on the board. The teacher has her report her answer and then says, "Okay. Take the next one for me, Kasia." (Quentin has had his hand up and other students are calling out, "I can!")

Kasia goes to the board and confidently writes "13." The teacher tells her, "Okay, check it again, Kasia." Kasia erases her answer and stands and looks at the problem, not writing.

The school secretary announces on the intercom, "Ms. Beauvoir." The teacher responds, "Yes?" The secretary asks, "You wanted a bus report?" Ms. Beauvoir says, "Yes, just a blank one." The secretary says, "Okay."

Kasia writes an answer on the board and faces the teacher, who tells her to read it. Kasia says, "Five plus six equals twelve." Most of the students call out, "I can!" Ms. Beauvoir says, "Take the next one for me, Chester." Chester goes to the board and writes "17" as the answer to the next problem, then turns to face the teacher. He says, "Seventeen." Ms. Beauvoir tells him, "Look at it, look at it." He turns back to the problem and then gives the teacher another answer. She says, "No, think about it." He looks at the problem again. Andrew turns around in his seat and raises his hand. The teacher says, "Help him out, Quentin." Andrew lowers his hand.

Quentin walks to the board and takes the chalk from Chester. Chester looks on as Quentin starts to write; then Chester slowly returns to his desk, continuing to look back at the board. Quentin writes quickly. Andrew says, "I can help him out, Ms. Beauvoir." The teacher replies, "Okay, wait and let's see what he's going to do." Andrew puts his hand down, and Quentin continues to write. The teacher asks, "Let's see, Quentin." Quentin stands aside so she can see the problem. Andrew raises his hand again, and Richard also has his hand raised, standing up at his seat to volunteer.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, help him out for me, Richard." Richard goes to the board, and Quentin passes him the chalk with a "high hand" gesture. Shandra goes to the teacher. Richard tells Quentin, "Thank you," and the teacher says to Shandra, "Thank you, darling." (Shandra has been to the office for the teacher to get the bus report the teacher wanted.) Quentin returns to his seat. Richard works the problem at the board, while Shandra walks slowly back to her seat. Students are whispering, and the teacher tells them, "Turn around, little people." Most of the students who have been watching the video monitor turn around in their seats and face the board. Ms. Beauvoir tells Richard, "Richard, wait so I can tell what the number is, baby." Richard stands aside, and the teacher responds, "Okay." Richard says, "Thirteen."

Students raise their hands and call out, "I can!" Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, take the next one for me, Sam." Again she tells the students to turn around and then asks Sam again to go to the board and take the next problem. Sam writes an answer to the problem, having to reach up to do so, then turns and faces the teacher, revealing his answer. A student calls out that he can do it, and then another student volunteers.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Help him out, Nella. That's wrong, Sam." Sam stays at the board and looks on as Nella takes the chalk, erases his answer, and begins to write. Sam returns to his seat.

Ms. Beauvoir asks, "James, what bus do you ride?" James answers, "Four." The teacher speaks to another student as James turns in his seat and looks at the video monitor, then faces the board again. A pupil calls out, "I could help her out, Ms. Beauvoir." Maya turns toward the teacher and raises her hand energetically. Nella is still facing the board and the problem.

Ms. Beauvoir asks, "What bus do you ride, Quentin?" Quentin answers, "Two." Maya lowers her hand, then raises it again, saying softly, "I could help him out." Other students begin to offer to "help him out" (even though it is a girl who is at the board).

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Help her out for me, Julie." Maya lowers her hand. As Julie walks to the board, the teacher asks, "What bus did Billy ride?" A number of students respond, "Six." Nella puts her chalk down and returns to her seat. Julie erases and writes on the board.

The teacher asks, "Chester, what bus do you ride?" Chester answers, "Seven." Julie finishes writing and turns to face the teacher. A student calls out, "I can, Ms. Beauvoir." Julie reports, "Eight plus seven equals fourteen." Many students call out, "I can!" to volunteer. Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, take the next one, take the next one, Lina."

Lina goes to the board, and Julie returns to her desk. The teacher rebukes Rene, "Hey, take the hat off, Rene, don't put a hat on in the room. Just put it under your seat till this evening." Lina writes, then turns toward the teacher and reports on her problem. Students begin volunteering for the next problem. Ms. Beauvoir says, "Take the next one for me, Freddie." Freddie goes to the board, and Lina sits down.

Ms. Beauvoir asks, "Margie, what bus does Margie ride?" Several students answer, "Six." Freddie writes on the board and turns to face the teacher. She reports, "Nine plus six equals fifteen," and goes back to her desk. Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, take the next one, George. Simon, what bus do you ride?" Simon says, "Two."

George goes to the board and writes. Ms. Beauvoir asks, "Chester, what bus?" Chester says, "Seven." Ms. Beauvoir says, "Sam, what bus?" Sam responds, "Three." George finishes writing, turns around, and goes back to his seat. Ms. Beauvoir asks, "Quentin, what bus?" Quentin answers, "Two." Sam raises his hand, then leaves the room (presumably to work with a special reading teacher). Lina gets up and begins wandering around the room, going to the reading circle and to the windows.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, the last problem for me, Maya." Maya goes to the board, and Lina returns to her desk, passing Maya on her way. As Maya writes, the teacher asks, "Richard, what bus?" Richard answers, "Two." Lina stands at her desk and looks around the room, then leans over and whispers to Andrew, who sits near her.

Ms. Beauvoir asks, "Anybody know what bus Ricardo rides?" A number of students (including Lina, who straightens up to respond) chorus, "Zero." As Maya turns to face the teacher and reports on her problem (inaudibly), Andrew surreptitiously begins scooting his desk over closer to Maya's desk in the next row. Then the other students in Andrew's row begin scooting their desks quietly closer to the middle row. Maya returns to her desk.

Ms. Beauvoir (who is still sitting at the rear of the room) says, "Okay, now, let's look at the sentences over on the next board. We're using consonant blends. Okay, let's read the first one for me." Students volunteer, many of them calling out, "I can!" The teacher says, "Read it for me, Shondra. Move your seats over -- James. They wasn't over like that." (James had been one of the last students to scoot his desk over, and, being new to the class, he had been overenthusiastic about the game and scooted it over a little farther than the rest of the row.) The teacher keeps a sharp eye on Andrew's row while all the children scoot their seats back to the usual alignment.

Shondra is at the board now, and the teacher says, "Read it for me and tell me what word goes with the sentence." (Each sentence in this exercise has a blank for one of the words and three choices of words to fill the blank written under the sentence.) Shondra reads, "He's in the circus." Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay. 'He is in the circus.' I have three words that have consonant blends. The first one is D-R. What's the word?" Shondra, still looking at the board, says, "Drown." Kenneth echoes her, and then other students says "drown" also.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Drown. Okay, what's the next word?" Most of the students in the class respond, "Clown" (but not in unison). The teacher adds, "And the next word?" The class choruses in unison, "Brown." Ms. Beauvoir: "What's the consonant blend in 'clown'?" The students chorus (not in unison): "C-L." Teacher: "What about the consonant blend in 'brown'?" Chorus (ragged): "B-R."

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, what word goes with that sentence, Shondra?" Shondra looks at the board, hesitates, and begins to circle one of the words, saying, "C- ..." The teacher prompts her, "No, what is the word?" Shondra responds, "Clown." Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay," and Shondra reaches up and begins to circle the first two letters in "clown." She is unable to reach them and draws up a chair from the reading circle, climbs on it, and circles "cl." The teacher tells her, "Circle the whole word. That's not the blend." Shondra has already climbed down, but she gets back on the chair and

circles the entire word. As Shondra is circling the word, the teacher tells the class, "Okay, let's read it together, little people."

The class reads in unison, "He is in the circus." Teacher: "Okay, who is it?" Chorus: "Clown." (While the teacher leads this exercise Shondra climbs down, puts the chair back, and picks up the teacher's pointer, which she puts on the ledge to the chalkboard.) Teacher: "Okay, he's a clown. Okay, read the next one for me --" (pupils are volunteering eagerly, "I can!") "come on, Quentin."

Quentin goes to the board, and Shondra returns to her seat, handing Quentin the chalk. Quentin faces the board and reads hesitantly, "You -- ..." A pupil prompts him, "Ride." Quentin completes the sentence, "ride it." Teacher: "Okay, look at the consonent blend. Okay, the first one is B-R. What is the word?" A student (not Quentin) responds, "Brain." The teacher repeats, "Brain," and Quentin mouths the word as the teacher says it. Teacher: "Lina, you're not paying attention. Okay, what's the next word with consonant blend? What's the word?" The class choruses, "Train." Teacher: "Train. What's the consonant blend in 'train'?" Chorus: "T-R." Teacher: "Okay, the next one is D-R, consonant blend. What is the word?" Chorus (ragged): "Drain."

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, let's say the words together: Brain." Chorus: "Brain." Teacher: "Train." Chorus: "Train." Teacher: "Drain." Chorus: "Drain."

Teacher: "Okay, it's something you ride in. What is it, Quentin?" Quentin says softly, "Train," and starts to circle the word. The teacher says, "Okay. Circle the word 'train.'" As Quentin does so, the students volunteer eagerly for the next problem, "I can!" As they do so, the teacher asks another student what bus he rides, and the student responds, "Zero."

Teacher: "Okay, take the next one for me -- come on, Lina." Lina walks to the board and takes the chalk from Quentin, who playfully blocks the board for a moment, then returns to his desk. Lina faces the board and reads, "A monkey can do these."

Teacher: "Okay, let's say the three words. Let's look at the first one, D -- T-R. What's the word?" The class choruses (not in perfect unison), "Tricks." Teacher: "Tricks. Okay, and the consonant blend is what?" Lina, looking back and forth between the teacher and the board, says, "T -- T-R." A few students echo her, "T-R."

Teacher: "T-R. Okay, the next word is?" Lina and another student answer, "Bricks." Teacher: "Bricks. Okay, what's the little consonant blend?" Lina answers, "B-R," and most of the class echoes her, "B-R."

Teacher: "B-R. Give them to me, Rene. Okay, the next word is what, Lina?" Lina: "Sticks." Teacher: "Sticks. What's the consonant

blend?" Lina: "S-T." Teacher, "Let's say the three words together." (At this point first James and then all the other students in perfect synchrony turn in their seats and look back toward the video monitor. The field notes record that the teacher was disciplining Rene, who had failed to give her his hat when she asked for it, vigorously but nonverbally. As they chorus the three words -- quite raggedly, the students turn back toward the board, one at a time.)

A pupil responds, "Tricks." Teacher: "Tricks." Chorus (very ragged): "Tricks." Several pupils: "Sticks." Teacher: "Sticks, okay. What word goes with that sentence?" Lina says, "Tricks," and circles the word. Then she stands at the board waiting.

Teacher: "Okay. Let's look at the last one for me --..." (Pupils raise their hands and volunteer, "I can!") Teacher: "Come, on, Maya." Maya goes to the board, and Lina hands her the chalk, then returns to her desk and sits.

Maya faces the board and looks at the sentence. She reads very softly, "They tell me when to go to school." Teacher: "Okay, what is it they tell? Let's look at the three words. B-L is the consonant blend. What is the word?" A student responds, "Block."

Teacher: "Block. Okay, the next one is F-L consonant blend. What's the word?" The class choruses, "Flock." Teacher: "Flock. the next one is C-L consonant blend. The word is?" Chorus: "Clock."

Teacher: "Okay, read it for me, Maya. It --..." Maya: "It tells me when to go to school." She begins to circle "clock" on the board. Teacher: "Okay, what is it?" Maya, circling the word, says, "Clock." Teacher: "Okay." Maya wipes the chalk off her hands and returns to her seat. Pupils begin volunteering eagerly, "I will!"

The teacher stands up, a stack of ditto seatwork in her hand. She says, "Pass these out for me --" (most students raise their hands and redouble their pleas, "I will!"). Ms. Beauvoir calls on Chester, who takes the papers and begins handing them out. During the transition Andrew gets up and goes to the teacher with a request for a specific activity. She responds, "Well, you lost all my scissors, so I'm sorry." Then she begins to fill in the attendance sheet, consulting with the pupils about absences.

APPENDIX L

MORNING ROUTINE IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S FIRST-GRADE CLASS: DRILL AND PRACTICE BOARDWORK REVIEWING THE PREVIOUS DAY'S ASSIGNMENTS

APPENDIX L

MORNING ROUTINE IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S FIRST-GRADE CLASS: DRILL AND PRACTICE BOARDWORK REVIEWING THE PREVIOUS DAY'S ASSIGNMENTS

Ms. Beauvoir, who does not feel well today, is supervising Ricardo, who is cleaning up cake crumbs he got on the classroom floor, and lecturing the class about the problems they will have if they let the floor get dirty. The school building engineer comes to the door, and Ms. Beauvoir confers with him. He helps the teacher sweep the floor, and she tells him that a child got crumbs on the floor and asks him to "get them up for me if you have the chance." The building engineer leaves.

Ms. Beauvoir asks who will take the first word on the board. Students begin volunteering to do it -- "I will!" -- and the teacher calls on Nella. She tells her to make the marks which show which of the two vowels in the word is long and which one is silent. The first word on the list is a sample word; Ms. Beauvoir has already marked the first vowel long and crossed out the second vowel. The second word, which Nella is supposed to mark in the same way, is "feet." Nella looks confused, and Ms. Beauvoir asks her again, "Which one is long and which one is what?" Nella says, "Short." The teacher says, "Tell her, Lina." Lina says that the first "e" is long and the second "e" is silent. Ms. Beauvoir agrees, emphasizing to Nella that the first "e" is long, not short: "Fe-et. The first 'e' says its name." Nella sits down, and Lina goes to the board, draws a straight line over the first "e," and draws a line through the second "e," marking it out.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Take the next one, Maya." (Sam is still volunteering, "I can!") Maya goes to the board, draws a straight line over the "e" in the next word, "leaf," and draws a line through the "a." Ms. Beauvoir agrees that this is correct.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, come on, Shandra." When Shandra goes to the board, the teacher asks her what the word is, and Shandra reads it correctly, "bike." The teacher repeats that the word is "bike" and asks Shandra what kind of "i" is in "bike" and what kind of

"e." Shandra says the "i" is long and the "e" is silent, draws a line over the "i" and a line through the "e."

Ms. Beauvoir has Kasia take the next word, "cake." Again the teacher has her tell what the word is, then asks her what the "a" is (Kasia says it's long) and what the "e" is (Kasia says it's silent). Kasia makes the appropriate marks on the word that is written on the board, and the teacher says, "Very good."

Students are volunteering eagerly, "I can!" Ms. Beauvoir says, "Take it for me, Julie." Julie goes to the board and marks the next word, "bake," by drawing a straight line over the "a" and drawing a line through the "e." Ms. Beauvoir asks her what the word is, and Julie says, "bike." Ms. Beauvoir corrects her, saying no, that the word is "bake." She reminds Julie, "The 'a' says its own name, 'bake.'"

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Take the next one, Latonya, since you want to talk." (Margie is standing by Lina's desk, talking uninhibitedly about a drawing Lina is working on.) Latonya goes to the board and makes the appropriate marks on the next word, "hive," drawing a straight line over the "i" and drawing a line through the "e." The teacher asks her what the word is and, when Latonya hesitates, prompts her, "The 'h' says?" Ms. Beauvoir makes an "h" sound for Latonya and reminds her that the "i" is long. A number of students call out that the word is "have," and Ms. Beauvoir tells them the word is "hive."

Ms. Beauvoir tells Kenneth to take the next word, which is "rain." This word is written high up on the board and Kenneth, who is the shortest child in the class, is unable to reach the word with the chalk. The teacher says, "Help him, Andrew. No, he wants to do it, okay." Kenneth has drawn up a chair from the reading circle and is standing on it as he reaches up to mark the word. He draws a straight line over the "a" and draws a line through the "i." Ms. Beauvoir agrees, "Right, 'rain,' okay."

Ms. Beauvoir calls on Quentin to take the next word, "cake." He goes to the board and draws a straight line over the "a." The teacher asks him, "What about the 'e'?" Quentin draws a line through the "e." Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, tell me the word." Quentin says, "Cape." Ms. Beauvoir warns, "Don't tell him. Help him, Richard." When Richard does not answer, the teacher calls on Chester, who says, "Cake." Ms. Beauvoir responds, "Good."

Ms. Beauvoir asks who will do the next one and calls on Margie to "come on." Margie goes to the board and makes the appropriate marks on the next word, "nine." She draws a straight line over the "i" and a line through the "e." The teacher asks her, "Tell me the word." Margie says, "Nine." The teacher responds, "Okay."

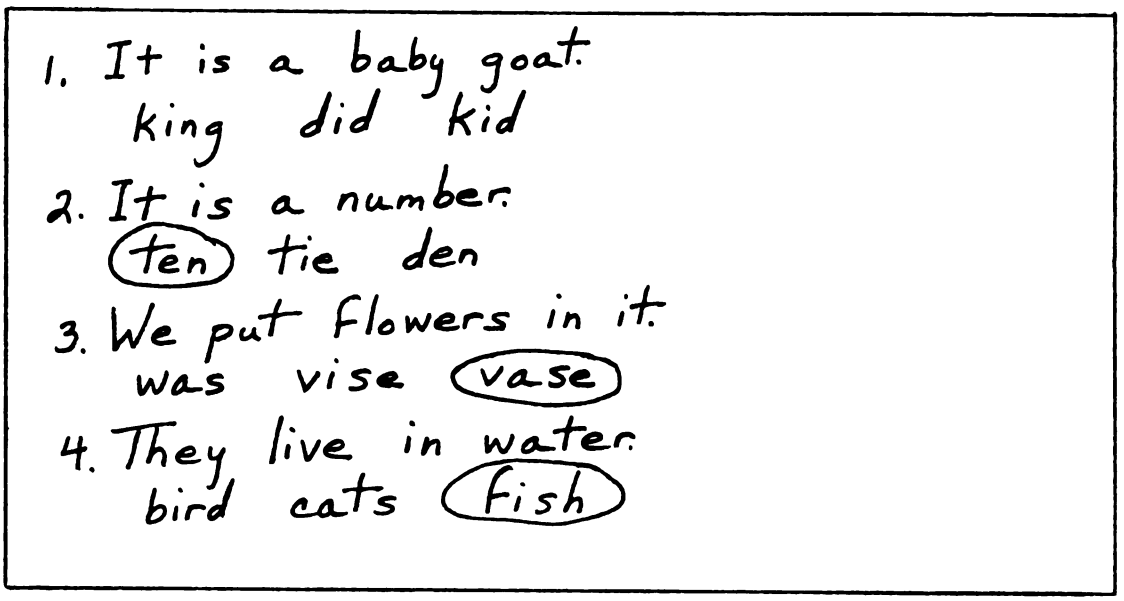
Ms. Beauvoir calls on George to do the next word, and, as he gets up, she tells him to "put your game back on the table right now." (George has a circular game at his desk, which he was playing with during "free time.") George puts the game on the rear table, then goes to the front chalkboard. Margie hands him the piece of chalk and goes to talk with Lina rather than returning to her seat immediately. George makes the appropriate marks on the next word, "five," drawing a straight line over the "i" and drawing a line through the "e." He sits and the teacher says, "Okay, that's what we learned."

Ms. Beauvoir calls on Andrew to "read the first sentence." Sitting at his desk, Andrew reads the first sentence in an exercise which is on the chalkboard next to the windows. He reads, "It is a baby goat. King, did, kid." Ms. Beauvoir asks him, "Which is it?" Andrew says, "Kid." Ms. Beauvoir agrees, "Okay."

Ms. Beauvoir calls on Nella to read the next sentence, which she does very haltingly, with some prompting from the teacher: "It is a number." Without reading all the choices which the teacher has written on the board, Nella says the answer is "ten." Ms. Beauvoir is erasing the words the students have just marked and starts to write today's "Room News" on the chalkboard closest to the door. She tells Nella, "Okay, come circle it." Nella goes to the chalkboard and circles the answer, "ten."

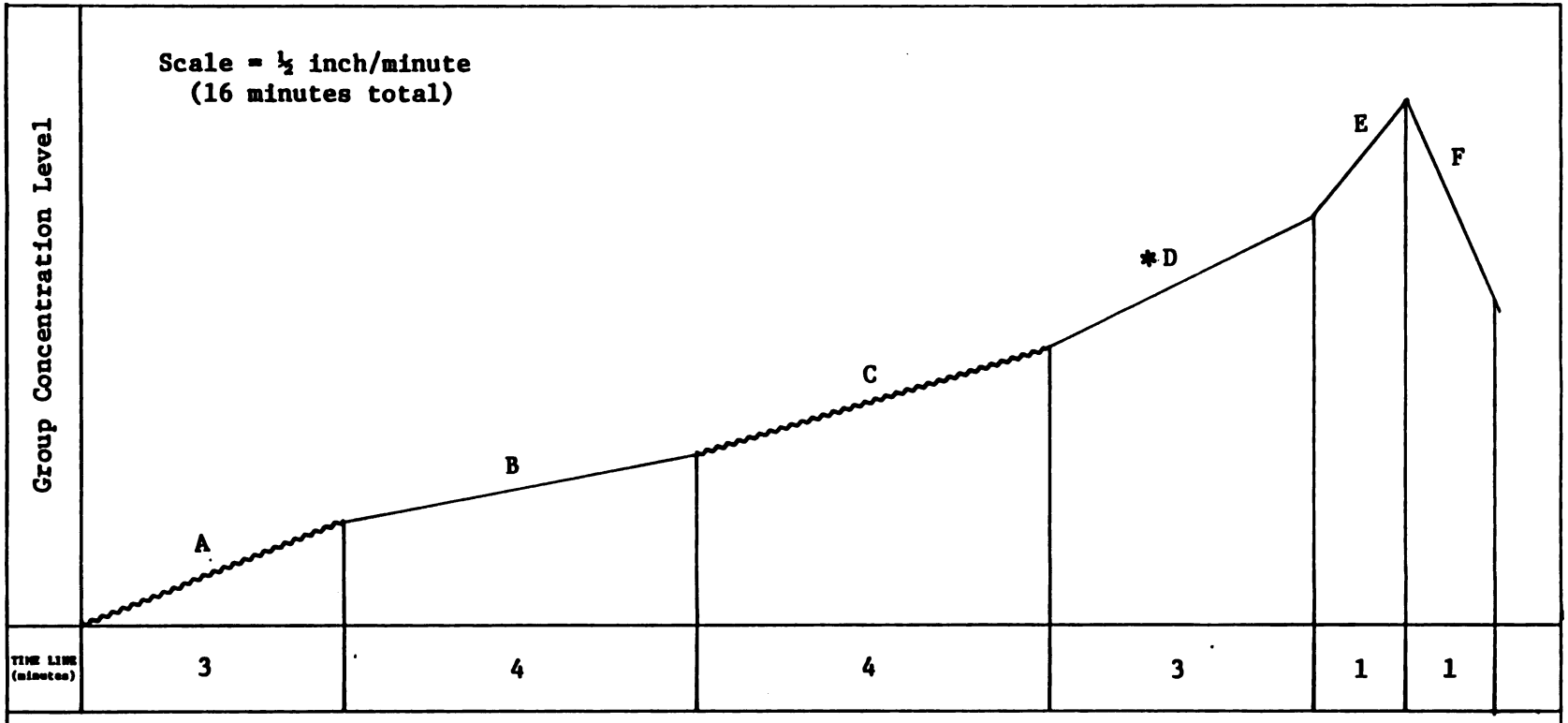
Ms. Beauvoir calls on Owen to read the next sentence. He reads confidently, "We put flowers in it," then reads the three possible answers which are written underneath the sentence and says the answer is "vase." Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, come on," and Owen goes to the board. Andrew goes to the board to help Owen. (The two boys generally work on everything together.) Ms. Beauvoir asks who is squirming, and Lina tells her it is Julie. The teacher tells Julie to stop, and Julie sits quietly in her seat. Andrew and Owen circle "vase" and return to their desks.

Ms. Beauvoir asks who will take the last sentence and calls on Kenneth. Lina objects, "Kenneth took one," and the teacher calls on Richard, who reads haltingly, "They live in water." He reads the three possible answers and says the correct one is "fish." Richard goes to the board. Ms. Beauvoir tells him, "Read it, I didn't hear you read it." Richard repeats the sentence more confidently, "They live in water." The teacher asks him what the answer is, and Richard says, "Fish." Ms. Beauvoir tells him, "Okay." He circles "fish" and sits down. On the board the exercise now looks as follows.



Ms. Beauvoir has finished writing the "Room News" on the chalkboard, and she now directs the class to read the "News" in unison. (Whenever Ms. Beauvoir has the students read in unison, she points to each word in turn, and the students chorus the word.) The room news, which the class reads in unison, under Ms. Beauvoir's direction, is: "Today is Wednesday, April 8, 1981. We will make Easter Baskets today. We have 1 day left in school before Spring Break." The class stumbles over the "1" and cannot read it. The teacher prompts them, "One." She adds, "That one day is tomorrow."

Ms. Beauvoir tells the class to "get started on the Room News" (which they are expected to copy into their tablets every day). While the students start doing seatwork -- most getting out their tablets but some starting on the worksheets they had taken earlier from the box in the back of the room -- the teacher puts up a "Long vowel sound" exercise on the middle section of the chalkboard.



A: Teacher supervises clean-up of Ricardo's crumbs.
B: Students begin doing routine boardwork (one child at a time working a problem and reporting). Average involvement level.
C: Routine boardwork continues; at least 3 children are talking, and one is also drawing. Richard fails to answer teacher; Margie answers correctly but goes right back to talking.
D: Talking stops when teacher has class respond to another boardwork exercise (*one minor discipline incident).
E: Choral reading of "room news" (one prompt by teacher needed, given).
F: Transition to individual seatwork.

Figure 16. MORNING ROUTINE BOARDWORK (MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS)

APPENDIX M

WRITING LESSON IN MS. ANDERSON'S FIRST-GRADE CLASSROOM, INTERRUPTED BY A VARIETY OF DISCUSSIONS

APPENDIX M

WRITING LESSON IN MS. ANDERSON'S FIRST-GRADE CLASSROOM, INTERRUPTED BY A VARIETY OF DISCUSSIONS

After holding a discussion with the class about the rules for behavior on the school bus, Ms. Anderson tells the students, "Now I'll sharpen your pencils, and then get ready to write."

Ms. Anderson introduces the observer as a visitor to the class, telling them that the observer will be sitting at the table and writing up the things they do because "she's interested in what first-grade children do in school." She has the class greet the observer and welcome her to the school, in unison. The observer thanks the class.

Ms. Anderson goes to the pencil sharpener by the windows and calls the first row. All the children in row one -- except for Betty, who is with a special teacher -- line up at the pencil sharpener with their pencils, and the teacher sharpens a pencil for each one. Then each child returns to his or her desk with the sharpened pencil. Ms. Anderson then calls row two to the pencil sharpener, and they all line up except for Maya, who is also with the special education teacher. Two of the boys go to the lockers to get their pencils before lining up. Ms. Anderson tells the students in row two, "Don't talk in line. I gave you a time to talk." Ms. Anderson calls the third row and sharpens their pencils for them. She interrupts to tell Latonya, who is standing beside her desk in the first row, "Is something wrong with your seat? Please sit down." Latonya sits. Ms. Anderson calls row four and then row five and sharpens their pencils. Ms. Anderson then calls Ira and Beryl, who sit isolated from the other students, but Ira already lined up and had his pencil sharpened with row one and Beryl with row two, so they do not come. (Bennie, the child who is most isolated, sitting in a reading center at the rear of the room out of sight of the rest of the class, is also with the special education teacher, so Ms. Anderson does not call him.)

Ms. Anderson then tells the class to put their pencils in their desks because "I want to talk a little first." The students become very quiet. The teacher tells Latonya to put her pencil up and not

to tear her paper up. She tells Bennie (there are two "Bennies" in the class) to "get seated."

Ms. Anderson discusses the "news column" with the students. She asks them what day it is. One student says the sixth, and Ms. Anderson responds that this is correct, "but what special day?" Another student says it is Friday, and again Ms. Anderson agrees that this is so, but what else? Then students begin guessing, apparently at random: St. Patrick's Day, etc. Ms. Anderson emphasizes that this is a special day. One of the boys finally says, "Ronald Reagan," and Ms. Anderson agrees that that is what she was thinking about: this is his birthday. She asks the class how old the president is today, and the students chorus: "Seventy." She asks how many sets of ten they figured out last week there are in the number seventy. Three or four students respond, "Seven."

Ms. Anderson says she wants the class to stand up and sing but then interrupts herself: no, they will have more discussion first. She asks, "What does the president really do?" One of the girls responds, "Eats jelly beans." Ms. Anderson laughs, as does the observer. The teacher asks what else he does: what does a president -- any president -- do? When the students fail to respond, she asks specifically what the president said on television last night? Iola responds, "He was talking about money." Ms. Anderson agrees and elaborates that he said the country is in trouble about money. She asks the class, "The U. S. is -- what -- I told you yesterday?" One of the students responds, "The greatest?" Another student asks, "Who's the best?" Ms. Anderson elaborates on the theme that this country is the greatest in the world and that, even though we're in trouble, we still have a lot to be thankful for. She enumerates a number of things the students can be thankful for specifically: their parents; good, nutritious food to eat; warm clothes to wear; an opportunity for an education at public expense, etc. She says, "I bet you wouldn't have all that in any other country."

Ms. Anderson tells the class to stand up and sing "Happy Birthday" to the president. They do (some of the children glancing back at the observer to see if she is singing, which she is, softly). The class sings a second verse, "How old is he?" Some of the children interpolate an antiphonal response into this verse: "Seventy." They end with a third verse, "He's seventy years old." The class tops off their singing with a verse of "For he's a jolly good fellow." When the singing is completed, Ms. Anderson asks Bennie, "What's wrong, Bennie, you couldn't stand up?" She tells him he needs to learn to cooperate in school.

Ms. Anderson holds up a picture of Chinese children dressed in Chinese costumes and asks how many of the children saw children dressed like these on TV this morning. Several students respond, "Chinese," and the teacher agrees that these are Chinese children. She reminds the class that they frequently talk about how people are alike and

how they are different and how different kinds of people do different things. She rolls a large world map down over the front chalkboard and tells the class, "We celebrate the New Year on January first, but the Chinese celebrated the New Year yesterday." She asks the children what day that was, reminding them that today is February sixth. A number respond, "February fifth." Ms. Anderson points out that in China they speak a different language than we do and they name the years after animals. This is the Year of the Rooster. She describes the Chinese children she saw on TV this morning: they sang a song to the rooster, and then they sang "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" in Chinese. Ms. Anderson asks, "What language do we sing it in?" Brett answers, "Spanish." Ms. Anderson has already started to tell the class that we sing it in English, but she stops to respond to Brett's remark, "Oh, can you?" She comments that last year the music teacher taught the children a French song.

Ms. Anderson tells the children to get their calendars out and put an X on "numero six." The children get their calendars from the storage spaces underneath their desks and follow directions. One student tells Ms. Anderson that he or she marked "six" yesterday. The teacher says that was wrong, but, if they've already done it, it's all right.

Ms. Anderson tells the class to get out their dictionaries, "and we'll go over the words for things that happen in February." A student objects that he thought they were going to write, and Ms. Anderson answers, "We're going to write, but I want to review first, to see if you remember." The students get out handmade dictionaries. Ms. Anderson says that, if they don't have their dictionaries, it's all right, she'll go over it with the children who have theirs. She adds, "We're waiting on Robert and Iola." She then tells another student, "You're responsible for your <u>own</u> work, not for anyone else, is that clear?" The student says, "Yes, maam." Ms. Anderson tells Derrick that he wasn't there when they did this, and she'll go over it with him later.

Ms. Anderson points to the classroom calendar and elicits from the children the name of a "special day" in February: "Groundhog Day." She then elicits the other name for "groundhog:" "woodchuck." She points to "Dental Health Month" on the calendar, telling the students to put their fingers on the word that begins with a "d," then to put their fingers on the word that begins with an "h," and then to put their fingers on the word that begins with an "m." Ms. Anderson then asks the class for the "key word," the person you go to who takes care of your teeth. The class choruses the answer: "Dentist."

Ms. Anderson tells the children to put their dictionaries up now, and then she asks who can remember the discussion they had about dental health. She asks them how often they should go to the dentist. Beryl responds, "Once a month." Iola says, "Twice a week." Other students are giving a variety of answers, all in a short time

frame, once a day, once a week, etc. Ms. Anderson says that would get very expensive. Brett suggests, "Four times a day." The teacher suggests they "shake your head up and think: one time per what?" A number of students respond, "Week." Ms. Anderson says she knows they think in short units of time but to remember that after "day" comes "week" and after "week" comes "month" and after "month" comes...? When none of the students responds to this, the teacher says, "I told you at least once per year to keep our teeth and gums healthy." She emphasizes how important it is to have healthy teeth.

Ms. Anderson asks, "When did I tell you to brush?" Students give a number of responses, most of them some variant of "after each meal." Ms. Anderson summarizes that the easy way to remember is: after meals. She asks them what she suggested they do at school after lunch, since they don't have a toothbrush at school. A number of students respond, "Rinse our mouths out." Ms. Anderson reminds them that she told them there are three parts to each tooth -- enamel, dentine, and pulp -- but adds that that is not important for them to remember now, now it is important for them to remember to keep their teeth clean. This morning, Ms. Anderson says, she will show them the best way to brush their teeth: the way the teeth grow. She demonstrates (through gestures) brushing down on the upper teeth and up on the lower teeth. Most of the children, sitting at their desks, imitate her gestures. The teacher tells them not to brush sideways, because that doesn't help very much. But brushing their teeth regularly -- the way she is showing them -- helps, and it helps to use dental floss, and they should be sure always to have a good toothbrush. She emphasizes that their teeth are very, very important and explains that that is why it is now Dental Health Month, it used to be Dental Health Week. She tells the class it is also Heart Month and urges them to contribute to the heart fund when people come to their houses to collect for it this month. Rather offhandedly, she tells them that heart disease is the number one killer in the country.

Ms. Anderson announces that this morning something important happened. She asks how many have heard of strokes, and about one third of the class raise their hands. The teacher tells them that this morning doctors performed an operation on a stroke patient which they hope will counteract the effects of the stroke, that this is the first such operation and it gives new hope to stroke victims. She adds that the principal told her that her class "contributed nicely to the Easter Seal compaign" and that was very nice.

Ms. Anderson tells the class she will give them a sheet to remind them about what they have just gone over "after we write." She goes to the rear of the room and brings a handful of dittoed sheets back to the front of the room.

Then she starts another class discussion, reminding the students that they have talked about clothing and how clothing can tell us what

people do. She asks what a dentist would wear. A student says, "White." The teacher prods, "A white what?" One of the girls says, "Jacket," and Ms. Anderson agrees. (During this discussion there is a lot of noise from another classroom, where students are chanting in unison.)

Ms. Anderson tells the class to watch on TV for dentists and adds, "We had someone in here who went to the dentist this week." Bennie and Brett both raise their hands, and Brett says, "I went to the dentist."

Ms. Anderson reminds the class of another person whose clothing tells you about her occupation: a lady who comes to the school every day dressed in a uniform, the postmistress. She digresses, "Sometimes it's a man, but a lady comes to the school," and she points out that, if it were a man, he would be called a "postman," but a lady is a "postmistress." She asks the class what color clothing the lady wears, and the children chorus, "Blue." Ms. Anderson describes the postmistress's hat, not only blue but hard and a special shape.

She reminds the class that they saw a film yesterday about children in school finding out about how clothes tell you different things. She asks what color uniform the man who brings the parcel post wears, and some children say, "Brown." The teacher agrees that his uniform is brown, and his truck is brown. She asks who Officer Friendly is (reminding the class that Officer Friendly has visited the school). The class choruses, "A policeman." Ms. Anderson asks what color uniform Officer Friendly wears, and most of the children say, "Blue," but Brett insists repeatedly that it is "black." Ms. Anderson says it is a very dark blue, Navy blue, more like the color of the shirt Lawrence is wearing. She has Lawrence stand up. Ms. Anderson says the policeman's shirt is light blue, and she looks around the class to see if anyone is wearing a light blue. She says it is more like Bennie's shirt, which she touches.

Ms. Anderson then describes the Well Child Clinic which is held periodically in the school and asks the children to name the room it is held in. Students make various guesses, including "office," and Ms. Anderson finally tells them it is the "Well Child Clinic." She asks what color the nurses who work in the clinic wear, and a number of students say, "White." The teacher points out that one of them wears a white jacket and one of them wears a green uniform, that they are supposed to wear a uniform but they have a choice.

Ms. Anderson tells the class they will write as soon as she shows them some pictures she has collected. She tells them, "Stand up and stretch, you're getting tired." All the children stand up and stretch, very thoroughly. Then all except three of them sit down, and the teacher tells these three they are "ready to sit." While the children are sitting down, the principal announces over the intercom that one of the teachers is sick today and the arrangements

for taking care of her class. Ms. Anderson moves one of the boys to another seat, then shows the class a rather large picture she has cut from a magazine, telling the students she is showing it to them first because "I think it's hard." (The picture shows people on the street, dressed in ordinary office clothing.) The teacher asks the students where they think these people might work, and the students give a variety of answers which the teacher accepts as appropriate: in an office, in a school, in a store. One student says, "In a doctor's office." (During the discussion Beryl moves her desk so that she can see the picture the teacher is holding up.)

The principal makes a second announcement over the intercom, this time about the Easter Seal campaign. Ms. Anderson and the children ignore both announcements. The students keep their hands up and continue to make guesses about what kind of work the people in the picture might do.

Ms. Anderson says, "All right," and shows the class the second picture she has collected for them, of a group of men in military uniform. The teacher warns the class to "look first" before guessing. Most students chorus, "Navy!" with a few saying the men are Marines and even fewer saying Army or Air Force. Ms. Anderson remarks that some of them can read the word, that this is the Navy dress uniform. She asks whose father was in the Navy, and one of the children responds. The teacher tells the class, "Pencils down. I can't talk when you talk."

Ms. Anderson shows the class a third picture and tells them to "look first, and think what they might be." (The picture is an advertisement for clothes.) Ms. Anderson calls on Louisa, who says the women are models, and the teacher says that is correct. She asks the class what else they might be, and a student says, "A nurse." Ms. Anderson says they "could have two careers, but a nurse wouldn't go to work looking like this." She then describes in some detail what a professional model does.

Ms. Anderson goes to the table in the front of the room and looks through the pictures she has collected, while the students quietly discuss the pictues they have already seen. Ms. Anderson shows the class a fourth picture, and most of the children chorus, "Army." A few say, "Marine," and one insists that it is Air Force. Ms. Anderson asks how many think it is an Army uniform, and most of the children raise their hands. She asks how many think it is a Marine uniform, and about ten children raise their hands. Ms. Anderson warns them they can't raise their hands twice, but some do. Ms. Anderson tells them it is a U. S. Army uniform but that the Air Force working uniform looks a lot like this, so if they said Air Force, they were "not too far wrong." She points out that they all knew it was a uniform.

Ms. Anderson shows the class a fifth picture, of people dressed for tennis, with tennis rackets in their hands. A number of students

call out, "Tennis." The teacher asks them how they know. They tell her they saw the tennis rackets and they describe what tennis clothing looks like.

Ms. Anderson shows the class a sixth picture, telling them this is the last one and then they will write. (The picture shows people in tropical, casual clothing and is labeled "Bahamas.") The teacher tells the class to look at the expression on the people's faces first and "don't say anything." Iola calls out, "Ooh, ooh, ooh!" urgently, and Ms. Anderson tells her, "Sh, I don't respond to that." The teacher then calls on Kevin to tell her what he thinks the people are doing, and Kevin says they are "on vacation." Ms. Anderson responds, "Good." She then calls the class' attention to the carefree expressions, how casual the people's attitudes are, as well as their casual clothing. She asks the class where the people might be on vacation, and students guess a variety of warm places: Florida, California, Hawaii, etc. One student guesses Tennessee, and Ms. Anderson agrees it might be. Another guesses Detroit, and the teacher points out that, if it were Detroit, it would have to be during the summer, you wouldn't dress like that in Detroit in the wintertime. Ms. Anderson tells the class it could be anywhere, but actually it is in the Bahamas. Brett says (too quietly for the teacher to hear him), "Island." Ms. Anderson tells the class about the Bahamas: a chain of islands in the Caribbean where it is warm and a lot of people go for vacations. Then she says, "Excuse me" (a code in the Riverton schools to warn students when their behavior is inappropriate), and tells the students to "close your eyes before we write." Gretchen leaves the room briefly. Most students close their eyes, but some do not.

Ms. Anderson tells the class to remember the film about the boy's clothing, how it can be fun and it can be a headache. All the students have opened their eyes now, and they giggle at the memory. Ms. Anderson reminds them of the first story one of the reading groups read in Jumping Jamboree, about clothing. Students make a number of comments, and Ms. Anderson says, "I didn't know that eyes talk. Close your eyes. This is to think." Ms. Anderson asks a series of literal comprehension questions about the story, and the students all chorus the answers confidently. The teacher asks if they remember the "long word" they learned about a special kind of doctor, and one of the students responds, "Veterinarian." Ms. Anderson agrees and says that a veterinarian treats animals rather than people.

Ms. Anderson shows the class a picture of a man in a hard hat and discusses with them what the hard hat signifies. She reminds them of another story they read, remarking that "it wasn't real in the story, but it could happen." She says the story was about a king, who wore a crown, and a princess, who wore blue jeans. Again the teacher asks a series of literal comprehension questions, and the students chorus the answers. Ms. Anderson reminds them that the princess even wore blue jeans to the ball -- and flowers in her

hair -- and comments that it was "a very modern princess." She adds, "When I was a little girl, I had to wear dresses to school," that there was a dress code and she was not allowed to wear pants the way most of the girls do now.

Ms. Anderson announces that today Iola's group will read a story about another kind of clothing. The story is about the Winnebago Indians. She reminds them that at their Thanksgiving Program this year they had Indian dancers from a restored Indian village near Riverton. She asks what the dancers wore, and the children give a variety of answers, mostly suggesting Indian dress of some sort.

Ms. Anderson tells the children to look at themselves, and the children do. She says, "And then look around the room and see if anyone else has on exactly the same thing." There is almost immediate response (ragged, not chorused), the children all saying, "No."

Ms. Anderson has the children name, in unison, the articles of clothing she is wearing: blouse, skirt, shoes, etc. She tells everyone who has on pants to stand, and almost all the children stand up. She then tells everyone who has on a dress to stand, and only Latonya stands. Ms. Anderson asks if the observer is wearing the same kind of clothes as "we are wearing," and the children chorus, "No." Ms. Anderson summarizes: But she is wearing clothes; we all have clothes on, but some are wearing different kinds of clothes than others.

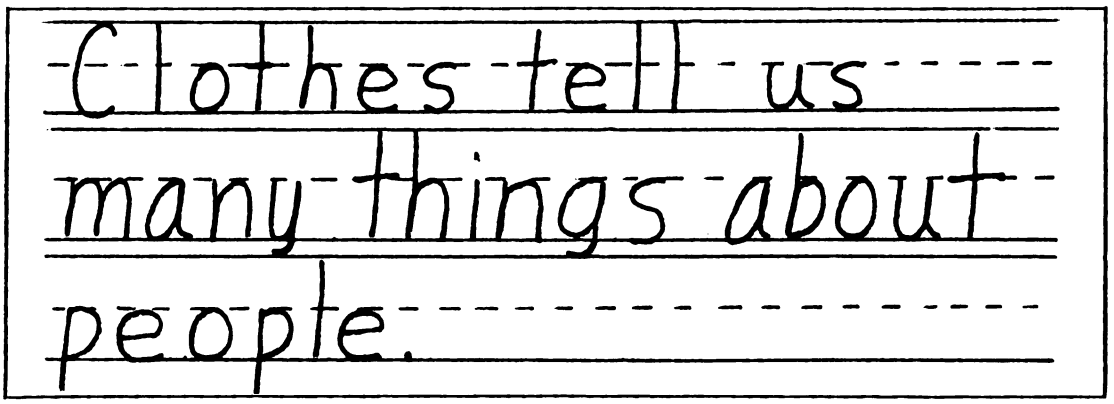
Ms. Anderson promises the class that, when all the children are back in the room, they'll have a surprise "later on this evening" which will involve pictures.

A woman and two children come to the door, all carrying boxes full of magazines. The woman tells Ms. Anderson she has brought her the News Rangers, and the teacher asks how long she may keep them. The woman says she will leave them for a week and then bring another set. She asks Ms. Anderson to share these with the other teachers, and Ms. Anderson says she will do them on Monday and then pass them on. She puts the large box on the front table and thanks the woman. The woman compliments Ms. Anderson on having a "lovely room" and chats with her at the classroom door, taking her leave. The students are talking while their teacher is chatting at the door. The woman leaves, and Ms. Anderson comes back into the room and shuts the door. She fusses at the class, "What have I told you children about being quiet when someone comes to the door and talks to me?"

Ms. Anderson says now she is ready to write, "but not until you stop talking." She rolls the large world map back onto its roller. She tells a child, "You are wasting our time," to which another student responds, "All of us?" A student complains, "I have hiccups." Ms. Anderson responds, "All of us have something wrong with us sometime, but let's write." One of the boys goes to the teacher and tells her

he doesn't have a tablet to write in. She goes to a supply shelf near his desk and gives him unruled paper, telling him, "When you don't have one, you have to use one that is unruled."

Ms. Anderson begins to write the first word carefully, within ruled lines which she had already drawn on the front chalkboard. She tells Beryl to move her desk back to where it was, so that she can see. Students are very quiet. All are copying what the teacher is writing. Louisa asks if there is a period at the end of the first line, and Ms. Anderson tells her, "Don't talk out." She adds that that is not a period, she has not put a period, so the students should not. When the teacher has written about half the writing lesson between the ruled lines, she looks up and checks the room visually. It is still very quiet and students are all copying the lesson. Ms. Anderson tells the class, "If you run out of space, don't split a word. Write on three more lines." She tells students who have difficulty seeing to pull their seats out so they can see. When she finishes writing, the following is on the board:



As she writes, Ms. Anderson comments, "That's a 't' on the board, it's not clear that it's not an 'l.'" Later she points out, about the word "tell," "that is two lower case 'l's, not an 'h.'"

The students have finished writing, and the teacher says, "All right, let's see if we can read it." She points to each word with a long ruler, and the students read the sentence in a very ragged chorus. Ms. Anderson says she is going to pass the sheets to them now, but first they should hold their tablets up under their chins, so she can check whether they stayed within the ruled lines ("see if you followed the space"). She comments that this is the most clothes conscious class she has ever had, that they "watch for it more than any other class I've taught," perhaps because they watch so much television.

Ms. Anderson calls Iola and one of the boys to the board and tells them they have five minutes to work on a project before they have to leave. Gretchen joins the group without being called by name. Yvonne waits at the table to talk to the teacher. In two minutes

Ms. Anderson sends the four children (the boy, Iola, Gretchen, and Yvonne) to a special education teacher, telling them to explain that she kept them late so they could finish their writing lesson. There is a period of transition while the children leave. Ms. Anderson takes care of some classroom business and then takes the class out of the room on a restroom break.

APPENDIX N

MS. ANDERSON'S FIRST-GRADE CLASS WORKING WITH THE ORFF MUSIC TEACHER

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Ms. Anderson's first-grade class at Vineland Elementary forms a quiet line outside the music room and waits while another class leaves. Then the Orff music teacher, Ms. Dennis, begins to beat a drum in a steady four-four rhythm, and the children immediately begin marching in time to the beat, with exaggeratedly high steps. They give every appearance of enjoyment. (The observer notes that one of the girls told her as they were walking through the halls to the music room that she hoped they would all have a chance to play the instruments today and she hoped they would sing.)

The children march into the room and around it, forming a large circle. When they are all in the room, they begin to clap in a pattern which is rhythmically quite distinct from the steady four-four beat of the drum. The observer infers that this must be established routine, as Ms. Dennis has given no verbal instructions.

Ms. Anderson introduces the observer to Ms. Dennis and leaves to take a break. Ms. Dennis invites the observer to join the circle, but the observer declines the invitation and sits in a corner passively taking notes. The music room is like all the other classrooms in the large school but is empty of furniture, except for a large gong, a piano, a large drum, and seven Orff xylophone-type instruments of varying sizes, some with wooden cross bars and some with metal cross bars; there are also one desk and several adult sized chairs.

When the music teacher stops beating the drum, the children stand in their large circle, boys and girls alternating. (At Ms. Dennis' request, Ms. Anderson had had the children line up in this fashion before they left the classroom.) The music teacher sings, "Sol mi," to the class, and the class echoes the phrase back to her. The music teacher sings several more such phrases, and each time the class echoes her, in unison. Ms. Dennis tells Bennie that he is singing too low, and she writes this down in a little book, remarking that she will have to do something different for him.

Ms. Dennis goes to the front of the room and asks the students if they remember the long and short sounds they had last time. Then she tells them, "Have a seat," and the children sit in a large circle on the floor. Ms. Dennis taps the gong with a drumstick. Before she has a chance to ask whether the sound was long or short, the class choruses, "Long." Then Ms. Dennis taps the gong with the wooden rather than the padded end of the drumstick. The class choruses, Short." The teacher asks if the second sound was "tee tee" or "tōw," and the children call out both answers (apparently at random). Ms. Dennis acknowledges Gretchen's response, telling her, "Thank you, maam, you got it." She then has the class discriminate among "short-short," "short," and "long."

Ms. Dennis goes to the piano and strikes several chords, having the class tell her whether the chords are long or short. She strikes a long chord and, when the children respond variously, she tells Iola, "Thank you, maam, you're doing it right." She asks Iola what her name is, and Iola responds, "Iola Jackson." Ms. Dennis plays first a short and then a long chord on the piano, and the class in unison identifies the first chord as "tee tee" and the second as "tow." The teacher plays a medium length chord, and the class (correctly) responds, "ta ta." Ms. Dennis says, "This class is too good for me."

The music teacher goes to the chalkboard, where she has written symbols in three different colors of chalk --  standing for "tee tee," standing for "ta," and  standing for "tow." She leads the class in reading the first line in unison: "Ta ta tee tee ta." Then she tells them, "Read the whole thing, one, two, here we go." The class reads all three lines of symbols which are written on the chalkboard, maintaining the tempo which Ms. Dennis set when she led them and reading the symbols correctly. Ms. Dennis comments again, "This class is too good."

Ms. Dennis directs the children to leave the circle and form a more compact "audience" sitting on the floor and facing the seven Orff xylophone-type instruments which are lined up near the rear wall. She then calls on seven of the children to play the instruments. She calls the last two children by the wrong names and is corrected by the class. (Three of these seven children are treated as social isolates in Ms. Anderson's classroom, as she considers them emotionally disturbed and likely to distract the attention of the other children.) Bennie is playing the largest instrument, Janice the next largest, Robert the next largest, Beryl the next, another child named Bennie the next, Gretchen is playing the next to smallest instrument, and Latonya is playing the smallest of the instruments. Each child kneels in front of the xylophone-type instrument and picks up two drumsticks. The music teacher reminds the children to sit kneeling on their heels.

Ms. Dennis reminds the children of the rule that they are not to look at the instruments, "Look at me and follow me." She then leads them

in playing the first line of music on the board. The children appear to be alternating hands as they play, generally starting with the highest note and working their way down the keyboard without looking at the cross bars. (The Orff instruments are in the pentatonic scale, like much of the folk music used in the program, which eliminates half notes and ensures that any note harmonizes with any other note.) The effect is pleasant, sounding vaguely Oriental without at all suggesting a melody. Ms. Dennis has the same students play another line of the music she has written on the board, cautioning them to use both hands, not to play with one hand. She then has the same students play the last line on the board, telling them, "Play it without us reading it to you." (The rest of the class has been chorusing the lines along with Ms. Dennis, while the children at the instruments played.) The line is "ta ta ta ta." After the students play the last line, reading it from the board without coaching, Ms. Dennis comments that someone played a "tee tee."

Ms. Dennis calls a new set of seven children to come play the instruments, while the first seven players join the "audience." Now Carlotta is playing the largest instrument, Lawrence is playing the next largest, Ira the next largest, Derrick the next largest, Chester the next, Gracia the next, and Iola is playing the smallest instrument. Ms. Dennis repeats the rules for them. She has the entire class clap the rhythm of the last line on the chalkboard and then asks the students to clap their last names, each student clapping the rhythm of his or her last name, all at the same time. Then Ms. Dennis has the "audience" clap the rhythm of the last line on the board while the students at the instruments play it on their instruments. Ms. Dennis draws attention to one of the students when they finish: "Look at him. He clapped 'tee tee.'" The class choruses that it was Roy who clapped incorrectly.

Ms. Dennis directs "whoever hasn't played" to go to an instrument. As the seven children who have been playing return to the audience, six children take their places at the instruments. (This leaves quite a few members of the class who still have not had an opportunity to play.) Ms. Dennis intervenes to send Roy to play the smallest instrument. Betty is now playing the next to smallest instrument, Yvonne the next largest, Kate the next, David the next, Iola the next, and Maya is playing the largest instrument. Ms. Dennis has the group play a line, and then she says, "Maya did it right." She has the "audience" clapping with the instruments. (A little belatedly the observer notices that Lawrence, who was playing an instrument a few moments ago, is now standing quietly in the corner, behind the instruments. She infers that he is being disciplined. Whatever the discipline incident, it was handled so smoothly that the observer failed to note it at the time.)

When the third group has finished playing, Ms. Dennis gives the class new directions: when they hear the high drum, they are to stand up and walk. A student asks her if they should skip, and

Ms. Dennis replies, "Only when you hear me playing the skipping rhythm." She continues giving directions: when the students hear the low drum, they are to "go on your knees." Ms. Dennis adds, "Maya, I'm listening to you." Maya, who has been talking, stops. Ms. Dennis stands at the large drum and beats it, sometimes on a high note and sometimes on a low note. Occasionally she beats a "skipping" (three-four) rhythm using the high note. The children follow her directions with evident delight, some changing gears more readily than others when the drumbeat changes. The observer notes that the children are "next door" to giggling during this activity. They appear to be involved, pleased, participating. Lawrence is still in the corner, but he has turned around to face the class and watches, looking jealous.

Ms. Dennis stops beating the drum and begins to clap her hands, keeping the beat constant. She singsongs, "Simon says, stand up." The children stand. She singsongs, still clapping, "Simon says, on the count of ten, find yourself a partner." She adds that, when they have partners, they should sit down, Indian style, knee to knee. She counts ten while the children choose partners and sit down, legs crossed, facing their partners. Ms. Dennis announces that each pair will get a ball. Then she has Bennie, who does not have a partner, sit with Maya and Ira, making a group of three in a small circle.

Ms. Dennis throws a tennis ball to each pair (or group), and the children giggle as they catch the balls. The music teacher says that one rule of this game is that they have to put one hand behind their backs to play. She tells the children they are to pass their balls, putting them in their partner's hand, "Only pass it once when I say, 'pass.'" She says, "Pass," several times, watching the children pass the ball back and forth. Then she supervises Roy and Carlotta until they are passing correctly. She cautions, "Okay, I saw someone throw it. If it rolls, I take it away." She asks the class if this is hard, and the children chorus, "No."

Ms. Dennis tells the class, "This time pass it when you hear the drum." (Again Lawrence has turned around in the corner and is watching the game.) The music teacher beats the drum irregularly, not a steady beat, and the students pass their balls on each beat of the drum. Ms. Dennis interrupts to give additional instruction: they are to pass the ball with a <u>long</u> motion, which she demonstrates, bringing the arm in an arc up over the head before putting the ball in the partner's hand. She warns them she will take the ball away if they don't listen, then corrects the way Yvonne and Carlotta are passing the ball: "A long motion, like this." She urges the players, "Okay, pass it <u>right</u> when you hear the sound of the drum." She compliments a pair who are doing it right and has them -- Yvonne and Carlotta -- demonstrate to the class as a whole how to pass the ball with a long motion right on the beat. She then has Iola and Latonya demonstrate, then the group of three, Bennie, Maya, and Ira.

Ms. Dennis says, "All right, I'll show you what I mean." She demonstrates, following the drumbeat precisely, tossing the ball very gently in one hand while beating the drum with the other. The students imitate her, and she says, "Latonya's got it!" She tells Maya she doesn't quite have it. She then moves several children into other groups, creating several groups of three children. She has Maya join Latonya's group, has Bennie join Gracia's group, and has Ira join Roy's group. Then she has the children do the exercise again, urging them to pass the ball "right on the beat." (The beat has become more regular as the game progressed.) Now, while the children continue to pass the ball on the beat of the drum, Ms. Dennis leads them in a song, "Where, oh where," the students echoing the phrases of the song after the teacher. The rhythm is four-four and the tempo slow. (The song actually includes the words, "One and one and one and one.")

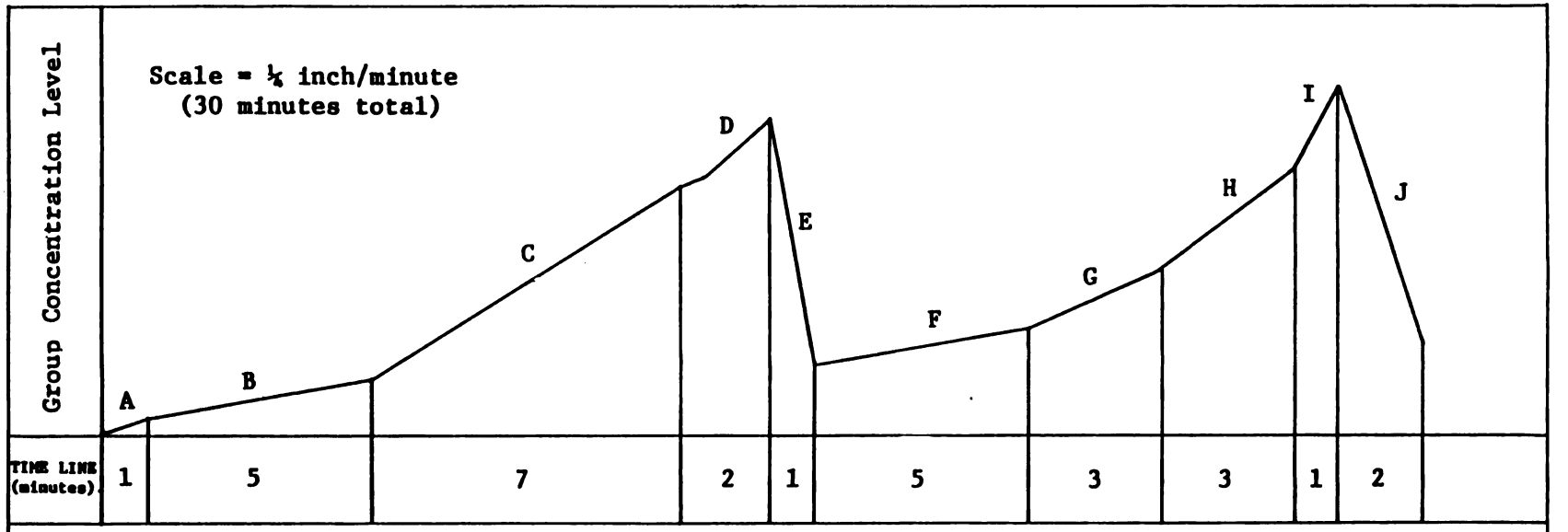
Ms. Dennis praises the class -- "Good!" -- and calls on each group to throw their ball back to her, while she puts the balls away. Again the students appear to enjoy this activity thoroughly, without becoming rowdy. The teacher praises a lucky throw, "Good, Betty!"

Ms. Dennis tells the class, "Everyone, echo me." She speaks the phrases of the song, "If I had a hammer," and the children repeat each phrase after her, in unison. She makes large gestures with each phrase, and the children imitate the gestures as they echo back the words. (After class Ms. Dennis tells the observer that the gestures are actually American Sign Language.) Lawrence is still in his corner. He is not repeating the words with the other children, but he is making the gestures. Ms. Dennis sits at the piano and tells the children to make the gestures she just taught them, "but do not sing." She plays the piano and sings the song; and the children make the appropriate gestures, a few singing along softly. Then Ms. Dennis tells them to "echo me." She sings the song again, this time having the children sing each phrase after her, making their gestures. Lawrence is participating in this activity fully now, even though he stays in his corner.

Ms. Dennis tells the children they may sing a "fun song" which they have already learned, "Teddy Bear." She tells them to "find a spot" now, to walk during the song, and then to "be back in the spot by the end of the song." The children show every evidence of enjoyment as they sing and make the motions the song calls for, winding up in the same place in the room where they started. They seem to know the song well. When they finish, Ms. Dennis says, "One more time, please," and they repeat the song.

Ms. Dennis says, "Right, boys and girls, line up -- slowly." She makes Betty and Maya go to the end of the line because they pushed. One of the students asks her, "What about the boy in the corner? Lawrence? Does he have to stay?" Ms. Dennis says Lawrence may line up and leave with the class. As the class files out of the room,

another class is waiting in the hall to come in. Ms. Anderson joins her class at the door.



A: Children march into music room to steady drumbeat, march in circle while clapping a rather intricate rhythm, and echo sung phrases back to teacher.
B: Teacher leads a lesson on long, short, and medium sounds, having children identify them.
C: Small groups of children take turns playing Orff instruments at direction of teacher.
D: Teacher has children walk, crawl, and skip in response to different drum pitches and rhythms.
E: Transition: children choose partners and sit in pairs, knee to knee.
F: Teacher leads a rhythm exercise involving ball passing.
G: Teacher steps up tempo of exercise and teaches the class a song to accompany it.
H: Teacher teaches the class another new song, with American Sign Language gestures.
I: Children play a game, walking and singing a "fun" song they know, with gestures.
J: Children line up and leave the room with their homeroom teacher.

Figure 17. MS. ANDERSON'S CLASS WORKING WITH ORFF MUSIC TEACHER

Comments on Chart in Figure 17

This chart shows two consecutive periods of activity, each exactly fifteen minutes in length and each having perfect dramatic structure (at least as judged by the overall curve of engagement). Each period of activity was composed of a series of very short musical activities, each building in intensity over the last and related by being familiar Orff activities but not growing necessarily out of one another. The first period can be characterized in general as a time of becoming acquainted with simple musical notation (Kodaly) and with the Orff instruments, but its climax was not the most meaningful activity in the series for the children (the playing of the Orff instruments) but rather a physically exciting activity with much simpler task requirements, which conceptually was a sort of bridge between the concept-building activities of the first series and the rhythm activities of the second series, which led to singing and dancing.

That the playing of instruments was the high point of the first half of the lesson for the children was indicated by children's comments prior to the class as well as by some faltering of their concentration at the beginning of the final activity of the first half of the lesson (segment D), their taking awhile to get "into" the walking-crawling-skipping game that eventually had them so excited that the teacher deliberately calmed them down by having them do a very low-key activity (sitting in pairs and passing a ball on the slow beat she set). Only gradually did she increase the intensity of the activities in the second part of the lesson, and

this activity period has virtually perfect dramatic structure, ending with movement and singing (another high point for the students, judging from pre-class comments as well as from their behavior in the class).

APPENDIX O

MIME PERFORMANCE AT PINE MANOR SCHOOL

APPENDIX O

MIME PERFORMANCE AT PINE MANOR SCHOOL

The stage of the large "cafetorium" is bare, except for some large maps which later prove to be irrelevant to this event. Approximately 550 children file into the large room and take their seats facing the stage, the smaller children sitting on benches near the stage and on the floor in front of the benches and the older children on top of tables in the rear of the room. Approximately 100 of the children are kindergarteners, and the rest are in the fourth through the sixth grades. A number of the children wear hearing aids. Some of these, who are in special classes for the hearing impaired, sit together at tables at the side of the room, with teachers ready to translate what is said into sign language. Others, who can hear and lip read well enough to have been mainstreamed into regular, self-contained classrooms, are sitting with their classroom groups. Almost 75% of the children are minority, and of these a good many are recent immigrants from southeast Asia. Classroom teachers and aides for the special programs for the southeast Asian refugees are sitting along the edges of the audience. There is the usual premonitory hum characteristic of audiences waiting for a performance to begin.

The principal, Mr. Croft, comes onto the stage and introduces the guest artist. He reminds the children that they have been talking about mime in their classrooms, in preparation for this event. (According to Ms. Raines, head of the aesthetic education program, some of the teachers have probably done nothing to prepare the children for the performance, while others have done some "pre-teaching" and will follow up the performance with discussions and perhaps some classroom performances afterwards.)

After a brief introduction, Mr. Croft sits down and the mime comes out of the wings and introduces himself to the children in a low-key, conversational manner. He is dressed in jeans and a loose fitting shirt instead of the normal tights. (One of the teachers at Pine Manor had complained to Mr. Croft that some of the sixth-grade children had noticed that the tights were revealing and had giggled about it during the mime's last performance here; Mr. Croft had

apologetically passed the complaint along to Ms. Raines; and she had passed it along, noncommittally, to the mime. After the performance the mime engages in some nonverbal communication with Ms. Raines asking her about the suitability of the clothes he has chosen to wear, and she makes the "circle" gesture with her fingers, indicating that his solution was perfect.)

The mime pauses after his low-key introduction, then steps forward and draws his arms forward in a sweeping gesture, bows his head, and assumes a classic mime gesture, suggestive of classical ballet. A perceptible glaze comes over the eyes of the fourth and fifth-graders near the observer. Their faces, which have been neutral, assume somewhat apprehensive expressions. The tension builds a few seconds while the mime holds the pose. Then, while his body remains still, his face and head take on a life of their own, making expressive gestures totally unrelated to the still body beneath them. The children's faces slowly lose the wary expressions, and the students begin to giggle. The laughter gradually becomes freer, less forced sounding. Eventually the mime begins to use the rest of his body. He imitates being trapped in a room with the walls closing in around him, then "loses" the invisible walls dramatically when the tension has built sufficiently, causing the children to laugh. He then does a series of "inept" routines, and the laughter builds. By the time he finishes these introductory routines, the children are laughing freely. They clap when he indicates that this segment of the performance is "over" by stepping into the wings and then coming back out on stage in the relaxed posture he had when he first introduced himself.

After this introductory routine the mime again holds a low-key discussion, during which he asks the audience to practice some of the simpler mime gestures which they have just seen him perform. As a final exercise, he asks the audience members to close their eyes, rub their hands together briskly, and then hold their hands up in front of them, palms out, "feeling" an imaginary brick wall. (It is somewhat difficult to observe when you have your eyes closed and are "feeling" a wall that isn't there, but the observer peeks enough to ascertain that all of the children in her vicinity are participating enthusiastically -- and not peeking.)

Next the mime does a short series of performances which tell stories, including an easily recognizable version of "Jack and the Beanstalk." The audience claps enthusiastically after each performance. As he nears the climax of his presentation, the mime calls for volunteers from the audience to assist him. All of the children raise their hands and volunteer eagerly, most using body language to convey urgency and many calling out to bring themselves to the mime's attention. He chooses four or five of the smaller children, and they go eagerly onto the stage (while the observer overhears several conversations among the other children about why they should have been chosen instead).

The mime tells the volunteers that they are to "play" a rock. After conferring with the children out of earshot of the audience, the mime has them get into a huddle at the rear of the stage. As he "places" each segment of the "rock," he describes it to the audience. He gets such a laugh when he describes one piece of the "rock" as having "some writing on it -- it says 'Fruit of the Loom'" that he returns to the joke, referring twice more during the skit to "Fruit of the Loom" and getting a larger laugh each time.

Once the "rock" is in place, the mime explains to the audience that he is working on a road and has come to a rock that is too heavy for him to lift out of the way. (He pantomimes this part of the action, trying to lift the "rock" and failing.) He then comes to the front of the stage and addresses the audience directly. He explains that he is sitting and thinking about the problem. Then he says that he will have to dynamite the rock to be able to clear the road and that he will need the help of the audience. He pantomimes "wiring" the rock, connecting the wires to dynamite, and setting up a plunger. Then he rehearses the audience in calling out, "Boom!" at a prearranged signal -- his pushing down on the imaginary plunger. Several children keep calling out "BOOM!" prematurely during the rehearsal; and the children who are acting as the "rock" respond prematurely once too during the rehearsal, jumping up and falling apart.

Eventually the mime is satisfied that both the audience and the "rock" know their parts well enough to proceed, and he continues with the performance. The mime pushes down on the imaginary plunger, the audience yells, "BOOM!" in reasonable but not perfect synchrony, and the "rock" jumps up and falls apart realistically. As he lifts each "fragment" of the "rock" up and carries it offstage, with the children remaining rigid as they are carried off, the mime makes his last reference to the piece of rock with "Fruit of the Loom" written on it.

The audience claps loudly as the mime takes the last "piece" of the "rock" offstage and comes back onstage in his relaxed mode. He acknowledges their applause, as the members of the "rock" return to their places in the audience excitedly and receive their friends' congratulations and recognition for their performances. Eventually the mime holds up a hand to end the applause.

The mime asks for questions from the audience. He spends about five minutes answering such questions as, "Where did you learn to do that?" and "Are you paid money for doing that?" The mime tells the students where he learned his art and where they would be able to take lessons in mime if they wanted to. He tells the children that, at their age, it is easy to learn mime. He says that yes, he is paid for his performances, and adds, "I'm lucky I am able to make a living doing what I like to do. It sure beats working for a living."

The children are still raising their hands to ask questions when the mime calls "time." The audience claps again enthusiastically. The principal thanks the mime for his performance and dismisses the children to return to their classrooms.

The mime chats with Ms. Raines and the principal and then leaves to give a performance at another school. He assures Ms. Raines that he intends to wear tights for the next performance.

APPENDIX P

WRITING LESSON AND STUDENT-INITIATED DRAWING LESSON IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S FIRST-GRADE CLASS

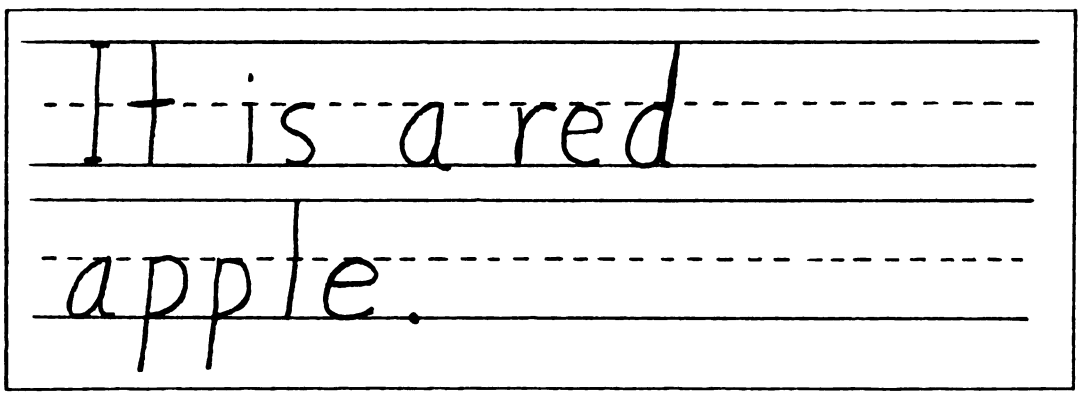
APPENDIX P

WRITING LESSON AND STUDENT-INITIATED DRAWING LESSON IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S FIRST-GRADE CLASS

Students begin returning to the room from a restroom break. A number of them gather around the observer, who is reading to the students who chose not to go on break. (The observer's practice is to respond to student requests of this nature only when the children are clearly on "free time," not otherwise.)

Ms. Beauvoir comes into the room and tells the students to get out a sheet of paper "for writing." Most students return to their desks and begin to follow directions. Ms. Beauvoir announces, "Little boys, someone is using the restroom and not...?" The class choruses the response, "Flushing." The teacher adds that, if she finds out that some individual has been urinating on the floor and the walls, she will be very angry, that's not the proper place to urinate. Andrew comments (his tone of voice a good imitation of Ms. Beauvoir's) that you don't do that at home. Ms. Beauvoir says, "Right, Andrew," repeats the remark, and urges the students to treat the bathroom at school with respect, as they treat their property at home.

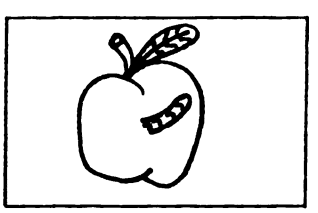
She directs the children to turn their papers sideways, "so you can draw a big, pretty picture." Then (apparently noticing some students out of their seats), she says, "Hey, sit down. First letter." Maya runs to the rear of the room but then quickly returns to her desk in the front of the room and sits down. Nella stands up but then sits down again. Ms. Beauvoir draws lines for the writing lesson on the lefthand front chalkboard, using a large wooden yardstick. She says, "First letter," again and writes the following on the board, describing in detail how to make each letter as she writes the letter on the chalkboard. She reminds the class when she reaches each break between words, "Two fingers." After she has made the first letter, she asks what it is, and the class choruses, "I." When she finishes writing, the following is on the board.



The students have been copying the sentence as the teacher wrote it on the board, and they finish writing quickly after she finishes.

Ms. Beauvoir fusses at Maya for making slanting lines with her "p"s. She then has the class read the sentence in unison: "It is a red apple." (This class is highly skilled at choral reading, doing it frequently every day. They seldom make an error and they read quickly and confidently, in close unison. The observer heard only one error in choral reading during the entire period of observation, and in that case the entire group confidently read "a" instead of "the," which was on the chalkboard. The observer inferred that the group had developed great skill at following the lead of one or more of the best readers in the class, she suspected Margie.)

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, draw me a pretty, big red apple." A number of students respond, "Ooh!" Underneath the sentence on the board, the teacher draws:



As she adds the "worm" to the drawing as a finishing touch, she says, "I want a worm in it." Ms. Beauvoir asks how many have ever seen an apple seed. Most of the students raise their hands or say, "I have." Ms. Beauvoir holds up a big, juicy apple which she says she got for her lunch. She urges the class to do their best writing and to draw her a "big, pretty apple." Students settle down to work at their desks.

Lina and Maya leave their seats, and then Lina sits down again. Ms. Beauvoir comments that the students had "apple" on their Dolch word list and "now on that." She goes into the small restroom at the rear of the room.

Maya returns to her seat. Students are looking at each other and are talking as they draw. (Richard is kneeling in his seat.) Maya gets up again and goes to the board, where she traces the line of the apple with her index finger. Then she skips back to her desk.

Ms. Beauvoir comes out of the little bathroom saying, "Let me see your papers." One of the students ask if they should "color it," and the teacher responds, "You know I don't want anything that's not colored." She looks through materials on a storage table near the bathroom while the students continue drawing and coloring. Margie leaves her seat and goes to talk to Julie. A number of students cluster around Andrew's desk; it appears from their comments that Andrew has drawn a particularly impressive worm. Ms. Beauvoir tells the students at Andrew's desk to sit down, and they do. Maya runs back to the chalkboard, explaining to some of the other students how she drew her apple. A student comments, "That was the same thing I did." The observer makes a note that the students appear to consider copying the drawing of the apple a formidable problem in draftsmanship, a problem which they appear to be taking more seriously than the writing lesson it accompanies. None of the students thinks to use the actual apple as a model; all are attempting to reproduce what the teacher has drawn on the chalkboard.

Quentin goes up to Ms. Beauvoir and asks her, "Should we write our names at the bottom?" Ms. Beauvoir announces to the entire class, "Write your first and last name at the bottom." Then she asks for a volunteer to "take this back to the library for me." There is an eager chorus of, "I will!" and Ms. Beauvoir calls on Shandra to do it. (Ms. Beauvoir usually has Shandra run the errands away from the classroom, although occasionally she asks Andrew or even Owen to run this type of errand.) Shandra takes some papers from the teacher and leaves the room.

Meanwhile, Maya and Lina have gone to the chalkboard together and are seriously discussing how to draw the apple. Owen takes Dick to the board to show him where something is on the model drawing of the apple.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, I'm ready to check," and goes to sit at an adult-sized school desk at the front of the room. She asks, "How many know what an apple does for you?" Students raise their hands and call out, "I do!" (The observer fails to hear the rest of the teacher's conversation with the class about apples because Billy goes to the observer and asks her to help him draw the apple. His "apple" looks more like a heart than any kind of fruit. The observer shows him the apple she has drawn in her notes, and several other students come to look at the apple in the observer's notes as they realize what is going on. The observer shows Billy that he can erase the lines which define the outline of the apple and draw them again, "fatter." He leaves to try this, and Nella shows the observer the apple she has drawn. Presumably the students who have already drawn apples to their own satisfaction were responsive to the conversation the teacher has just started, but it is clear that the apple still represents a problem to many students, and they are continuing to work on the problem.)

Ms. Beauvoir sits at her school desk in the front of the room, no longer conversing with the class but sitting and writing. Then she starts reading. Billy goes back to the observer to show her the apple he has drawn now (it is closer to the teacher's model). Ricardo holds up his tablet and shows the observer his apple, from his desk across the room. Sam is out of his seat, as are Maya, Shandra (who has returned from the library), and Lina. Shandra sits down again. Lina and Maya go together to a locker in the rear of the room and carefully copy a cut-out apple which is taped to the locker.

Three minutes after she initially told the class she was ready to check their writing, Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, first row, come on so we can have outside time." The children in the first row line up to have their work checked, and the teacher is clearly concerned with the writing rather than the drawing as she checks. She tells Owen, "Those 'e's are bad. You could have an A in writing, but you don't want it." Next she tells Dick, the second child in the row, "I said one apple, not three or four. 'A' means what?" Dick says, "One," and a number of the other students who have drawn more than one apple begin looking around for erasers and quickly erase excess apples. Billy asks the observer if she has an eraser. The answer is no.

Ms. Beauvoir calls for the next row and has to repeat the directions twice before the students in the second row line up to be checked. (Maya, Shandra, and Lina are all in the second row.) Students in the third row begin lining up behind them, without waiting to be called. The last student in row one (Ricardo) returns to his seat with his graded paper. Ms. Beauvoir tells the students to "save these sheets" because they will use them again tomorrow, "the back of it." She checks Julie's paper and then Kasia's. She reminds the class, "Okay, we have to have arithmetic, News Power, and check your [seat]work, and then we can go outside." She repeats that nobody is going outside until everything is done.

Ms. Beauvoir checks Nella's paper, reminding her that her letters should be "on the line." Then she checks Marcus' paper. She asks if she has checked everybody's paper now, and Sam and Billy (both in row three) go to the teacher to have their papers checked. Billy is the last student to have his work checked. The teacher then calls for volunteers to "pass out" and begins a new activity, going over the children's newspaper News Power.

APPENDIX Q

MS. BEAUVOIR'S TOP READING GROUP DISCUSSING "OUR SENSES" AND EATING POPCORN: AND A PUPIL-INITIATED LESSON AT THE READING CHART

APPENDIX Q

MS. BEAUVOIR'S TOP READING GROUP DISCUSSING "OUR SENSES" AND EATING POPCORN; AND A PUPIL-INITIATED LESSON AT THE READING CHART

The top reading group has been working with Ms. Beauvoir in the reading circle for almost twenty minutes. Margie finishes reading, and Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, turn back to the story about popcorn, since I promised you." A student says the story is "Our Sense," and the teacher corrects her, the title is "Our Senses."

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Let one person read the story." She calls on Lina, who reads the story aloud. Ms. Beauvoir prompts her once: "You can touch a feather." (The story consists of a series of contrasts like, "You can touch a feather, but you can't touch a cloud.") While Lina is reading, Ms. Beauvoir turns on the electric popcorn popper she has brought from home this morning. She repeats, "You can touch a feather, but you can't touch a cloud," then has the group chorus that one of their senses is "touch."

Lina reads the second sentence of the story. Ms. Beauvoir asks which sense the sentence described. Several students say, "Taste," and Ms. Beauvoir corrects them: "Smell." She has the group chorus, "Smell."

> Kasia and Freddie have separated from the group at the rear table (who are working with puzzles on their "free time") and are working together on a reading chart in the rear of the room, identifying words with every appearance of engagement and interest. They continue this until the next reading group is called.

Ms. Beauvoir has Lina read the next sentence and asks the reading group what "sense number three" is. The group accurately choruses, "Taste." The teacher has Lina read the next sentence and asks her what the next sense is. Lina says, "Hear." The teacher has her read the next sentence and identify the final sense, and Lina says, "See." Ms. Beauvoir repeats, "Seeing." She has Lina read the next sentence, which summarizes the five senses. Then she asks who went home "and asked Mother for things we can use all our five senses with?"

Several students respond that you can use all five senses with popcorn. The teacher agrees and discusses the popcorn (which is popping merrily in the popper by now), "Can we see it?" (The group choruses, "Yes.") "Hear it?" "Yes." "Taste it?" "Yes." "Smell it?" "Yes." "Touch it?" "Yes." The teacher points out that they cannot touch it or taste it while it is popping and asks the students when they will be able to touch it. She summarizes, telling the group that popcorn is the only thing we know can use all of our five senses. She continues to discuss popcorn and the way it relates to all five senses. She asks what would have happened if she had forgotten to bring the popcorn this morning, would they have been able to see it, hear it, touch it, taste it, and smell it then? Almost before the teacher is able to ask them to, Lina and Andrew run to the bathroom to get paper towels for Ms. Beauvoir.

> The observer notes that Nella, Freddie, and Kasia are now all reading words from the reading chart.

Ms. Beauvoir gives each child in the reading group a paper towel and then turns the popcorn popper over, so that the top makes a dish for the popcorn. She takes the popper to the wastebasket to wipe it clean, reminding the students, "Remind me to take the popper home this evening." She tells each child to take some popcorn, put it on the paper towel, and take it to his or her desk. The students line up and follow these directions (in orderly but excited fashion). Ms. Beauvoir laughs at Andrew, who takes popcorn with both hands. She reminds the students not to get any on the floor "or mice will be in here." Margie -- the first child in line -- has taken her popcorn now and returns to her desk with the towel full of popcorn.

> Marcus has now joined the three girls who are working with the reading chart. All four children appear absorbed in identifying words.

Most of the seven children in the top reading group have helped themselves to popcorn now and have left the reading circle and returned to their desks. Lina is helping herself to popcorn, and only Maya is waiting to get some popcorn. Richard -- a child who belongs to the middle reading group, like the children at the reading chart -- has gone to the teacher and is consulting with her. Ms. Beauvoir offers the observer some popcorn, and both teacher and observer eat a handful of popcorn.

Ms. Beauvoir calls Kasia's group (the middle group), and all the children in this group quickly stop whatever they are doing and go sit in the reading circle. The self-initiated group working with the reading chart is disbanded, as all except Marcus are in Kasia's reading group. When the group is seated in the reading circle, Ms. Beauvoir gives each of these children some popcorn and then distributes the rest to students in the low reading group, who are seated at their desks. Then she throws the residue of the popcorn in the

wastebasket and reminds the class again to remind her to take the popcorn popper home.

Ms. Beauvoir tells the middle reading group to look over their story, "Look and Listen." While the second group is looking over "Look and Listen" in their readers, Ms. Beauvoir tells the first group (now at their desks) that she has a worksheet for them to do as seatwork, "You've done it before but you can do it again." The students in the first group go to Ms. Beauvoir, who stands just outside the reading circle and gives each of them a worksheet. One of the students complains that they have done this sheet before, and Ms. Beauvoir repeats, "Do it again, it won't hurt you." She tells Andrew she doesn't have enough sheets for him to have one, "You'll have to do something else, something hard." She gives a different worksheet to Andrew and gives him instructions for working it; another student in the top group comments, "That's easy."

Ms. Beauvoir returns to the middle reading group in the reading circle, telling them, "We'll pop some popcorn too, but we've got to get to the story first." She then proceeds to discuss the phrases in "Look and Listen" with the middle group.

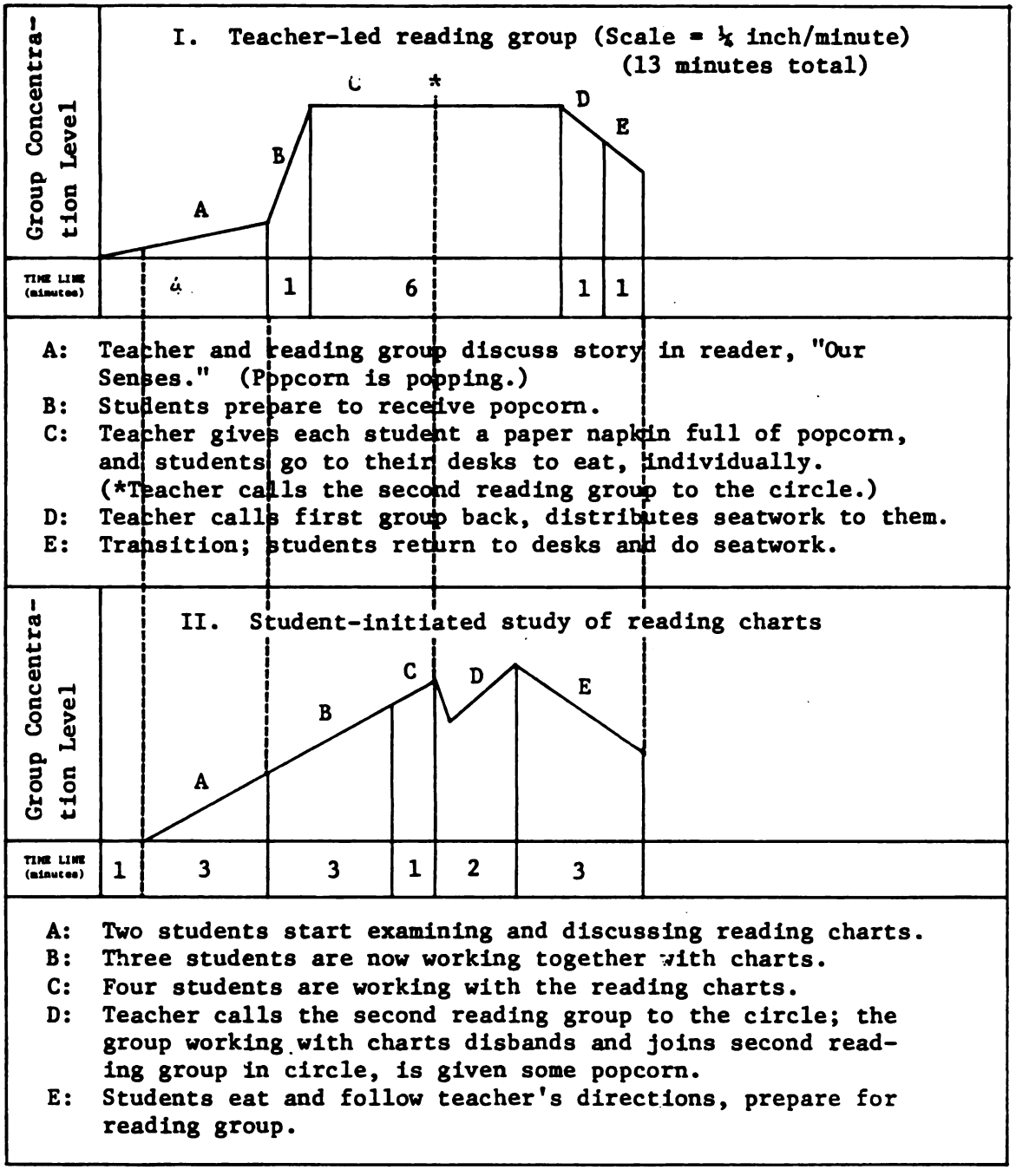


Figure 18. TWO SIMULTANEOUS TEACHING/LEARNING EVENTS
(MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS)

Comments on the Chart in Figure 18

Figure 18 charts two different group activities that were taking place during precisely the same time interval: a small group of students from the middle reading group who began to study a set of reading charts set up on an easel at the rear of the room (during their "free time," after they had completed the assigned seatwork) and the top reading group with which Ms. Beauvoir was working in the reading circle at the front of the room. The activity of the group studying the reading charts was divided into two coherent sequences, the first beginning when two children began studying the charts and ending when the teacher called them to join the second reading group in the reading circle, and the second occurring before the official beginning of the second reading group, when Ms. Beauvoir gave the group some of the popcorn that the first reading group had popped to reinforce their reading lesson.

The dramatic unity of the self-initiated study of reading charts was of a very simple, straightforward sort. The students' absorption in the charts was apparent by their concentration on the activity (ignoring the other activities in the room, including the popping of popcorn in the reading circle), and the attraction of the activity for others in the middle reading group was apparent as first a third and then a fourth participant joined the children at the reading charts. Presumably these children were structuring their study of the reading charts in a way that had no inherent climax, so that it was legitimately interruptable, as they knew they were liable to be called to the reading circle soon.

By contrast, the dramatic unity of the teacher-structured lesson in the reading circle was marred by a lack of congruity between the way the teacher structured the event and its inherent climax. By giving the children their popcorn individually and sending them back to their desks to eat it, the teacher treated the entire event after segment A (a thoroughly academic discussion of the reading story, "Our Senses") as denouement. Yet the inherent climax of the lesson for the children was obviously receiving the popcorn, which had been popping during segment A (presumably providing some distraction, although the teacher did refer to the actual popcorn occasionally during the discussion). From the children's viewpoint the teacher failed completely to capitalize educationally on the climax of the lesson, since she did not engage the children in any discussion of the sensation of eating the popcorn but allowed the excitement engendered by the popcorn (which she explicitly recognized as "motivating") to be dissipated slowly as the children sat at their desks, ate, and discussed the event with their peers. The final segment of the reading group activity (segment D, at which point the teacher called the group back to the reading circle to receive additional seatwork) had no connection at all to the "popcorn" activity.

That the "popcorn" story had more potential for educational significance than Ms. Beauvoir used was evident in Ms. Dancer's reaction, as a poet, to a videotape of the second reading group doing the same activity later in the year. As she watched the second reading group sit in the reading circle eating their popcorn and talking

with their peers but not interacting with the teacher, who was also sitting and eating, Ms. Dancer reeled off a list of evocative topics about the sensory associations that experience might have for the children (e.g., have you ever dreamed about popcorn?) which she would have been discussing with the children while they ate, to intensify the experience and bring it into conscious awareness.

APPENDIX R

POETRY READING IN MS. GLADSTONE'S "SLOW" FIFTH-GRADE LANGUAGE ARTS CLASS

APPENDIX R

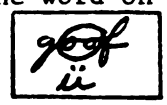
POETRY READING IN MS. GLADSTONE'S "SLOW" FIFTH-GRADE LANGUAGE ARTS CLASS

Ms. Gladstone specializes in language arts in the fifth grade at Trapeer Junior High. She teaches an "enrichment" language arts class for children who are achieving above grade level and a section for students who are achieving below grade level. She is now working with the "slow" class, which she reports is achieving in reading at the third or fourth-grade level.

Ms. Gladstone has assigned seatwork for the entire class: a spelling lesson, a penmanship exercise, and a creative writing exercise. When she has explained all three assignments to the class, Ms. Gladstone asks if there are any questions. One of the students comments that there was a story on television which was similar to the paragraph Ms. Gladstone has given the class to structure the creative writing assignment. Teddy asks if he may finish the story any way he likes, and Ms. Gladstone answers, "That's what I just said." She asks who understands the directions, and most of the students raise their hands. Ms. Gladstone asks who doesn't understand, and Mickey raises his hand. She explains again for Mickey's benefit. After she explains, Mickey keeps his hand raised. When Ms. Gladstone does not respond, he asks the students at another table what he is supposed to do. Ms. Gladstone announces to the class that they should do their spelling first, then their handwriting, and the creative writing last.

Ms. Gladstone says, "All right, Mickey, your group to the reading table." She confers with Jackson as he heads to the reading table at the rear of the room, near the door to the hall. The rest of the class has started working on the assigned seatwork. Four boys assemble at the reading table: Edgar, Mickey, Jackson, and Samson.

The teacher joins the four boys at the long table and tells them that their reading today is a poem. She adds that she put only one word on the board today, and the boys look up on the chalkboard next to the table, where the teacher has written, "goof." Ms. Gladstone tells the four students to look on pages 165 to 167 to see if they

can find that word. One student says it's on page 167, but Ms. Gladstone says no, it's on page 166, "It's a glossary word." She calls on Mickey to read the word, but he can only manage, "goo...." Ms. Gladstone pronounces it for him, "goof," and tells the students to look it up in the glossary since it's a glossary word. She circles the double "o" in the word on the board and writes the correct vowel sound under it:  Then she has all four students pronounce the word. She has Mickey read the definition given for "goof" in the glossary. She has to prompt Mickey on one of the words in the definition, and another student chips in eagerly, "I know: 'waste!'" Ms. Gladstone asks how many goof off. Two of the boys raise their hands, and she prompts, "Tell the truth." The observer (who is sitting at the far end of the reading table) raises her hand, and Ms. Gladstone raises her hand also, commenting, "We all goof off."

Ms. Gladstone tells the four students to go back to the table of contents and locate the poem there. She asks who wants to use "goof" in a sentence. Two of the boys try using "goof" in a sentence, with only partial success. Ms. Gladstone prompts them finally: "As it relates to time -- don't goof...." A student finishes the sentence, "Up." Ms. Gladstone adds, "Or 'off your time.'" She gives the students the title of the poem, "We Can Be Friends." Samson says it's on page 116. The teacher tells the four, "Turn to page 116, boys and girls, and locate the poem." She adds that it is the end of the unit, and the units "always end with a poem." Since it is almost the end of the school year, she points out, they will not be able to finish this book, Trouble and Turnips. She asks, "You've already finished one book, haven't you?" The four students agree that they have. Ms. Gladstone points out that the poem has an illustration and asks Samson to read the title. After he has read, "We can be friends," she asks what type of reading this is, and Mickey answers, a poem. She asks, "How many parts does the poem have?" Mickey says, "Three." The teacher asks, "What time of year is it in the illustration?" One of the other three students answers, "Winter." Ms. Gladstone probes, "Why?" The student says he knows it's winter because there is snow on the ground in the illustration. Mickey adds that the people in the picture are wearing coats and mittens. Edgar adds that there are no leaves on the trees.

Ms. Gladstone points out, "Poems usually rhyme, don't they?" She tells the boys to "read along with your eyes," while she reads the poem aloud to them. "Listen for the rhyme as I read it for you." She reads the poem, expressively, and then asks which were the rhyming words. Several of the boys volunteer words which do not rhyme, and Ms. Gladstone tells them that is wrong. Then Mickey says, "'Talk' and 'walk.'" Ms. Gladstone responds, "Good. Are there any more? I see some." Edgar gives another incorrect response, and Ms. Gladstone says no, rhyming "means they sound

alike." She adds, "Mickey sees more, catch up with Mickey." She calls on Mickey, but this time his response is incorrect.

Ms. Gladstone reads the poem again, telling the four students, "Listen now." When she finishes, she tells them to look at "walk" and "talk" and then to look "on down" the poem and see if they can't find some more rhyming words. Edgar says to himself, "Oh, now I see what she means." Ms. Gladstone writes "walk" on the chalkboard, and underneath it she writes, "talk." Edgar says, "They don't have to be beside each other." Ms. Gladstone says that's right. Edgar suggests "be" and "me," and Ms. Gladstone writes "be" on the board and, underneath it, "me." Samson suggests "you" and "do," and she writes them on the board, "you" above "do." She tells them, "Right," and points out that rhyming words help the rhythm of the poem. She emphasizes that "rhythm" means "the beat." She reads the poem again, telling them to listen for the rhythm. Then she says, "This time, read the poem silently for a few minutes." Ms. Gladstone waits and watches while the four students read.

Ms. Gladstone asks the group, "What is the main idea of the poem, the central thought?" Edgar responds, "Me picking up the telephone and calling you." Ms. Gladstone agrees, "And you picking up the telephone and calling me. Good." She repeats that the main idea of the poem is me picking up the telephone and calling you and you picking up the telephone and calling me. She adds, "That's how we can be what?" The four students chorus, "Friends."

Ms. Gladstone calls on Mickey to read the poem first, because his hand was up first. Mickey starts reading, stops and starts again, and is still reading haltingly. The teacher stops him and tells him to start again and "take your time." Mickey reads the poem slowly but accurately. Ms. Gladstone says, "Good, Mickey. Try it, Edgar." (Edgar has his hand up now.) Edgar reads with a lot of expression but stumbles over words, and Ms. Gladstone prompts him on, "take a walk." Jackson and Samson raise their hands before Edgar has finished reading. Ms. Gladstone calls on Samson, and he reads the poem. The teacher goes to her desk at the front of the room while Samson is reading. She brings a cassette tape recorder from her desk to the reading table. Samson finishes reading the poem. Ms. Gladstone tells him, "Okay, Samson." Then Jackson reads the poem. Meanwhile, the teacher is rewinding the tape on the cassette. When Jackson finishes, she asks if everyone has read. She says, "Now, I'm going to let you hear yourselves read." She tells the students to read in the same order they just read in and that she will not correct them while they are reading into the tape recorder.

Mickey starts reading the poem. Ms. Gladstone stops him and tells him, "Wait, it's not picking up. Talk louder." She rewinds the tape and starts the tape recorder again, then closes the door to the hall because there is a lot of noise in the hall. Mickey reads the poem. When he finishes, the teacher gestures to Edgar, who reads loudly and

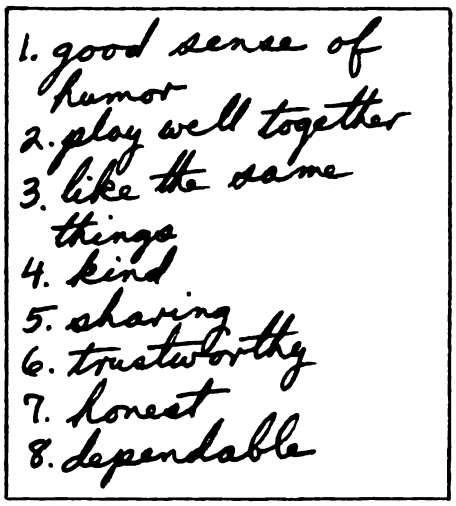
fluently, reading "take a walk" correctly this time. Ms. Gladstone goes out into the hall where students from other classes are yelling loudly. When Edgar finishes reading, Mickey cues Samson to start reading; Ms. Gladstone is still in the hall. She comes back in and closes the door. (The hall is quiet now.) When Samson finishes reading, Ms. Gladstone stops the tape recorder, but the students tell her she forgot Jackson. She presses the "record" button again, and Jackson reads the poem. Again she stops the tape recorder, and the four students start commenting to one another on their performances.

Ms. Gladstone says she'll let them see how they did. She tells them to follow along in the book so they'll see any mistakes they made, "and I don't have to tell you." She starts to play the tape; the students' voices are sharp and clear. The teacher and all four students smile as they listen and then begin to giggle -- the student who is listening to his own voice usually giggling hardest. The students doing seatwork also appear to be listening, although they do not stop working.

The tape comes to an end, and again the students comment on their performances. Ms. Gladstone goes to the hall again, asking the students how they think they did as she walks away from them. She calls on Mickey but then interrupts herself, saying, "Wait, I want to hear." When she returns to the table, Mickey says he was "terrible." Ms. Gladstone responds, "No, not how you were talking, how you read the poem." She calls on Edgar, who responds minimally, and then on Jackson, who says he thinks he was "perfect." The teacher questions this response. Samson says he was "all right."

Ms. Gladstone repeats the title of the poem, "We Can Be Friends." She asks the four students what qualities good friends possess, and the four boys look very thoughtful. She asks them about their friends, "What do they want from you?" Edgar gives a rambling response about joking with his friends, and Ms. Gladstone translates this into "good sense of humor," which she writes on the chalkboard, labeling it "1." She calls on Samson and then on Jackson, who says a good friend will come outside and play every day. Other students question him, "In the rain?" Ms. Gladstone manages to translate this into "play well together," which she writes on the chalkboard as point number two. Edgar volunteers a response which the teacher translates as "like the same things." She writes this on the board as the third point. Then she asks if a friend should be kind, and all four students respond, "Yes." Mickey has his hand almost up, and Ms. Gladstone calls on him. She translates his comments as "sharing," which she puts on the board as the fifth point, under "kind." She asks, "What else?" Mickey and then Edgar respond, but the teacher makes no effort to put their responses on the chalkboard. She asks if a friend should be dependable and asks them if they know what that means. Edgar responds, "Someone you trust." Ms. Gladstone writes on the board, "6. trustworthy." She asks if a friend should be honest, is it important for your friend always to tell you the

truth? She writes "honest" and "dependable" on the board. The following is now on the chalkboard:



Ms. Gladstone tells the four students to look over the list and think carefully, then to "list the things you feel reflect your personal feelings about a friend ... the things that you want to find in a friend." She tells them to put these things on a piece of paper: "You don't have to show me or anybody." Edgar looks flustered, and Ms. Gladstone tells him, "You forgot something; never come to the table barehanded." Edgar gets up and gets pencil and paper from his seat, then returns to the reading table.

The four students study the chalkboard thoughtfully and then begin to write on their sheets of paper. Ms. Gladstone goes around the room checking to see how the other students are coming with their seatwork. Then she comes back to the reading table and rewinds the tape recorder. She stands up and waits. All four students are still writing. Other students begin to get up and sharpen pencils, presumably in preparation for the next reading group.

Ms. Gladstone summarizes the lesson for the first group as soon as their writing seems to slacken: "Those things you've listed that you want your friends to have, do you think they might want to see those things in you?" The four chorus, "Yes." She comments, "Remember that." She repeats that these are qualities they want in their friends and that their friends probably want in them, and again she summarizes: they should try to have these qualities as part of their personalities, "Then you will not only make friends, you will keep them."

Ms. Gladstone tells the group, "You may take your seats. We'll work in the workbook tomorrow. Teddy's group, come to the table." The students exchange places, and it is quickly apparent that all eighteen of the remaining students are in the more advanced reading group with which Ms. Gladstone works next. This group, in spite of its awkward size, works much more quickly than the first group and completes three activities -- a workbook exercise on flashbacks, another workbook exercise on the first person point of view, and reading and discussion of a poem about food vended on a busy city street.

Not only is there more discussion of the content of the poem in the second group, but Ms. Gladstone ends this reading lesson by allowing students to read for the tape recorder. There is time for only four of the eighteen students to read individually. (The group reacts

kinetically to an Oriental student's misreading of "street" instead of "avenue," a failure in rhyme very noticeable to English speakers, although the girl who makes the mistake appears not to notice it until she hears herself on tape.) After the group hears the tape of the four students, the participants spontaneously break into applause.

Then Ms. Gladstone has the group practice choral reading of the poem, with the boys reading the first verse, the girls the second verse, the boys the third verse, and the whole group reading the fourth and final verse. Although the general level of synchrony in timing of choral responses is very high in this class whenever students respond in unison, the girls' timing is quite ragged when they come in on the second verse, and it is worse when they read into the tape recorder than when they are just practicing. As they listen to the tape recording, the girls appear to be very much aware of and ashamed of their "goof." Again the entire group spontaneously claps after they hear the tape recording of the choral reading. As they leave the reading table, one of the girls comments to another, "That <u>was</u> a trip!"

APPENDIX S

TUTORING SESSION WITH THREE STUDENTS -- ESPECIALLY NORMAN -- IN MS. ABBOTT'S SIXTH-GRADE CLASSROOM (POETRY)

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TUTORING SESSION WITH THREE STUDENTS -- ESPECIALLY NORMAN -- IN MS. ABBOTT'S SIXTH-GRADE CLASSROOM (POETRY)

Ms. Abbott has learned from Ms. Raines that the observer had helped develop the packaged CEMREL aesthetic education curriculum. When the observer comes to do her first full day observation, Ms. Abbott discusses the CEMREL curriculum with her and asks her if she would mind looking over three of the poems which students have written as part of the Crichton Art Gallery poet-in-residence program. Ms. Dancer, the poet-in-residence, has singled these three poems out for use in the anthology of student poems which is being prepared, if the students are able to rewrite them in a more poetic form. The observer has agreed to look the poems over and see if she is able to recommend anything to the teacher, to help the children with the rewriting task. Ms. Abbott has given the observer the three poems, and the observer has been reading them and thinking about them during breaks and at other times when she did not need to give her full attention to observing. It was clear that each of the three students had produced a single, vivid sensory image but had described that image in prosaic fashion -- a "prose picture" in which the image is not at all intensified by the way in which the author used sound. During lunch and later at recess the observer had "played around" with one of the poems, which had a number of euphonious and even rhyming words which were not arranged in any orderly fashion. By "playing around" with the ideas and words of the poem, the observer had rewritten this poem so that it had consistent rhythm and end rhyme.

Now the children have settled down to a period of mixed seatwork (a mathematics test, a joke writing activity requiring logical as well as "funny" thinking, and a sequencing puzzle related to their study of the criminal justice system). Ms. Abbott asks the observer if she would like to work with the three students who wrote the poems the observer has been looking over. When the observer says she would, Ms. Abbott asks if the observer wants to work with the students individually, and the observer says she'd rather see all three at once, since all three poems need the kind of drastic revision the observer has been "playing with" for Shontelle's poem.

Ms. Abbott calls Steven, Shontelle, and Norman to come work with the observer: "Stop what you're doing, this is more important right now." The teacher has the three students sit on the floor behind the table in the rear of the room where the observer is sitting, and the observer joins them on the floor.

First the observer shows Shontelle the way in which she has rewritten her poem by lifting her own words and phrases out of her "word picture." The observer tells the three students that what all three of them have is very nice "word pictures," but that they need to find a structure in order to make poems of their word pictures. The observer shows them how she "found" a structure in Shontelle's poem by using Shontelle's words but rearranging them drastically. The observer also shows them how much she has "played around" with Shontelle's words in order to "find" this structure, how she crossed out more than she kept in while writing two very short stanzas. She shows them that she changed one word from Shontelle's original because she simply could not find a suitable rhyme or good idea to match it in the next line, so she changed "fields" to "drifts."

Shontelle looks a little stunned. Steven looks carefully over the page of scribblings on which the observer had rewritten Shontelle's poem and begins beating time with his hands. Norman seems quite upset that the observer is suggesting such a major rewriting and says that Ms. Dancer already told him what he needed to do. The observer tells Shontelle that the rewritten poem is the observer's poem, not Shontelle's, even though the observer used practically all Shontelle's words in writing it. So, the observer says, she will not give Shontelle the rewritten poem, she just wanted her to see that her "word picture" had a poetic structure but that it took major rewriting to bring that structure out. The observer asks Shontelle to rewrite the poem herself, trying to do the sort of thing the observer had done, pulling out phrases and rearranging words so that the poem will have a more poetic structure.

Shontelle takes her original "word picture" from the observer and returns to her desk while the observer continues to talk with the two boys. Norman is clearly distressed. The observer suggests that what both of the boys have is one vivid "picture" or image, and that the haiku form is frequently a good one for a "one picture poem." Steven says he has heard of haiku, but Norman says he never has. The observer explains that a haiku is a Japanese form of poetry in which the poem must have exactly seventeen syllables. In fact, she adds, each of the three lines is supposed to have a certain number of syllables but she can't remember just how many. She thinks it is some combination of five, five, and seven syllables. The observer discusses the haiku form with the boys and then suggests they go off and try it themselves. Norman (still obviously upset) asks if they should do it right now, and the observer suggests he ask Ms. Abbott how she wants him to do it. Steven and Norman both go to Ms. Abbott's desk. The teacher tells the boys they may work

on it now if they want to, but they may also "think about it awhile" and rewrite the poem later if they choose. The observer resumes general observation as the boys return to their desks.

Six minutes later Norman has joined a line of students waiting to consult with Ms. Abbott about their seatwork. He reaches her desk and consults with her. Then Ms. Abbott tells him, "You look like you've been crying. Have you finished your work? Then I want you working on your poem."

Norman returns to his desk, looking upset. A minute later he calls to the observer, asking her for help with his poem. The observer goes to Norman's desk and talks with him about the poem. As Norman describes the problem of making his poem into a haiku, it is clear that he is not thinking in terms of breaking the task into steps but is overwhelmed by the idea of reducing his poem to seventeen syllables and finding it insoluble. The observer asks him if he would like for her to ask him questions and show him different ways of attacking the problem, to help him get started. He says he would, and the observer has him join her at the round table in the rear of the room. Ms. Abbott is still consulting with individual students (mostly about the jokes which they have been writing individually or in pairs). She announces that she wants no monkey business: everybody is working on different things, but everybody should be working on something.

The observer starts off by telling Norman that his poem needs more description of the actual sound which gave him the strong feeling he describes in his poem. (Norman's poem was suggested -- as were several others by members of this class -- by the "loud screeching" sounds made by the heater in the classroom. He had imagined that the sound was the "crying of slaves" in the holds of slave ships and had written a prosaic description of his feelings about the slaves, using phrases like, "I know it's not really slaves, but...." and saying it makes him feel as if he is there with the slaves, even though he knows he really isn't.) The observer asks Norman to think of one word that best describes the sound the radiator made. He thinks and says, "Help." The observer tells him, "Then that's your first word." Norman expresses concern that he may not be able to write the poem as a complete sentence, and the observer assures him that a haiku is so short there's no requirement for it to be in complete sentences; it has to make sense but it will be all right if it's just in phrases. Then Norman worries about how to get exactly seventeen syllables; he asks the observer if she means syllables or words. The observer suggests that first they should just see how short they can get it without changing his idea and then worry about the exact number of syllables.

Norman asks the observer what he should do next, and she asks him what the radiator sounded like when it was saying, "Help." He says it sounded as if it were crying, so the observer suggests he now has

the basis for his first line. Together they work out a first line, "'Help,' crys [sic] the radiator." Then they work out the next two lines by selecting the most direct and telling of the words and phrases from his original word poem. Norman reacts kinesthetically to the observer's comments about his image, particularly when the observer says something like, "You could say, 'I am a slave,' but you didn't really think you were a slave, you felt as if you were in the hold of the ship with the slaves" (his face lights up) "but only in your imagination, you knew you weren't really a slave, so we'd better leave it the way you have it, 'I feel like a slave.'" Throughout the process of selection Norman alternates between a body posture and facial expression of great tension and one of enormous relief and a beaming smile. (He contributes to the selection process, but the observer's best cue to the success of the process is his facial expression and body posture. The observer infers that Norman cares a great deal about this image and alternates between apprehension that his poem will be "spoiled" by rewriting and relief when it is shortened drastically but not "spoiled.")

When the observer and Norman have worked out three very short lines which seem to convey the essence of the original idea, the observer asks Norman to read it over and see if he agrees that they have not changed his idea. He reads it very carefully, smiles, and says he can "see" that it is the same idea. Then, the observer suggests, it's time to count syllables. The observer counts the syllables, with Norman looking over her shoulder. There are twenty-one syllables.

Norman begins cutting syllables. At first he asks the observer if it's "all right" to cut by changing "radiator" to "heater." When the observer assures him that of course he can do that because it's his poem, he proceeds without further assistance, ignoring several suggestions the observer makes for cutting -- insisting on keeping the entire central phrase, "the crying of slaves," and finding several places in the poem where cutting out a short word actually improves the flow of the poem. As he cuts, his face lights up repeatedly. When he finishes cutting, the observer suggests he count syllables again, and now there are exactly seventeen syllables. (Later the observer remembers that "heater" was the word Norman used when first describing his image to Ms. Dancer; he had not described the sound which was the source of his image at all in his prose picture.) The observer asks Norman if he likes what he has now. Again he reads the poem very carefully, and then says that he likes it. (The haiku now reads, "'Help,' crys the heater/ I hear the crying of slaves/ I feel like a slave.")

The observer suggests that Norman show his haiku to Ms. Abbott, and he takes it right over to her desk and shows it to her. Ms. Abbott reads the haiku and asks several questions which suggest she is not sure he really did the rewriting (and the haiku is very different from the original). She has Norman explain to her what a haiku is

(and after school, when she checks to see how much of the rewriting Norman did, tells the observer she was impressed that he was able to explain it accurately). Then Ms. Abbott tells Norman to go thank the observer and "go rewrite it in your best writing to send to Ms. Dancer."

Norman returns to his desk and starts copying the poem over on a clean sheet of paper. In about three minutes he has recopied the poem and is again standing in line to consult with the teacher. Ms. Abbott is consulting with Germania about the joke Germania has written. She says, "Turn your back, Norman, and let Germania explain the joke to me." Norman turns his back on the teacher with great flair. After Germania finishes whispering to the teacher, another student moves past Norman (whose back is still turned) to talk with Ms. Abbott, but Ms. Abbott says, "Wait, Norman's next." Norman hands the teacher his rewritten poem, and she takes it and puts it on her desk, hardly pausing before telling the next pair of students in line that their joke won't do, "it doesn't make sense, use your head."

Norman does not return to his desk right away. Rather, the field notes describe him as "flipping around" the room, hopping, skipping, and making large arm gestures expressive of being relieved of a psychological burden.

Aftermath: All three students rewrote their poems eventually, and Ms. Abbott mailed the poems to Ms. Dancer. Unfortunately, the anthology had already gone to press by the time Ms. Dancer received the poems, but Ms. Dancer wrote the three students a letter of appreciation, saying that Norman's poem was particularly good. Ms. Abbott posted the letter from Ms. Dancer on the room bulletin board and had Norman write Ms. Dancer a thank you letter.

APPENDIX T

TWO EPISODES OF SINGING AND DANCING TO FAMILIAR MUSIC IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM

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TWO EPISODES OF SINGING AND DANCING TO FAMILIAR MUSIC IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S ROOM

First Episode: Dancing and Singing to Familiar Music (Videotaped)

Ms. Beauvoir's class has just returned from their early lunch, and the observer and Ms. Yarrow (aesthetic education resource teacher) have set up the videotape camera in a new position while they were at lunch (in the front of the room). The children stare at the camera, and those closest to it wave, smile, hold up a book for the camera, etc. Ms. Beauvoir is standing at the classroom record player in the rear of the room.

Ms. Beauvoir says, "Okay, listen." She starts a very familiar record, the children's favorite that they hear and dance to at least several times each week. The children look confused, and a student asks the teacher if they may respond to the record as they usually do. She says, "You can do it. That's what we want you to do, do it." Then she interrupts herself, stops the record player, and says, "Let me start it over. Put everything back first. Put everything up." The students leave their seats and pick up everything that has fallen on the floor near their desks, while the teacher straightens up the rear work table. Richard sits at his desk with his head in his hands, looking bored, but the rest of the children appear to be anticipating the activity with pleasure, and Owen makes dancing movements, still following the rhythm of the song that the teacher had started. The teacher urges the class, "Get all the paper under your seats."

Then she walks back to the record player and says, "Okay, let's start, let's start doing it." She starts the record from the beginning again. Some students begin moving in rhythm with the music, and George (always one of the best dancers) makes large dancing movements and "guitar strumming" motions with his arms. A man's voice begins singing the first song on the record: "Sometimes I'm feeling happy and I'm wearing a smile/ Let me see how you look when you're feeling happy." The teacher urges, "Come on, Quentin." (Quentin, also one of the best dancers usually, is not yet participating.) Teacher: "Come on, Ricardo." Some students

look around to see what Quentin and Ricardo are doing, but they begin to dance somewhat more vigorously.

The voice begins the second verse: "Sometimes I'm feeling sad and I'm wearing a frown/ Let me show you how I look when I'm feeling sad." The teacher goes and stands by the record player and watches the students, who have begun to sing along with the record a little but are making little movement. Most students look uncertain what to do, and some are looking at the camera. Quentin, however, has begun to make large dancing and strumming movements as the record plays instrumental music between verses.

As the voice starts the third verse, the teacher starts to sing with it: "Well, feelings don't always stay the same/ It's okay./ Sometimes I'm happy, sometimes I'm sad,/ It's okay." As the teacher sings, the entire class begins singing loudly with the record. The teacher makes a small circling motion with her hand (apparently signaling them to keep singing) and walks back to the record player. The final part of this verse is: "Not bad." Students seem more relaxed now, but they make, for the most part, only small rhythmic movements as the record plays instrumental music between verses.

The third verse starts, and only the teacher is singing along now: "Sometimes I'm feeling angry and I'm tapping my feet,/ Let me show you how I look when I'm feeling angry." As the instrumental music starts, the teacher prompts, "How do you look when you're angry?" All the pupils pantomime angry faces, and Rene and Freddie (both children with more than normal problems at home) become rigid, doing realistic whole-body pantomiming.

The fourth verse starts, "Sometimes I'm feeling sleepy," and the teacher prompts, "Sleepy." She yawns and stretches, with large movements, and all the students imitate her, in good unison. The teacher corrects Andrew (who is out of camera range), "Come on back here with me, Andrew." Andrew goes to the rear of the room and stands by the teacher, but the rest of the class seems to be "into" the song now, and the other students pay little attention.

The fifth verse starts, the refrain: "Oh, feelings don't always stay the same,/ It's a shame,/ Sometimes I'm happy, sometimes I'm sad,/ It's okay,/ Not bad." All the students have joined in the refrain, singing vigorously. The teacher stands in the back of the room with an arm around Andrew, who is the only pupil not singing. However, when the verse ends, the students stand and wait, no longer moving rhythmically to the music.

A few students sing along with the next verse: "Sometimes I'm feeling funny and I just have to laugh,/ Let me show you how I look when I'm feeling funny." All the students immediately start giggling and giggle all the way through the instrumental music between verses, though they are not moving. Ms. Beauvoir giggles with the students.

The song ends, and the teacher walks over to the record player, telling the class, "Okay, I want you to do this one real good now." Ricardo is mugging at the camera, but another pupil claps in anticipation, and another responds to the teacher, "I'd like to." Teacher: "Okay, we're going to do it now." The music starts for the second song, and Ms. Beauvoir urges the class, "Sing it now. Very good."

The students sing along as soon as the first verse starts: "This is the story about Sammy,/" (By this time students have also left their seats and begun marching up and down the aisles between the desks, keeping time to the music.) They sing and march: "His father sent him out to buy bread,/ But Sammy didn't feel like walking,/ He wished he could fly instead,/ And he said,/ "If I was a bird,/ I could fly to the store,/ Fly to the store,/ Fly to the store,/ If I was a bird,/ I could fly to the store,/ Fly to the store,/ Fly to the store/ For my father." The teacher prompts, "Come on, Chester," and Chester joins the line of students, who continue to walk to the rhythm of the music as the record plays instrumental music between verses. Students have begun flapping their arms (in imitation of flying) as they sang the first verse, and most keep flapping their arms as they march after the singing stops.

The pupils continue to march, and they sing along as the second verse begins: "This is the story about Sammy,/ His father sent him out to buy bread,/ But Sammy didn't feel like walking,/ He wished he could swim instead." (Some students continue making "flying" motions throughout this verse, and one student loudly sings "fly" instead of "swim." The teacher prompts: "Swim!") Students make "swimming" motions (imitating an overhand crawl) as they sing along with the refrain: "If I was a fish,/ I could swim to the store,/ Swim to the store,/ Swim to the store,/ If I was a fish,/ I could swim to the store,/ Swim to the store for my father." A few of the pupils have begun to dance rather than simply walking in rhythm with the music as they sang this verse. The teacher joins the line of children as they dance to the instrumental music between verses, and all are dancing now, except for George who continues to walk but makes obvious efforts to stay outside the range of the camera. The teacher prompts: "Still swimming."

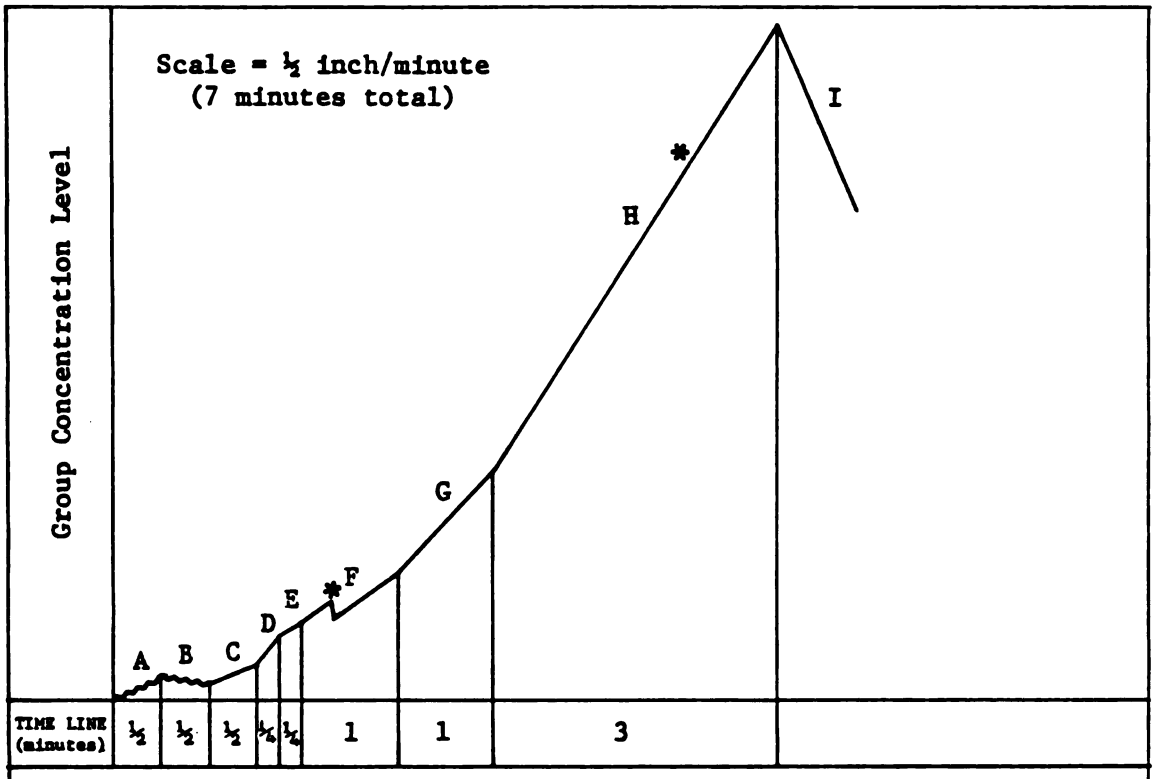
The third verse begins, and the students sing and dance along with it vigorously (most stopping their swimming motions): "This is a story about Sammy,/ His father sent him out to buy bread,/ But Sammy didn't feel like walking,/ He wished he could crawl instead,/" (at this point Rene drops to the floor and begins crawling, and the other children immediately imitate him and begin crawling also). They continue singing with the refrain: "And he said,/ "If I was a bug,/ I would crawl to the store,/ Crawl to the store,/ Crawl to the store,/ If I was a bug,/ I would crawl to the store,/ Crawl to the store for my father." (George is still walking, still trying to stay out of camera range.) Some students stand up when the singing stops and the instrumental music begins. The teacher prompts,

"Still crawling." The students get back down on the floor and continue to crawl. The teacher reiterates toward the end of the instrumental music, "Crawling! You're a bug."

The fourth verse begins, and the students get up and begin marching or dancing as they sing along. They are not singing very vigorously, and the teacher begins singing with the record; the pupils' singing becomes louder and more confident. This verse is: "This is a story about Sammy,/ His father sent him out to buy bread,/ But Sammy didn't feel like walking,/ He wished he could hop instead,/" (the teacher prompts, "Hop," and students begin hopping in time with the music). They sing along with the refrain: "And he said,/ 'If I was a bunny,/ I would hop to the store,/ Hop to the store,/ Hop to the store,/ If I was a bunny,/ I would hop to the store,/ Hop to the store for my father." The teacher reminds the students to keep hopping during the instrumental music that follows the verse; pupils giggle as they hop, and one says, "Thank you."

The final verse starts, and the teacher and class sing vigorously with it, walking in rhythm with the music, very loosely and easily, and then dancing along: "Then Sammy remembered/ About the loaf of bread,/ And he knew he better move along,/ As he walked,/ He started to smile,/ And he made up a brand new song." The tape ends as the refrain begins to the final verse. (It goes: "I'm glad I'm me/ And I'm walking to the store,/ Walking to the store,/ Walking to the store,/ I'm glad I'm me,/ And I'm walking to the store,/ Walking to the store/ For my father.")

The teacher and students dance through the instrumental music that ends the song, and then the teacher goes to the record player and turns off the record. She tells the students to line up to go out to recess, and they leave for the playground.



A: Teacher starts record; students are distracted by camera and most look confused, though some move to music.
B: Teacher tells class she wants them to dance and sing to record, then turns off record and has class clean up floor.
C: Teacher starts record again; some students move to music immediately but others stand around or look at teacher who urges two students to participate.
D: Teacher starts singing with the record, and the class joins her (first group participation).
E: Teacher walks to record player; class participation falters though students are still singing.
F: Teacher prompts students on how to mime anger; students mime with vigor and respond to next verse appropriately without teacher prompting. (*Teacher disciplines Andrew but the rest of the class don't pay much overt attention to the incident.)
G: Teacher urges class to do second song (their favorite) particularly well, and one student claps. Students sing and do motions called for by each verse (teacher is singing occasionally).
H: Some students begin to dance (in addition to singing, walking and making motions). Teacher exhorts students to do it well, and all are now in sync with music and with each other. Teacher dances also. (*Timing is only approximate, since videotape ends about 1 minute before end of song.)
I: Teacher turns off record player and immediately has class line up to go to recess.

Figure 19. DANCING AND SINGING TO FAMILIAR MUSIC (MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS)

Second episode: Listening to Music in Ms. Beauvoir's First-Grade Room, a Quiet Time

After a thirty-minute recess outside, the children have come in from recess. The teacher returns to the room a few minutes after the children have reassembled, having stayed in the parking area to talk to another adult.

Ms. Beauvoir tells the children, "Let's lay our heads down a few minutes." She puts a record on the record player and tells the students that this is Black History Month and that she found this record at home to share with them. Then she goes back into the hall, and several of the students leave their seats. Ms. Beauvoir comes right back in and tells them, "Sit down! One -- two -- three -- four -- don't dare get to ten. Don't mess up a good day." So far as the observer can tell, Simon is the only student who still has his head down on his desk. Ms. Beauvoir reminds the class to put their heads down, and all of them do (except for Freddie, Maya, Shandra, Lina, Nella, and Marcus). Ms. Beauvoir tells them that the record (a jazz record) is by a famous black musician. The teacher sits at the round table in the front of the room. The students listen quietly. (A few still have their heads down, but most raised them quickly.) A girl from another classroom brings the teacher a large game and leaves the room. Ms. Beauvoir comments that it is "Consonant Bingo -- we had Alphabet Bingo." She tells the students not to play with the game until she has had a chance to check it. She tells some of the students to sit down.

While the students sit and listen, Ms. Beauvoir erases the front chalkboard. Shandra goes to the teacher and quietly tells her something, but Ms. Beauvoir responds, "I don't care." She writes a seatwork exercise on "Consonant Diagraphs" on the chalkboard. Julie gets the teacher's permission to go to the main restroom and leaves the room. The students are beginning to wiggle as they listen to the record. Andrew leaves his seat but sits down again. Freddie is sitting on the floor beside her seat, quietly playing.

A faster piece of music begins, the first selection having been slow (a blues jazz piece). Students are moving in their seats to the music, but they are also chatting with one another, and Ms. Beauvoir tells them they're not listening. Quentin stands up and does a vigorous dance to the music. Then Sam also stands up by his desk and dances. The teacher is writing two more seatwork exercises on the chalkboard.

Several minutes later the teacher asks, "Guys, are you listening?" She stands and moves in time to the music. Many of the students look very surprised and respond, "Ooh!" One of them remarks, "Ms. Beauvoir is moving!" Ms. Beauvoir tells the class, "You act like I'm eighty. I'm not eighty, I'm thirty-two, but you act like I'm eighty." Then she sits at the teacher's desk and talks with the

students while the record continues to play. She asks them, "What's my first name?" When a number of students respond, "Beauvoir," she points out that she has a first name, just like them, but they are not supposed to call her by it. She adds, "Emily knows." (She is referring to Shandra but calls her by a name Shandra never uses in class.) None of the students Ms. Beauvoir calls on is able to tell her what her first name is, so she tells them it's Danielle. She adds, "But don't let me catch you calling me that." Julie comes back into the room and sits down. Ms. Beauvoir tells the students she is proud of her name, "I was named after my daddy."

Ms. Beauvoir tells the class, "Let me run my stencil off right quick for tomorrow morning." Shandra goes to the record player and turns it off. Ms. Beauvoir tells her to turn the record on the other side. Ms. Beauvoir leaves the room. Shandra turns the record over and starts the record player again. About a third of the students leave their seats and dance to the music. As usual, Quentin dances with particular verve. There is a lot of giggling. Simon is still seated and has his head down (the only child whose head is still down). Margie is sitting in her seat reading a book. (She frequently takes the lead in dancing in this classroom, but not today.) Simon tells Quentin he should sit down. Quentin hits Marcus, but the quarrel does not escalate, as both students continue dancing and leave each other alone.

The teacher returns to the room and tells the students fiercely, "Sit down!" She puts an armful of papers down on the supply table and asks what time it is. (It is almost time for the children to go home.) She tells the children to sit down and to keep on listening, she's going to the restroom. She goes into the little bathroom in the rear of the room.

Very quickly Ms. Beauvoir comes out of the little bathroom and says, "I'll let you listen to your new record since you don't like mine." Several students protest that they like her record, but Ms. Beauvoir tells them, "You don't have to make up for it." She tells them they should be frank about what they really do like and what they don't. She says, "Listen and see if you can tell me what it's about." Ms. Beauvoir puts a "Mother Goose" record on the record player, commenting that she got it for them at the library. The first song is, "There was an old woman who lived in a shoe." Ms. Beauvoir lets the first song play through but takes the record off the record player as soon as it is finished, commenting that it is "too slow" for these children. The students have begun to wiggle and talk. Ms. Beauvoir says, "Have a seat, here's your record."

Ms. Beauvoir goes back into the little bathroom as the record starts. It is the children's favorite, and practically all the children leave their seats and dance, a number of the boys making strumming motions. Ms. Beauvoir comes out of the bathroom and tells the students to sit down and listen. They do sit down, though some of them

continue to sing along with the record, softly. There is some giggling.

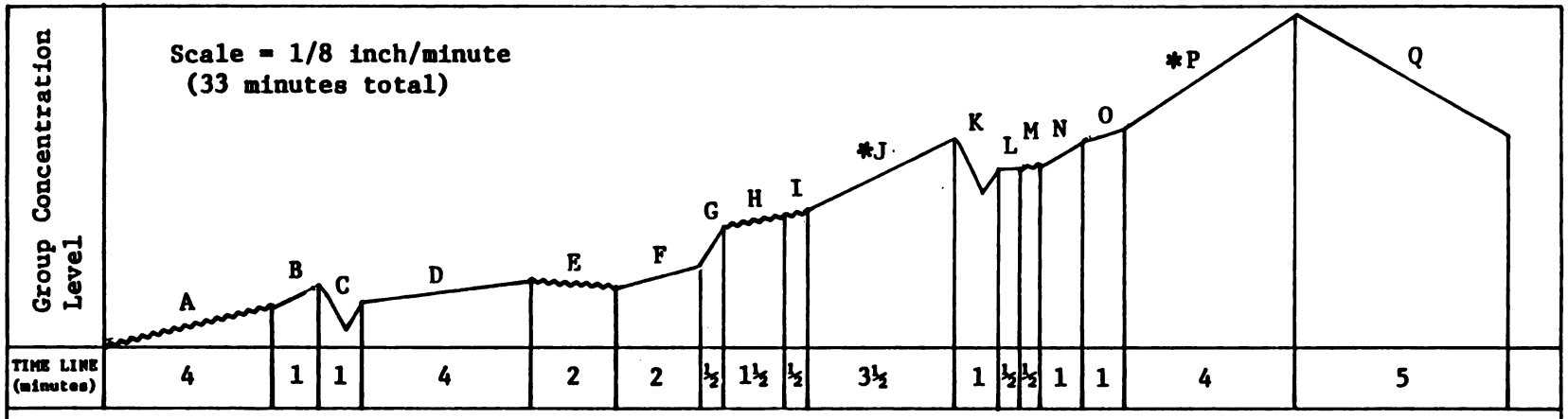
The second song on the record begins: "The Story of Sammy." This is the class favorite, and many of the students sing along. Most of them leave their seats and make the appropriate motions during the refrain to each verse. After the first verse they wave their arms as if they were flying, to accompany the refrain, "If I were a bird, I would fly to the store." Only Richard, Simon, and Margie (who is still reading) remain in their seats.

After the second verse the students stand up and make swimming motions, to accompany, "If I were a fish, I would swim to the store." Marcus is making puckering motions with his lips in time to the music and making a "breast stroke" with his arms, the only child actually to imitate a fish. (The rest are swimming "overhand.")

After the third verse the students crawl around on the floor near their desks, to accompany, "If I were a bug, I would crawl to the store." Quentin has stopped participating; he is now sitting in the rocking chair in one of the reading centers and rocking. Ms. Beauvoir tells Billy to sit down. (The observer did not see whatever Billy had done to misbehave.) The fourth verse starts, and Ms. Beauvoir asks the students to turn on the lights. After the fourth verse the students hop, to accompany the refrain. Billy leaves his seat and hops. Ms. Beauvoir makes Quentin, who is participating again, sit down.

The students strut around the room to the refrain of the fifth and last verse, "I'm glad I'm me and I'm walking to the store, walking to the store, walking to the store; I'm glad I'm me and I'm walking to the store, walking to the store for my father." The song ends, and a number of students ask the teacher to "play that over."

Ms. Beauvoir does not respond to this request but says, "First row, get your things out of the lockers." She then supervises the class as they prepare to leave school for the day. The final song on this side of the record is a "listening" song which calls on the children to touch various parts of their bodies, but none of the children is responding to these directions today. The song serves as background music, and it is still playing when the teacher and children leave the class, six minutes later. The observer turns off the record player.



A: Transition after recess.
B: Teacher tells students to put heads down and rest; puts jazz record on record player and explains Black History Month. (Teacher leaves room briefly and some students leave their desks.)
C: Teacher disciplines children for leaving their seats, gives more information about the record.
D: Children listen quietly to jazz record.
E: Children wiggle and some leave their desks, begin to do other things.
F: A faster song comes on. Students move in their desks and chat. (The teacher, who is not looking at class, tells them they are not listening.)
G: Teacher moves to the music, and children comment on her movement.
H: Teacher sits and chats with students about her name (not about music).
I: Transition (teacher leaves room).
J: Some children leave their seats and dance to record while teacher is out of room. (*There is at least one quiet non-participant, Margie, and one minor fight breaks out among dancers, but the two stop fighting so quickly it suggests deep involvement with dancing.)
K: Teacher comes back, disciplines students for being out of their seats, tells them to listen quietly.
L: Transition, while teacher changes record. (Some students protest their interest in jazz record.)
M: Students wiggle and whisper as they listen to "Mother Goose" record.
N: Teacher puts on "their" record and goes to restroom. Some students leave their desks and dance to the music.
O: Teacher returns, has the students sit down and listen quietly.
P: Students sing along with second song (their favorite) and stand and make the suggested movements. (*Three children remain in their seats, but only one is obviously a non-participant. There are two minor discipline incidents, which all ignore except those directly involved.)
Q: Teacher supervises preparations to go home. Record continues to play even after teacher and students leave the room at the end of this segment.

Figure 20. LISTENING TO MUSIC IN MS. BEAUVOIR'S CLASS, A QUIET TIME

APPENDIX U

CREATIVE WRITING LESSON IN MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS (VIDEOTAPED)

APPENDIX U

CREATIVE WRITING LESSON IN MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS (VIDEOTAPED)

The class is waiting for the building engineer to get the videotape equipment working. (Problems with the equipment have delayed this lesson, and the class has done several other activities since the mathematics contest that was videotaped right after lunch. It is now about 3:00 p.m., and school is over at 3:40.) Ms. Abbott has gone to the side chalkboard, where she has written some directions for the creative writing exercise, and Norman has gone up to her and is whispering in her ear as the videotape camera finally begins to record. When Norman stops whispering, Ms. Abbott responds, "I couldn't understand anything you were saying, but I'm getting a lot of spit in my ear." The class (some of whom are aware that the camera is now working) laughs loudly. Norman starts whispering again, but several pupils interrupt to tell the teacher the camera is working.

Ms. Abbott glances at the camera and asks, "Is it working?" The observer and the building engineer nod, and the building engineer turns the camera over to Ms. Yarrow (aesthetic education resource teacher) and starts to leave the room. Norman bends down to get out of camera range and hurriedly returns to his seat.

Ms. Abbott faces the class and gestures for everybody to look at the chalkboard. She says, "Everybody, turn around this way, please. Put your pencils down, and look at me." (It should be noted that the side chalkboard is seldom used except to record students' names when they have not turned in assigned work, so this is an unsual direction for the class to face during a lesson.)

Ms. Abbott puts both hands in her pockets and looks back and forth between the chalkboard and the class as she gives directions: "All right, I've got three choices this afternoon for a creative writing assignment, so look at them real carefully, and let's talk about them a minute. And then we'll begin. The first one is reincarnation. What would you be? The Egyptians, remember -- we've talked about -- believed in a life after death, a different type of life than we do." (The assignment is correlated with a

social studies unit on Egypt that the class has been studying.) Ms. Abbott continues, "They believed that your soul returns in the form of maybe a bird or a dog or something. So, if you're going to return in that manner, what would you be? And I would like you to develop a story from that idea." The teacher has begun to make large gestures to illustrate what she is saying. She now ticks off points on her fingers as she moves on to the second choice for a creative writing story.

Ms. Abbott continues, "If you don't like that idea, let's look at number two. Apologize for something you're secretly glad you did. All right, now, think of something -- everybody's done something before that they were secretly glad they did, but someone (mom, dad, teacher) forced them to apologize. And all the time you were standing there apologizing, you were going [facial gestures of disgust], 'I really don't believe this.' Have you ever had that happen?" There are murmurs of agreement from some of the students. The teacher summarizes, "Okay, all right, so that's another one -- idea you could work with."

Ms. Abbott faces the board again and reads from it, "All right, number three. Pretend to be an animal. Look at an animal. Look at life from an animal's point of view. All right [the teacher is leaning over the class now and talking very earnestly], in order to do number three, you're going to have to know something about an animal. You'll have to know a little bit about his characteristics, before you can write a story that will be plausible, make sense, something that we would believe." She turns and walks back to the board, where she summarizes, "All right, so, if you're going to do that, if you're going to be the animal, you've got to get inside his body, look at things from the way you think he would. It would be different looking at life from a grasshopper's standpoint [she makes a ticking off gesture with her hands and points downward] than it would be looking from a giraffe's, right? You're not going to see things the same way as a grasshopper [ticking off gesture] or a giraffe. Now you may choose any animal you like. You could even -- it could be an insect or an animal, so that'll give you a little better range."

She faces the class and summarizes, again making the ticking off gesture with each point, "All right, you've got three choices. Reincarnation: what would you be? Number two, apologize for something you're secretly glad you did. And, number three, pretend to be an animal."

Ms. Abbott begins to walk across the room toward her desk, continuing to give instructions as she walks, "All right. As you write your creative writing, I want you to write it and punctuate it and spell it correctly, and then you won't have to rewrite. Will you do that?" Students make agreeing noises. The teacher continues, "All right, let's get busy. If you need me, come back to my desk. If you need

help on spelling, if you need help with an idea. Take your time, sit and think of it a few minutes before you collect your ideas and begin. Okay? Let's get busy."

She starts to walk briskly toward her desk but is immediately interrupted by students calling for her attention. Ms. Abbott stops and asks, "What?" She calls on Cassandra, who had been calling on her most vociferously. Cassandra asks if they should copy the question from the board and make it the title of the story. Ms. Abbott replies, "You don't have to write the question. You can make a title for your story. You don't have to use the question as your title, no." Then she calls on Shondra, who says something so softly the observer cannot hear it. The teacher asks Shondra if she has a question, and, when Shondra says no, Ms. Abbott elaborates on her instructions, "All right, you might need to study those three ideas just a minute. You may need to come to my desk and ask me some questions." She calls on Cassandra a second time and then responds to her second question, "Could you come back as a house pet?" She tells Cassandra, "Yes," and elaborates when a student asks her to, "Could you come back as a house pet? [Yes], because the Egyptians had pets."

Steven gets up and thoughtfully sharpens a pencil as the teacher walks slowly to her desk, watching the students as they start to work. She stops and consults briefly with Dave and then goes to her desk and sits at it. Cassandra calls out another question, and Ms. Abbott tells her no. Harry and Mary appear to be writing already, while the other students sit and appear to be thinking. Eric gets up and sharpens a pencil. As soon as the teacher sits at her desk several students get up and come to ask her questions. A line of students quickly forms at the desk, and Ms. Abbott is busy responding to student questions for most of the rest of the period. (Knowing that the researcher is interested in these questions she responds a little bit more loudly than usual; this is usually a very private process. A few of the responses are audible on the videotape.) All the students start writing, at irregular intervals.

Keeping a prior promise to the teacher (who had asked him to write in the bright orange classroom bathtub in order to get a visual record of the way the bathtub is used), Chun climbs into the bathtub and begins to write. (This is an unusual though perfectly acceptable use of the bathtub, which students usually read in, and Chun does not look particularly comfortable. There is not a good view of the bathtub on the videotape monitor, as Marsha is sitting in front of it, blocking the view of Chun. Much later in the lesson the teacher realizes that the researcher is not getting the visual record of the bathtub and asks Marsha to finish her story in another seat.)

The teacher can be heard explaining to a student (who is not visible on the tape), "See, when we talk about reincarnation, you're not talking about like you and me. Only kings and queens [inaudible]. So, if you're going to be reincarnated, you came back -- your soul is going to come back in the form, usually, they believed, of an animal. So you need to think about it a little more. I think you don't have your thoughts straight. Okay?" (The student, now visible, turns out to be Tonya. She nods and returns to her desk.) The teacher asks if Kevia or Carolyn is next and then consults with Kevia. They talk inaudibly, and the teacher summarizes, "You can, you don't have to." Kevia leaves, and the teacher consults with Carolyn. She responds to Carolyn's inaudible question, "Your soul is in the body of someone else?" Carolyn nods, and she and the teacher continue the conversation (inaudibly to the camera). The teacher continues answering questions, talking with Larry after she finishes consulting with Carolyn. She tells him, "Right, you're going to have to develop this story from that idea." He leaves, and the teacher calls after him, "Do you understand?" He says, "Yes'm." Teacher: "Okay." She then consults with Shondra and then with Cassandra. (The teacher can be heard responding to Cassandra, "Fine, that'll work.")

Norman goes to the teacher with a question, and she tells him, "Get your history book out and I'll help you find it." (Later, when viewing the videotape, she explained that Norman remembered how important the agora was to Greek life, from a social studies unit they had just finished on ancient Greece, and wanted to know the ancient Egyptian word for "marketplace" so that he could write a story set in an Egyptian marketplace. She explained that they were not able to locate the appropriate word, so she advised him to use the more modern word from the same part of the world, "bazaar.") Norman returns to his desk and gets out his history book, and the teacher helps him look through it. Ms. Abbott is turning the pages for Norman, and she stops at one page, which the two of them look through thoroughly. Norman is mouthing words but not saying them aloud. The teacher points to something on the page and tells Norman very softly, "All right, you can just use the regular [inaudible -- presumably "word, bazaar"]. See?" Norman: "Yes, maam." The teacher says, "Okay," and returns to her desk, while Norman keeps the history book on his desk and continues to refer to it occasionally as he writes.

Kim (who is not expected to do creative writing because of his poor command of English) has a book out (which the teacher later identifies as his Korean-English dictionary). He is writing intently, looking back at the side chalkboard from time to time (and the teacher, when she viewed the videotape later, surmised that he was copying the questions off the board in order to study the vocabulary).

All the students have begun to write now, although a few still look tense and unhappy (as if they are not satisfied with their

ideas). Both Stacy and Dave look rather unhappy as they write. Ed is sitting and looking thoughtful more than he is writing. Emiko is paging through a book at her desk, and Kevia is erasing. Marsha is writing steadily, bending so low over her desk that it is hard to see how she can see the paper adequately. Kim stops copying from the board and starts writing steadily at his desk.

The teacher is now consulting with Eric at her desk. She tells him, "You see what I'm saying? All right, just scratch it out." (She makes a scratching gesture.) She continues, "You can use the same sheet of paper. Don't worry, just develop it from there. Start here, all right?" As Eric turns to go back to his seat, the teacher asks him if he understands, and he nods and makes affirmative noises. She says, "All right." Eric returns to his desk and starts scratching through about half a page of writing before he goes back to writing again.

(The bathtub is now visible, Marsha having moved, and it is apparent that Chun is writing steadily, glancing up at the questions on the chalkboard from time to time as he writes. He continues writing steadily until the teacher calls a halt to the lesson.)

The teacher is now consulting quietly with Stacy, who still looks upset. Ms. Abbott has her arm around Stacy as she talks to her. Ms. Abbott then walks toward the front of the room and meets Ed, who is coming back to her desk to ask her a question. She consults with Ed, both hands on his shoulders. His question is brief, the teacher replies, Ed nods and listens. When the teacher finishes he lowers his head and grins, and the teacher laughs with him. She says, "Okay?" and taps him on the shoulder as she walks back to her desk. Stacy is erasing what she had written.

The principal and a substitute teacher enter the room. None of the students pay any attention to their arrival, except for Ed, who glances briefly at them and then continues to write. The principal and teacher stand in the doorway, looking around (at a rather unusual classroom scene), and then the substitute teacher goes to the teacher's desk, while the principal walks over to the orange bathtub and looks on as Chun writes. Chun ignores the principal until the principal asks him a question, and then they talk briefly. (Chun interrupts his writing only long enough to respond politely to the principal's question.)

The principal goes to the teacher's desk, and he and the substitute can be heard whispering with the teacher (presumably whispering to avoid disturbing the lesson). All the students appear to be deeply engaged with their writing now and unaware of both the principal and the camera. The principal can be heard once remarking, "We may buy one of these machines next year." The teacher continues an earnest conversation with the principal and the substitute teacher. (The students have stopped lining up for advice from the teacher by now.)

About fifteen minutes after giving instructions (and eleven minutes after the students started to write), the teacher announces, "Okay, let's stop, we don't have enough time to finish. We'll have to keep working. Right now we'll stop and put it in our notebooks, because we've got to call time." A student asks if they can't go on and finish, and Ms. Abbott responds, "Yeah, we'll finish Monday morning." (Chun is getting out of the bathtub now and returning to his desk.) Students continue to question the teacher and one another about finishing the story, and the teacher suggests, "You can do them on at home, if you would like to, if you've got an idea that you feel good about and you really can develop." Students discuss how they feel about their ideas, and one of the boys announces proudly, "I got a whole page." Ms. Abbott says, in response to further student inquiries, "Well, I mean, something you feel good about and don't want to stop and you're afraid it'll get cold by tomorrow, then you can take it home, and that would be great." Students respond quietly to this idea.

Students line up to consult with Ms. Abbott, who talks with Allina and then tells her, "That'll be fine, and then, if you'd rather, if you're having a hard time developing an idea [Allina nods her head vigorously], and it's not coming across easy enough for you, all right, then you may wait until Monday if you like." Students go about a variety of tasks, and Dave is still looking rather unhappy about his story.

Stacy is the next student in line to consult with the teacher. She asks her, "What about that note you sent out?" Ms. Abbott responds, "That letter I sent out last Fabulous Friday? I took them up this morning. Do you have yours? You were probably in the bookstore." (Stacy works in the school bookstore during the morning exercises.) Stacy takes a paper from her notebook and gives it to the teacher.

Larry consults with the teacher, and she responds so that the whole class can hear, "Yeah, if we're taking our creative writing home, we need to take our notebooks home. Sure do." Larry waits, and the teacher hands him a paper, commenting, "Good." He smiles as he returns to his desk.

Ms. Abbott consults with Harry and tells him, "About a page, or it could be a couple of pages." Harry goes back to his seat, and the teacher looks at a book on "Multiplication and Division," which Maya shows her. Maya takes the book back, after a brief conversation with the teacher, and goes back to her seat. Ms. Abbott walks to Stacy's desk and begins talking with Stacy. Most of the students are out of their seats now, chatting quietly, but some are still writing. Norman goes to consult with the teacher about the story he is writing. She reads his story, smiles, and puts her hand on his shoulder as she tells him, "This is going to be <u>great</u>. That is wonderful, Norman. This is really a good start. That sounds grand. I'm proud of you, Norman, you've really got a handle on that."

Stacy comes to the teacher again to consult, and the teacher tells her, "You can." Brian is waiting to talk to Ms. Abbott, and she consults with him. She responds to what he says, "Brian, who did? Who tore it up?" Brian explains (presumably about something he is supposed to turn in but is unable to turn in). Ms. Abbott, looking somewhat unhappy with Brian, tells him, "Uh-huh, uh-huh, let me have it, let me have it. I took them up. You might not have been there." Brian leaves and Ms. Abbott turns to Shontelle, who is waiting. She reads Shontelle's story, smiling, and then tells her, "Okay, now, it's not reincarnation that, you're reincarnated as." Shontelle responds, and Ms. Abbott continues, "Do you see what I'm saying? This makes it sound as though this is the way you started out, but you didn't, you started out as a [inaudible], right? Okay." Shontelle takes her paper and returns to her seat.

Steven brings the teacher his paper, and she reads it, smiling. She asks, "They had a what?" He explains, while the teacher watches him with a puzzled frown. He shrugs. She responds, "Well, spell it as best you can, and then, when we correct them and rewrite, that'll be fine. Just spell it phonetically, and then we'll go back and rewrite when I correct them."

Mary shows Ms. Abbott her story, and the teacher discusses it with her. Larry is waiting to talk to Ms. Abbott. Ms. Abbott reads Mary's story with concentration and then tells Mary, "Good. This is good. Your idea is number three, right? Good." Mary returns to her seat. There are at least three or four students waiting to talk to Ms. Abbott now. Ms. Abbott reads Larry's story and then gives it back to him, saying, "That's cute." Then she consults with Tonya, who asks a long, earnest question. Ms. Abbott tells her, "Yes, if you want to develop it that way. That'll be different from anyone else's I've heard." Tonya says, "Okay," takes her paper, and returns to her seat.

Cassandra is waiting to consult with the teacher. Ms. Abbott reads Cassandra's story, asking her, "You didn't feel good about that?" She points out, "This is the wrong [spelling] here. 'Through' -- R-O-U-G-H. Okay, that's all right." She makes a few more comments about the paper and hands it back to Cassandra. Ms. Abbott turns to Carolyn, who is next in line. Carolyn stands with a very anxious look on her face while Ms. Abbott reads her story. Ms. Abbott laughs at the conclusion of Carolyn's story and hands it back to Carolyn with a smile. Carolyn looks very much relieved as she takes the story and leaves.

Dave brings his story for Ms. Abbott to read. She reads it intently and then tells him, "Good. Real good." He takes the paper and leaves (still looking a little worried). Harry shows Ms. Abbott his story and stands fidgeting while she reads it (smiling and then reading very intently). Ms. Abbott tells Harry, "All right, here's where you need to put some work in. You need to develop this idea

more, because you're repeating the same thing up here a couple of times [Harry looks at the paper as the teacher points to what she is talking about], two or three times in the same way, and it's not important. All right, this is a good idea, but right down here you can develop it, add on more of the things that you can do, you see?" Harry nods and says, "Yes, maam." He takes the paper and walks back to his desk, looking discouraged.

Ms. Abbott consults with Kevia, who holds an animated conversation with her about her paper. Then she reads Allina's paper, which apparently Allina has rewritten since she last consulted with the teacher. Ms. Abbott gives Allina back the paper, reminding her again, "All right, I've been reincarnated as." Allina nods and says, "All right." The teacher tells her, "It makes them sound as if this is what you were. You're reincarnated as Allina." (Allina laughs.) Ms. Abbott adds, "That's not what you mean, is it?" Allina says no. Ms. Abbott continues reading Allina's paper, nodding occasionally. She nods and returns the paper to Allina, who leaves smiling.

Chun comes and shows Ms. Abbott his paper. He smiles and looks expectant as she reads it. Tonya calls to the teacher from her desk and consults with her about something they are trying to arrange (it is not clear from the context what they are discussing). Ms. Abbott returns to reading Chun's paper with concentration. Students can be heard discussing their stories, and one brags, "I'm going to do mine this weekend." The teacher talks to Chun about his paper and gives it back to him; he takes it with an animated gesture and strides back to his desk.

The teacher announces to the class: "All right, let's be sure our desks are clean, ready to go home. All books are in the desk, nothing is left on the floor, notebooks in our seat. All desks are straight." Several students begin cleaning their desks, and the teacher adds, "Please."

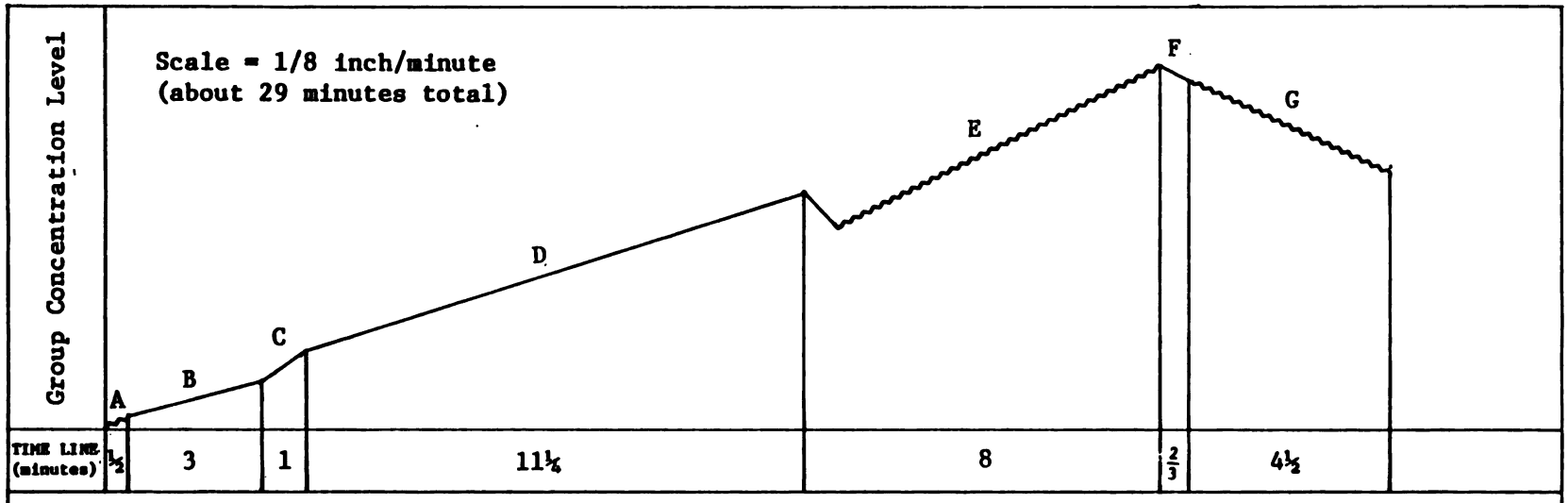
The chaos typical of this classroom at the end of every school day begins. All the students clean their desks, and then they mill around getting ready to go home. The teacher announces, "Boys, get your things from the back, please -- if you have anything to go home." The boys go excitedly to the coat racks at the rear of the room and get bookbags and other gear. Tonya asks the teacher, "Do we have to take our backpacks?" Ms. Abbott responds, "No you may leave them here, if you like, over the weekend." Ms. Abbott asks Brian about the letter from his mother that he'd told her he had, and he says he can't find it. She asks him to get Tonya to help him look for it. (Ms. Abbott had appointed Tonya, who sits just in front of Brian, to "look after" him and make sure he had everything he needed to do his work.)

Ms. Abbott tells the girls to get their things from the back, and they go to the coatracks, talking animatedly among themselves. Kevia takes her creative writing story to the teacher again, and Ms. Abbott can be heard off camera assuring Kevia, "Good, that's going to be good, Kevia!"

Ms. Abbott tells the class that bus riders may leave, but if they find out that their bus has not yet been called, they are to "stand out of the way" of the principal. (Normally bus riders must wait in the room until their bus is called on the intercom; sometimes they must wait until well after the formal closing of school, when buses are late. Today Ms. Abbott arranged with the office not to have any intercom announcements in her room, so the videotaping would be undisturbed.) The bus riders leave, and Ms. Abbott stands in the door (as she often does at this juncture) telling them as they leave to "have a happy weekend."

Ms. Abbott then becomes involved in many student conversations primarily about practical arrangements that need to be made or anecdotes students come to tell her. At one point she stands in the door and announces, "All you people who brought back what I asked your mothers to send today, and your mothers signed the note, tell them I appreciate it. I thank them for being so cooperative. They were just super."

Ms. Abbott asks where two of the students are (the two students whose parents had not given permission for them to participate in the videotaping). When a student replies that they are still with the Title I mathematics teacher, in whose room they have spent the afternoon, the observer and Ms. Yarrow hastily turn off the camera and remove their equipment.



A: Transition; class waiting for camera to work; Norman whispering to teacher.
B: Teacher calls class to order and introduces writing assignment (good student attention for duration of explanation of complex assignment).
C: Teacher tells class to get busy and she'll be available for questions. Group interrupts her with "group" questions before starting to work individually.
D: Teacher goes to her desk, and the students work individually on the writing assignment. Line of students forms at teacher's desk to consult with teacher about their writing; she is answering students' questions for most of this time. All students steadily engrossed in writing by the end of this segment. (Principal and substitute teacher come in, observe, talk with teacher, but students pay no attention.)
E: Teacher calls a halt (for lack of time) and gives directions for continuing the activity later. Divided attention pattern as at least half the class continues to work in some way on the writing assignment. Long line of students forms to consult with teacher, and more than half the questions are about writing.
F: Teacher organizes the class to leave for day.
G: Usual end-of-day chaos as students prepare to leave and leave in small groups.

Figure 21. CREATIVE WRITING LESSON (MS. ABBOTT'S CLASS)

APPENDIX V

A VERY SPECIAL MORNING IN MS. FELLOWS' "OPEN" CLASSROOM

APPENDIX V

A VERY SPECIAL MORNING IN MS. FELLOWS' "OPEN" CLASSROOM

The teacher, Ms. Fellows, greets the observer and then confers with another teacher who comes into the room. The day's work has not formally begun with the daily "circle," and students are milling around, some in the room and some still in the halls or restrooms. The teacher tells the observer that the students are excited about the homemade ice cream they made yesterday for sale and are planning to make again today to sell to the parents who will come to see the class play, which is to be given twice this morning. The other teacher has left the room by now.

Ms. Fellows tells the students it is time to "sit in our classroom circle and begin." Students unstack chairs from a pile and arrange them in a circle in the middle of the large room. Ms. Fellows supervises the students in setting up the circle and invites the observer to join them in the circle. The observer declines and sits on top of a nearby table. Theo is also sitting on top of the table, and later he participates in most circle activities at a minimal level. (The observer later notes that Theo and Keith seem to be most comfortable with the relative anarchy of this classroom. Both Theo and Keith are self directed and, more than the rest of the class, ignore what the other children are doing, while engaging in activities which interest them and can be done without a group.) The final two students come into the room and join the circle.

Ms. Fellows tells the group, "We have a lot to talk about today and a lot to do today." She thanks the students for bringing in the ingredients for the ice cream and says she will "let Maria and Eleanor get with me and mix the ice cream." She adds, "We need David and Robert to stand at the door" and man the ice cream booth at the front door. One of the two boys asks, "While the play is going on?" Ms. Fellows says no, before the play. She asks the boys if they can work up a <u>dignified</u> sales pitch for the ice cream -- "You're always selling, Robert." One of the boys asks if it is all right if their parents buy them some ice cream. Ms. Fellows says that will be okay, but they are doubling the price for the parents, since they barely broke even yesterday -- even with the parents

supplying the ingredients. (As a fundraising project the class made the ice cream yesterday to sell to their schoolmates and themselves. The fundraising is necessary because Roseglade Magnet does not receive extra funding from the school board for the "enriched" academic program.) Ms. Fellows says that the price for the parents is going to be forty cents a cup. Students whistle and discuss the price change. Most feel that the forty cent price is too high. Ms. Fellows tells Harold that the price is still twenty cents for students, it's only forty cents for the parents. Harold says he thinks they ought to give the parents more ice cream if they are going to charge that much, and the teacher agrees that they may "pack it" more than they did yesterday and fill up the cups.

Then Ms. Fellows says she needs the students to volunteer for jobs this morning before the play and that, by 9:10, they need to be in the cafetorium so they can "run through" the play one last time. She says they need to get dressed in their costumes, make signs, and fold and decorate the printed programs for the play. She points out that the messages for the signs are on the front chalkboard and that there is white paper for the signs in the "cooking center," where they can make the signs. She asks the students to "think about" a job to do, one that will be "attractive" to them. Students raise their hands. Ms. Fellows answers the question Theo asks by saying they can decide which job to do later on. She describes the signs that will be needed in more detail.

Ms. Fellows points to the table where the observer and Theo are sitting and says, "Over here are the programs. They've been typed to be passed out." A student comments, "We need to fold them." Ms. Fellows says she will take twenty-five programs "to save for you all as a memento" of the play, and then she needs twenty-five more "folded in front and decorated -- any way you want to." She suggests that part of the decoration be the name of the play, since all that is typed is the names of the children and the parts they play. Students are raising their hands again, and the teacher tells them to put their hands down, "You're free to choose whatever you want."

Then Ms. Fellows points to what looks like a reading center and says that "over here is the makeup center." One of the girls asks if they have to make up, and Ms. Fellows says, "Yeah." She asks how many brought Egyptian costumes for the play today, and about half raise their hands. She responds, "Good." She adds that they will need banners, that they have some banners ("from the funeral procession," part of a recent school celebration with an Egyptian theme) but they'll need to renovate them. "And we'll need two people in Egyptian costumes...." Students raise their hands again, and Ms. Fellows chooses James and Jemison to "stand at the doorway" with the banners crossed and to uncross them as they let each class of children into the cafetorium. Ms. Fellows asks Isabel and Estelle to stand at the other door with banners "and do the same thing." She

suggests, "It would be a good idea for you four to choose the job with the banners."

Ms. Fellows asks if the students have any questions. One of the girls raises her hand, Ms. Fellows calls on her, and the girl asks about something the class is supposed to do for another teacher. Ms. Fellows responds, "We'll let others worry about us today, this is our special day." The students in the circle clap. Other students ask questions about the plans for the day, and Ms. Fellows answers their questions. The last student she calls on is Theo, and he responds that he is speaking for himself "and maybe for the rest of the class" and that he will try to do his best. (His demeanor is almost apologetic.)

Mrs. Fellows says, "I'm glad you brought that up, I'll do my pep talk now." The students react, mostly by acting as if they were at a sports event, cheering, etc. Ms. Fellows tells the class, "I'm sure you'll do a good job if you don't act silly." She elaborates on this theme, and while she is doing so a small girl comes into the room, gets something, and leaves. Ms. Fellows begins coaching the students individually on acting problems they had during the rehearsals. For instance, she tells Benjamin, who has the lead role of the Pharoah, "Remember, your part is supposed to be funny, remember to pause," and let the audience laugh. She adds that Tom, who is playing the other lead, a dragon, should remember "the same thing." She continues coaching the students, reminding them to speak up and "face the audience." She emphasizes: "One important thing to remember -- if you make a mistake, don't stop, go on, don't make a big deal of it" and the other students will try to cover up the mistake, so the audience may never even realize there was a slip up.

A girl from another class comes in and hands Ms. Fellows a piece of paper, but the teacher ignores her and continues the "pep talk:" "I'll get mad at you not for making a mistake but for being a baby about it" if you let it throw you. Ms. Fellows then confers with the girl, asking her if the note is from her teacher. The members of the class remain seated in the circle, talking among themselves. The girl leaves the room, and Ms. Fellows gives directions, "You may decide which table to work at and start putting your costume on if you have it."

Students get up and move around the room, many of them going to the lockers for their costumes. Theo immediately puts on an Arab headdress and announces proudly, "I'm finished." While the students are getting dressed, the teacher and the observer chat, and the students move in and out of the room freely (most of them presumably going to the restroom to change into their costumes). Six boys are dressing in the classroom, including Benjamin, whose costume as Pharoah seems to consist of stuffing wadded up cloth under his T-shirt to give him a large false belly. Ms. Fellows leaves the room and returns as Benjamin is examining his completed costume. The boys are giggling

over Benjamin's costume because the flowers on the printed material he has stuffed under his shirt show through the T-shirt. Tom (who is playing the dragon) is studying the "Brain Power" bulletin board and has not begun to get into his costume. Ms. Fellows chides him, "Tom! Surely you don't want to work today!"

The observer tries to assist James, who is the only student who has started on one of the jobs the teacher had described. He is trying to make a banner according to Ms. Fellows' instructions and is having a hard time. Not knowing the classroom and not really understanding the teacher's instructions, the observer is not much help and quickly gives up the effort. Another boy -- not Jemison -- joins James, and the two struggle with the task. Another teacher has come into the room, and Ms. Fellows goes to talk with her. Ms. Fellows tells the other teacher that the first performance will be at 9:30. She sends Eleanor to ask the principal "who's coming at 9:30 and who at 10:00?"

Keith is putting the finishing touches on his costume as an ancient Egyptian palace guard. (To the observer's relatively untutored eye, his is the only costume in the room which seems reasonably authentic. Most of the boys are getting dressed in some version of modern Arab clothing. Most of the girls are wrapping themselves in sheets, toga-fashion. One girl's only concession to a costume is an elaborate "peasant" blouse over her shorts. As later becomes apparent, the dragon costume is both elaborate and appropriate. The costume of the Pharoah, by contrast, is only a large false belly and a cardboard crown to signify royalty.) As Keith finishes putting his costume together, he explains to the observer a "minicourse" in which he is enrolled. ("Minicourses" are one of the distinctive features of the curriculum at Roseglade Magnet School.) He tells her that the students in his "minicourse" are also putting on a play soon. He says that, for the other play, he has to "change to a suit" and that in the class play they are going to "sing songs and everything." The observer and Keith continue to discuss his "minicourse," while the rest of the students continue moving in and out of the room and around the room, some still changing into costumes while others have started on the jobs Ms. Fellows had asked them to do. Ms. Fellows leaves the room.

About half the students are in the room now. The two boys are still struggling valiantly with the job of making new banners from crepe paper and bamboo poles. Gloria and Maria come in and tell Ms. Fellows, "We're ready to make signs." Ms. Fellows comes in from the hall, takes the two girls to the "cooking center," and tells them, "People who're making signs, over here." The other girls, fully costumed, are returning to the room and conferring with Ms. Fellows as they come in. Keith is still trying to find a safety pin to complete his guard's costume. The two boys are still working on banners. Ms. Fellows asks Kellie to help make ice cream. The teacher and several girls move to the table in the rear of the room where the ice cream freezer is set up.

Four boys come into the room rather boisterously, and Ms. Fellows (who is helping several girls mix the ingredients for the ice cream) tells them, "One moment, Jemison, James, Richard, and David, you need to enter again, properly." They leave the room and come back in. Eleanor offers to help Ms. Fellows mix the ice cream. One of the boys who just came in is helping with the banners now, and the work seems to be going a little more smoothly. Several boys are folding programs, prior to making designs on the outside covers, near where the observer is sitting.

The school secretary makes an intercom announcement, asking Ms. Fellows to "send Cynthia to the office, please." Ms. Fellows asks the girls where Cynthia is, and they say, "In the bathroom." Ms. Fellows asks the girls to "go find her." Two of the girls leave the room. The secretary makes another intercom announcement, asking some "young man" to take "the T-shirts" to another classroom.

There are three boys at the table near where the observer is sitting, including Benjamin and Keith. Only one of the boys is folding programs; the other two are chatting socially. The boy who just started working on the banners a few moments ago has recruited a friend to help him: these are James and Jemison, the two boys Ms. Fellows had asked to work on the banners. The other two boys who had been working on the banners earlier are off doing something else now.

A woman comes into the room and tells Ms. Fellows there is another telephone call for Cynthia. She asks, "Do you know where she is?" Students tell the woman that Cynthia is in the bathroom, getting into her costume. The woman says, "Okay," and leaves. Ms. Fellows urges the students, "Please don't be walking around; find something to do." Another boy volunteers to help fold programs and joins the three boys at the table. Ms. Fellows asks Tom to work on the signs because he draws so well. Keith never has found a safety pin, but he has found a stapler and is stapling his costume together. Two girls -- one of them Jill, the female lead in the play -- have been at the makeup center a long time, the only children to use it so far. They are making each other up. Eleanor comes into the room and brings a large bag of ice to Ms. Fellows, who is still mixing ice cream.

Ms. Fellows tells the class, "All right, you have ten minutes. Those signs need to be large." She leaves the room. One of the girls asks if anyone has a safety pin. Keith comments that "everyone" needs a pin; he says that stapling didn't work. Another teacher comes in and asks the students to tell Ms. Fellows she's taking some masking tape. There are now three girls in the makeup center making each other up. A girl comes in and tells Jill that someone wants her. Jill leaves the makeup center but returns to the room very quickly and returns to the makeup center. Ms. Fellows and most of the students have left the room now. Students are still coming into and going out of the room at a great rate.

Benjamin, who is folding programs now with several other boys, comments, "I wonder why this class is always doing something at the last minute -- first the ice cream and now this." His tone is annoyed. Keith, who is also folding programs now, comments that he is "just going to waste time." Another of the boys comments that he wishes they had a machine to fold the programs and print the title of the play on the outside.

Ms. Fellows and some of the girls come back into the room. The teacher supervises the two boys making banners and mending the old ones and tells them, "We need one more." She then goes to check on the signmaking and tells the students who are working on signs, "Great, real good." There is an intercom announcement, but the noise level is so high that it cannot be heard. Students ask each other what was said. Ms. Fellows suggests to Christine, "I have a sheet for anyone who forgot to bring a costume. Do you want to wear it?" Ms. Fellows gives the sheet to Christine, and Eleanor helps Christine drape herself in the sheet. Ms. Fellows asks Christine if she did the "Special Guest" sign herself, and Christine nods that she did. Ms. Fellows thanks her.

Ms. Fellows calls James over to her for instructions on what to do about the banners. Then she gives James a large sign and sends him out of the room with instructions on how and where to put it up. He leaves the room. Ms. Fellows announces, "I need one -- no, two -- responsible people to pass out programs." Two girls in Egyptian costumes volunteer, and the teacher gives them instructions. It is 9:08. Ms. Fellows announces, "In five minutes we go to practice." Three girls are trying to fold a large blue sheet. The teacher passes them and tells them, "That's good." Eleanor drapes Estelle in the blue sheet, worn toga-style. Ms. Fellows confers with Christine and then leaves the room with her, Christine carrying a tray full of paper cups and plastic spoons (for the ice cream). Ms. Fellows comes right back into the room and calls Cynthia and gives her instructions about the banners. Theo and Cynthia are working on the banners now, directly in front of the door, blocking egress and ingress. Ms. Fellows is in the hall.

Ms. Fellows comes into the room at 9:11 and tells the class they have three minutes. A student asks, "Before practice?" The teacher responds, "Before we leave, uh-huh." Students ask Ms. Fellows where the ice cream is, and she replies, "Being made." (It is later apparent that the ice cream making operation has been moved to the Volunteer Office, near the school's front door where the parents will be entering.) Ms. Fellows tells Kevin, "Good. Where's your sign, 'Wanted -- One Royal Cook'?" She tells him to stick a two-way label to the back of his sign and shows him that it will be ready to hang when "you pull this off." The teacher goes to the "cooking center" and gets all the signs. Then she asks, "Is there anyone who doesn't have a costume on?" She asks Theo where his costume is, and another student remarks that he doesn't have one. Ms. Fellows goes to the

table where the boys have been folding and decorating programs and asks the students, "Who did I say is passing out the programs?" The students respond, "Vinson and Charlotte." Then Ms. Fellows goes to the makeup center and gives directions for winding up there.

At 9:15 Ms. Fellows says, "Girls, line up." Students line up quickly in front of the door. Ms. Fellows sends the four students who are going to be wielding the banners first and warns the class, "We may not have time to go over it one time, people." She repeats some of the things she had told them earlier to remember about the play, then says, "Come on, Kevin, everybody." One of the girls is still working on an "Endangered Species" sign as most of the class and the teacher leave the room. There are ten students still in the room. Keith -- now fully costumed -- salutes the observer and remarks, "I didn't know we were supposed to go yet." Theo tells Keith that he'd better "start strutting" -- out to where the rest of the class is. Ms. Fellows comes back into the room, exclaiming, "I know where it is!"

At 9:18 there are still three students in the room. The rest of the class is lined up in the hall, and Ms. Fellows says, "Are we ready? Is anyone left in the room?" The last three students come out and join the line. Tom is now elaborately dressed in a realistic dragon costume: it consists of what looks like green bedroom slippers, green felted pajamas, and a handmade dragon mask and green hood. The dragon's snout is made out of an egg carton, painted green and reversed. Tom is carrying the mask and hood and does not put them on until he is ready to go on stage.

The class comes into the cafetorium at 9:20 and does not have time for a rehearsal, only for a last minute check of the handmade props, putting up signs, and the like. The audience, consisting of all the other classes in the "magnet" part of the school, some of the "regular" classes, and many of the performers' parents, takes a rather long time to assemble.

After a short introduction by Ms. Fellows, the class presents their musical comedy, "Dragon Stew." They do an admirable job (given the developmental limits on acting skills at the sixth-grade level), and the only flaw which is apparent to the observer's eye is the flagrant incongruity in the costumes, with several of the students having such minimal costumes it is not immediately apparent they are costumed, while others have elaborate costumes, more or less appropriate to the setting in ancient Egypt. The audience is highly receptive to the performance, laughing enthusiastically at the jokes and interrupting the performance with applause after every song and at other intervals. The audience applauds enthusiastically for several minutes at the conclusion of the performance, and the cast takes a curtain call.

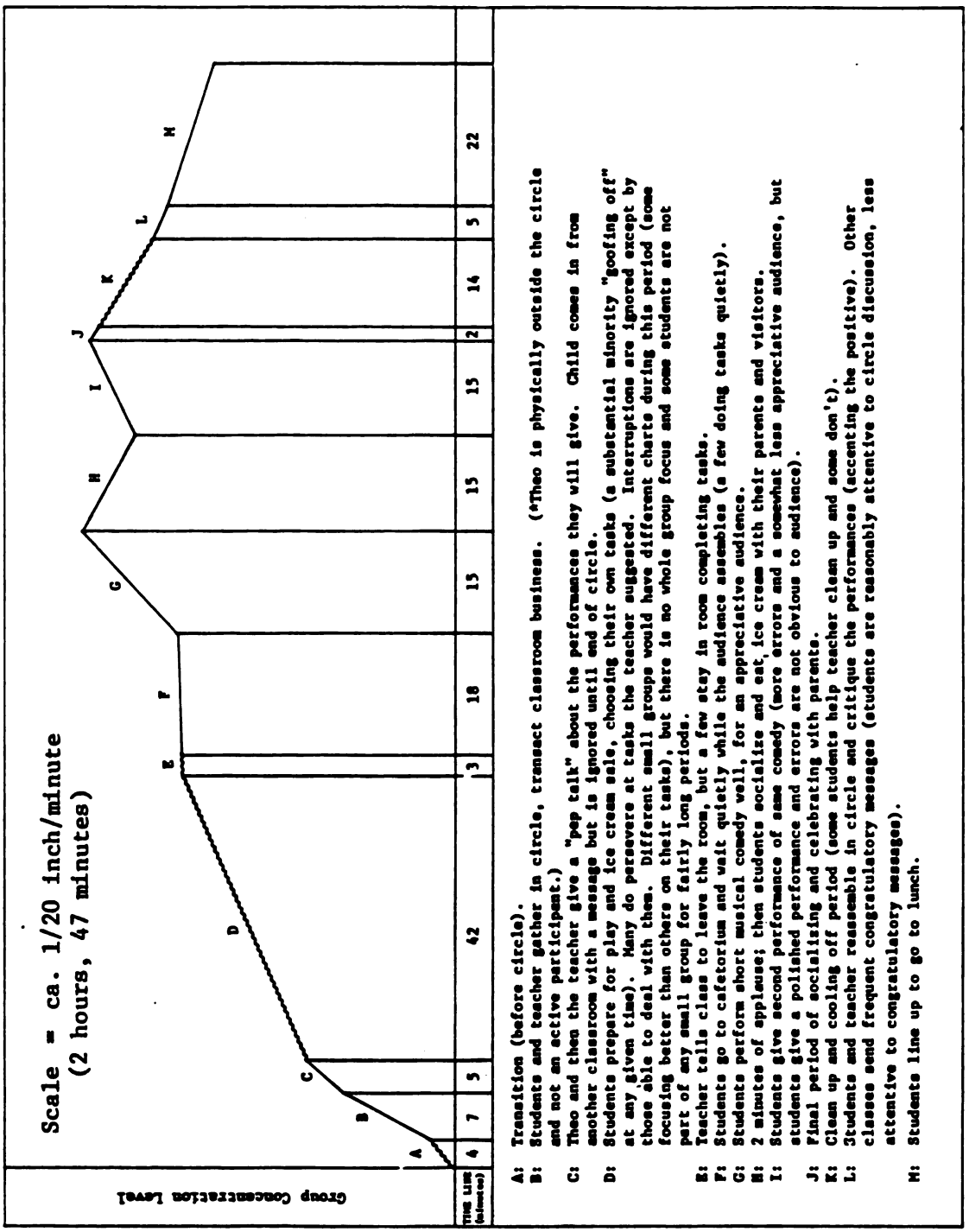
After the performance the students in Ms. Fellows' class socialize with their parents and other visitors, who buy ice cream for

themselves and for the children. Then the class, together with a few of the parents, returns to the cafetorium for a second performance of the play.

The audience for the second performance consists of classes from the "regular" half of the school (and a few parents and visitors, including the principal). It is smaller and less overtly enthusiastic than the first audience, though it seems to be enjoying the play. A number of the students forget or "fluff" their lines during the second performance, so that some of the funniest bits of action are left out, but the performers keep their "cool" and the audience does not seem to be aware of the large number of errors the cast is making.

After the second performance the rest of the morning is spent in activities which appear to be intended to allow the students to "come down to earth" before getting on with everyday activities. After a period of clean up Ms. Fellows directs the students to get back in their circle and has the students critique their own and each other's performances. At Ms. Fellows' suggestion, the critique consists mainly of finding things to congratulate themselves and the other students on, emphasizing the things that went right about the performances. While the students are in the circle, they receive a number of congratulatory messages from other classrooms.

After circle the students proceed to lunch, which is followed by about forty-five minutes of "free play" for all "magnet school" students. After "free play" the students work individually on their regular classroom tasks and meet in two reading groups. They continue receiving occasional congratulatory messages throughout the afternoon.



A: Transition (before circle).
B: Students and teacher gather in circle, transact classroom business. (*Theo is physically outside the circle and not an active participant.)
C: Theo and then the teacher give a "pep talk" about the performances they will give. Child comes in from another classroom with a message but is ignored until end of circle.
D: Students prepare for play and ice cream sale, choosing their own tasks (a substantial minority "goofing off" at any given time). Many do persevere at tasks the teacher suggested. Interruptions are ignored except by those able to deal with them. Different small groups would have different charts during this period (some focusing better than others on their tasks), but there is no whole group focus and some students are not part of any small group for fairly long periods.
E: Teacher tells class to leave the room, but a few stay in room completing tasks.
F: Students go to cafetorium and wait quietly while the audience assembles (a few doing tasks quietly).
G: Students perform short musical comedy well, for an appreciative audience.
H: 2 minutes of applause; then students socialize and eat ice cream with their parents and visitors.
I: Students give second performance of same comedy (more errors and a somewhat less appreciative audience, but students give a polished performance and errors are not obvious to audience).
J: Final period of socializing and celebrating with parents.
K: Clean up and cooling off period (some students help teacher clean up and some don't).
L: Students and teacher reassemble in circle and critique the performances (accenting the positive). Other classes send frequent congratulatory messages (students are reasonably attentive to circle discussion, less attentive to congratulatory messages).
M: Students line up to go to lunch.

Figure 22. A VERY SPECIAL MORNING IN MS. FELLOWS' OPEN CLASSROOM

APPENDIX W

A VISUAL ARTS LESSON IN MS. YOUNGBLOOD'S SIXTH-GRADE CLASS

APPENDIX W

A VISUAL ARTS LESSON IN MS. YOUNGBLOOD'S SIXTH-GRADE CLASS

The class is listening to a musical record about Robin Hood, but few of the children appear to be paying much attention to it, and a number of different activities are in progress. When the record ends, one student -- Ernest -- claps. Ms. Youngblood says, "All right, everybody, get back in your seats."

Ms. Youngblood reminds the class that last week they looked at "shapes" and then stops to help the students darken the room so they can have a slide presentation. She goes to the windows and helps Ernest pull down the very high shades. Then she returns to the slide projector and tells the class, "All right, today we're going to look at movement and balance in pictures." She cautions the students that these are things they have to consider whenever they make the type of picture they are going to work on today after the slide presentation. Then she interrupts the lesson again to discipline two students who are fighting.

After sending the two students to the office and sending Tosha to the office to tell the principal what they had done, Ms. Youngblood shows the first slide and leads a general discussion of the way in which the shapes suggest movement and the way in which shapes in the picture are balanced. (All the slides she shows suggest physical movement in some way.) When Ms. Youngblood shows the second slide, a photograph of a barnyard, students comment that it is "junky." The third slide is "Nude descending a staircase," and Ms. Youngblood asks the students if they can "see" the motion of the figure descending.

Tosha returns to the room as Ms. Youngblood shows the fourth slide. The fifth slide is of a Grecian vase on which figures in motion are depicted. Samuel, one of the students who had been fighting, comes back into the room as the class is discussing the Grecian vase with the teacher. Ms. Youngblood continues showing and discussing slides, admonishing two students not to talk as she shows the seventh slide. The eighth is of a stylized Japanese painting of waves, and the ninth is of the leaning tower of Pisa.

The next slide shows columns and arches receding into the horizon. Ms. Youngblood asks the class what causes a feeling of movement in this picture, and a number of students respond that it is the arches. Ms. Youngblood agrees, "Right, over and over." The next slide is of the Sistene Chapel, and the teacher asks what repetitions the students see in this slide. Students respond that the shapes of the windows and of the animals are repeated, and the teacher agrees.

Ms. Youngblood continues showing slides, concentrating now in her questions on the ways in which the shapes in the pictures balance each other. When she asks if each picture is balanced, about an equal number of students typically answer "yes" and "no." On seeing one of the final slides, students call out that the picture gives an impression of "falling."

The slide presentation and discussion take ten minutes. Afterwards, Ms. Youngblood says she is going to give the students back what they were working on last week. (These are manipulable "shapes" from the CEMREL Shapes packages, deliberately ambiguous in shape so that they can be used to suggest many different types of thing. The project is to create paper collages by pasting the paper "shapes" on background construction paper.) Ms. Youngblood directs the students to "play" with the shapes: "Try balancing them around, place them on the paper and form a picture before gluing them down." She warns, "Everybody doesn't need scissors." She calls each student's name to come up and get what he or she had been working on the week before (a piece of construction paper for background and a set of the manipulable "shapes"). The teacher tells the class that the last students to use the glue may leave the tops off of the glue bottles, "because this is the last time we'll use glue."

Ms. Youngblood circulates among the students as they work, warning Martha not to use so much glue or she'll have it all over her paper. The teacher tells Bernard that the picture he has laid out but not yet glued down -- a representation of a person with a shovel -- is "cute."

Ms. Youngblood leaves the room to go to the office, warning the class that the observer "will stay here." The students continue to work on their "shapes" collages, discussing the classroom fight as they work. Some of the girls say they hope the girl who started the fight will "get it." Only Darron is off-task; he is drawing on the chalkboard. In about five minutes some of the students have begun to take their completed pictures to the teacher's desk and have begun to clean up. Ina has a sharp exchange with Bernard as she turns her picture in. She tells Bernard, "I'm going to tell Ms. Youngblood on you." Martha sponges off her own desk and then sponges off Ina's desk. Both girls had used too much glue.

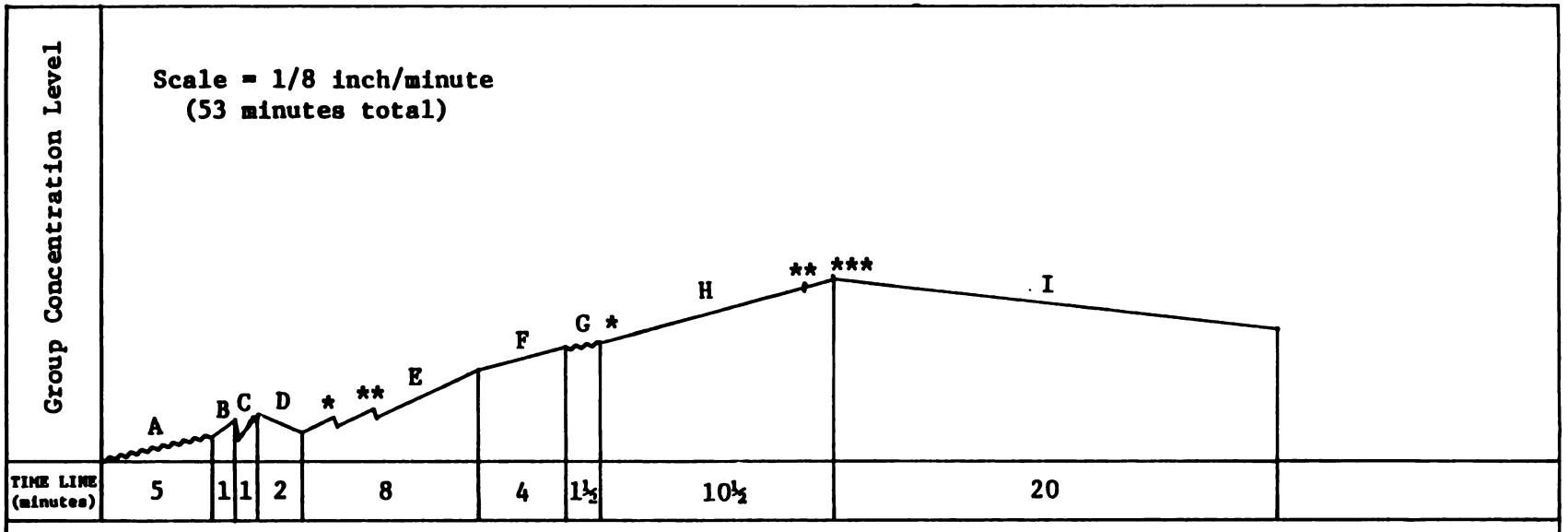
Ms. Youngblood walks quickly back into the room and asks Bernard to help her, "since you're about through." Bernard helps the teacher

put the slide projector away. As he helps, he imitates a robot, and Ms. Youngblood smiles and comments, "That's my robot." She reminds the students to put their names in the upper righthand corners of their pictures.

Bernard leaves the teacher and goes back to his picture. Martha begins wiping all the desks with her sponge. A boy wheels an overhead projector into the room, and Ina takes it and puts it away in the supply closet. Again she fusses at Bernard, who responds by telling her about the picture he has made.

Mike calls to the teacher, "It's time to go to resource, Ms. Youngblood." Another student corrects him, "It's time to go home!" As students continue winding up their artwork and cleaning up, the teacher and the observer discuss the students' use of the CEMREL "shapes" forms, comparing these pictures to the work of the younger children for whom the CEMREL "shapes" packages were developed. They agree that the sixth-graders make more imaginative use of the ambiguous shapes than younger children usually do. Ms. Youngblood describes to the observer the difference in quality between these pictures and some collages she had the students make at the beginning of the year, using the CEMREL "shapes." She is very pleased with their improvement.

Students are moving freely around the room now, obviously preparing to go home very soon.



A: Transition. Students listen to Robin Hood record, talk, do many activities.
B: Teacher announces slide presentation, prepares class for lesson.
C: Teacher stops to help several students draw the shades, then continues lesson.
D: Teacher mediates a classroom fight, sends 2 fighters to office with a third student to explain fight to principal; teacher settles class down.
E: Teacher shows slides and leads whole-class discussion of balance and movement in visual art. (*First fighter returns.) (**Student sent to explain fight returns. Main culprit remains in principal's office.)
F: Teacher explains "shapes" collages students are to make, hands out materials.
G: Transition while teacher prepares to go to office to see principal about fight.
H: Teacher leaves and students work on collages, talking about fight and gossiping. (*One student draws on board instead of working on collage.) (**Teacher returns, has Bernard help her put overhead projector away.) (***Timing of climax only estimated; activity peters out as students finish, teacher continues to give feedback to students still working on collages, has end-of-day interaction with the rest.)

Figure 23. VISUAL ARTS LESSON (MS. YOUNGBLOOD'S CLASS)

APPENDIX X

PARAPHRASES OF 18 RESPONDENTS' COMMENTS ON THEMES ELICITED IN INTERVIEWS

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PARAPHRASES OF 18 RESPONDENTS' COMMENTS ON THEMES ELICITED IN INTERVIEWS

COMMENTS ON FIRST THEME: Importance of perceptual training ("awareness")

A) General

Teachers:	Paraphrases of respondents' comments:
Ms. Carberry	Only one comment: "A lot of children don't listen"
Ms. Lewis	Sees as primary: aesthetic education involves the emotions and the five senses, finding beauty in your life
Ms. Rausch	Sees as primary, because children today are so unaware of their environment; it is innate but has to be developed
Ms. Underhill	Sees as primary: awareness of yourself and of your own relationships to other people and things
Principal:	
Ms. Wilcox	Sees as primary objective: all of the senses involved in the arts; aesthetic education helps children tune in to their senses and promotes total awareness
Junior League Volunteers:	
Ms. Forrest	Emphasizes integration of the arts with life in general, as in appreciating beautiful sunsets; program encourages children to develop all their senses and brings them into one broad focus

	Paraphrases:
Ms. McNeil	Sees as primary: a way of perceiving one's world
Program staff:	
Ms. Raines	Sees as the primary objective of aesthetic education and feels it is the only practical objective when using classroom teachers
Ms. Vinson	Sees as primary: the opposite of anesthetic, aesthetic education wakes you up; works with the senses, looking around for beauty and getting turned on
Ms. Yarrow	Sees as primary: children really being aware of everything; you can teach anything through arts and the senses
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	Sees as the primary objective: appreciation of the beauty in everything, through awareness of elements like color
Local teacher trainer:	
Dr. Thomas	Sees as the primary objective: tuning your perceptions to be aware of your environment
National disseminator:	
Dr. White	Sees as a secondary goal of aesthetic education: seeing the aesthetic qualities in everything, teaching through the arts to the world
THEME:	Importance of perceptual training ("awareness")
	B) Arts-specific
Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Wants children to participate fully in the arts, not just as passive appreciators; notes that the program has made her more reflective about the role of the arts in education; before, she thought the arts were just part of life

Paraphrases:

Ms. Lewis:	The arts are involved; the program has broadened her own scope and sharpened her thinking about the arts

Junior League Volunteer:

Ms. Forrest	Children need exposure to arts events, need to experience being part of an audience and should recognize arts elements, such as colors, the sounds of different orchestra instruments, etc.

Program staff:

Ms. Raines	Aesthetic education is based on the arts though going beyond them
Ms. Yarrow	The arts are a vehicle for "creative teaching"

Local Teacher trainer:

Dr. Thomas	Art forms are the vehicles for tuning the perceptions

National disseminators:

Mr. Tannenbaum	Primary objective: the arts shape affective/cognitive processing of raw sense data; minimal definition of aesthetic education includes perceptual training in arts elements
Dr. White	Sees as primary objective: "Knowing, understanding, feeling" response to arts; aesthetic qualities are distilled and concentrated in the arts so they are more accessible than in the environment

Respondents who voiced theme only after probe:

Ms. Rausch	Aesthetic education and the arts are "virtually the same thing;" the arts develop inborn "appreciative talents"
Mr. Croft	The arts are the necessary vehicle; schools alone do not have the resources and need "push" from program staff to expose students to arts

	Paraphrases:
Mr. Groves	Aesthetic education is based on the art forms
Ms. Wilcox	Arts are important in their own right and are not a frill
Ms. Vinson	Arts are a necessary vehicle and a channel for sensory development
Mr. Bird	The arts are a necessary vehicle for developing appreciation, and it's important to give systematic exposure to the arts from the early grades

COMMENTS ON SECOND THEME: Statement of a range of arts-specific goals

Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Wants children to love the arts and to be familiar with a wider range of art forms than they would meet elsewhere; the arts are as important for children as any other content and she wishes there could be more professional artists as resources for the classroom; has exposed her students to as many resources and performances as possible
Ms. Carberry	The CEMREL packages provide better methods for teaching the arts than teachers had before and a greater variety of art forms; arts are necessary for growing children
Ms. Lewis	Is not sure when activities really represent arts and when they don't; needs arts ideas to be accessible and easy to implement, because of lack of time
Ms. Rausch	Uses all arts materials available but not "cookbook" style; important for the development of innate expressive and appreciative talents, and gives children discipline; aesthetic education exposes children to a broader range of art forms than otherwise and is an opportunity to correct their misconceptions about the arts; is as important as any other subject matter

Paraphrases:

Ms. Sondheim	The variety of art forms represented in aesthetic education gives everyone an opportunity to find something they can do well

Principals:

Mr. Croft	Aesthetic education exposes the child to opportunities he might miss otherwise, gives the child the opportunity to perform and to develop native abilities; best done with assistance from professional artists
Mr. Groves	Children need the experience of having professional artists visit the school; many are not exposed to the arts at home; broadens their understanding of their community, especially its arts
Ms. Wilcox	Emphasizes the importance of professionals working with teachers on arts objectives and making community resources available through the schools

Junior League Volunteer:

Ms. McNeil	Need for sequential learning in the arts; importance of professional arts groups providing performances and working directly with children in schools, also arts specialists like the Orff teachers; unrealistic to expect untrained teachers to provide an arts-based curriculum

Program staff:

Ms. Raines	Children should understand arts terminology and some of the arts processes through participation in aesthetic education, not necessarily at a professional skill level
Ms. Vinson	Importance of persuading teachers to allow children to experience arts directly, participate fully, not just talk about art; the arts are an important part of a general education and the artist-in-residence an excellent technique for involving children directly with artists; children need experience as an audience

Central administrator:	Paraphrases:
Mr. Bird	Need for aesthetic education to uncover arts talents in students and develop them from an early age; if so, more will elect the arts as their professions
Local teacher trainer:	
Dr. Thomas	A search for commonalities underlying all art forms and an opportunity for the individual to choose preferred art form(s) and begin to focus in more depth
National disseminators:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Arts vocabulary development; skills of analysis and making aesthetic judgments; development of empathy and imagination; acceptance of legitimacy of intuitive knowing; minimal criteria for aesthetic education include deliberate teaching of arts concepts; creative problem-solving process (as it relates to arts) (freedom through discipline); discourse using arts vocabulary; participation in actual arts events; age of child would determine level of analytical, critical judgment skill development
Dr. White	The "aesthetic symbol" represents a different, nonverbal way of knowing and "telling about" than verbal discourse; importance of developing nonverbal thinking skills

COMMENTS ON THIRD THEME: Importance of curriculum integration

A) General

Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Advocates bringing arts into the general program
Ms. Carberry	It's "no good" if it's just put out for students to use and doesn't relate to anything
Ms. Lewis	Discusses her integration of visual arts and creative writing with other content; relates one of the drama packages to reading program

Paraphrases:

Ms. Underhill	Anything has aesthetic content if you use imagination and let kids have a lot of input

Principals:

Mr. Croft	Arts can be incorporated into whole curriculum
Mr. Groves	Alternative way of teaching the same content and objectives; need to show teachers how to incorporate into general curriculum; opens up broader range of ways to meet particular educational needs
Ms. Wilcox	Should be routinely incorporated (in teachers guides, etc.) for all subject matters

Junior League Volunteers:

Ms. Forrest	Primary goal is integration of the arts (with the curriculum and all of life)
Ms. McNeil	Original vision was an arts-based total curriculum; strongly endorses Orff concepts of teaching any content through the arts (and in harmony with child's innate learning style)

Program staff:

Ms. Vinson	Discusses curriculum integration in general
Ms. Yarrow	It's not a separate program (though you need special training for it); the program legitimates what good teachers want to do and do anyway

Central administrator:

Mr. Bird	Knows it can be done (some school systems have reading through music, etc.)

National disseminator:

Mr. Tannenbaum	Developing connectors to rest of curriculum is tertiary goal, after arts objectives

THEME:	Importance of curriculum integration B) Ease of arts integration
Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Arts promote independent, methodical thinking (students less dependent on teacher, better able to cope with intellectual challenges)
Ms. Carberry	A staff prepared booklet helps teachers correlate aesthetic education with a local accountability program; emotions unit correlates well with social studies and visual arts with science
Ms. Rausch	Greatest attribute of aesthetic education is it can be integrated at any time, used to relieve classroom tensions or pace any content
Ms. Sondheim	It's a "fun" way to learn; children are not conscious of using brains or working at learning, but they learn (in a different way)
Ms. Underhill	Very enriching to correlate program in classroom with programs of Orff and PE teachers ("super"). It's easy to integrate and not all play -- they learn too.
Principals:	
Mr. Croft	Aesthetic education "goes beyond" the three Rs, is a different mode of learning
Ms. Wilcox	Aesthetic education transfers readily to core subjects (as readiness in primary; self discipline technique in intermediate)
Junior League Volunteer:	
Ms. McNeil	Observed that children who worked with CEMREL packages improved in language arts (willing to work because it was more fun)
Program staff:	
Ms. Raines	All curriculum subjects have aesthetic dimensions

	Paraphrases:
Ms. Vinson	Teachers want and ask for all they can get on visual arts and on emotions (emotions tie in with health book) and justify creative writing by tying it to reading and language arts
Ms. Yarrow	A teacher's creative ideas enrich the entire curriculum; you can use aesthetic education to pace basic instruction
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	Asserts that it is easy to integrate aesthetic education
National disseminators:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Aesthetic education reinforces something basic to and underlying the entire curriculum; this capacity is educable and should be systematically taught in schools
Dr. White	Importance of nonverbal thinking in curriculum (e.g., visual thinking in math)
THEME	Importance of curriculum integration C) Necessary to justify time for arts
Teachers	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Biggest problem is finding time to read all the creative writing her students do; has not used CEMREL materials recently, for lack of time
Ms. Carberry	Only way she can justify the amount of time she takes for arts is to correlate, stay "on task"
Ms. Rausch	Aesthetic education is only criticized as a "frill" if it is thought of as a separate subject matter
Ms. Underhill	You have to integrate to find the time (ready availability of materials and ideas makes it efficient)

Principal:	Paraphrases:
Mr. Groves	If teachers can't integrate, they won't take the time.
Program staff:	
Ms. Yarrow	Agrees that teachers must justify taking time for the arts by integrating
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	Subject integration is the only way a consistent program starting at K and "going all the way up" can be justified
National disseminators:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Denied this point, insisted the arts should be taught for their own sakes in schools
Dr. White	Said it is often true teachers will avoid teaching the arts unless they can integrate

COMMENTS ON FOURTH THEME: Importance of curriculum for general quality of life

A) Frees innate creativity

Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	The "most fun of the day" because aesthetic education activities stir the imagination and generate enthusiasm; what children reveal about themselves is important to the teacher, should be to parents
Ms. Carberry	The most important thing is to let the children express and to bring out their art talents (wouldn't be revealed otherwise). Self expression in a "safe" environment is good for children's self esteem and the teacher learns so much about the children

Paraphrases:

Ms. Rausch	The most important thing is bringing out the inborn expressive talents (if possible before children develop inhibitions); everybody is creative to some degree; shy children may resist the program initially but then are most apt to ask for it; a lot of teachers do creative activities but aren't aware of it, "it's such a part of you"
Ms. Sondheim	Aesthetic education is innate, anybody can do it; it is non-threatening, good for self image, because whatever you express is "right" and no one "cuts you down." It is contagious, but the teacher must be enthusiastic and participate with the children
Ms. Underhill	Important for children to initiate activities and help correlate aesthetic education with other curriculum; brings out the child who "hears a different drummer" and gives him a chance to demonstrate his talents; it has helped the teacher overcome inhibitions and provided tension release for teacher and children

Principals:

Mr. Croft	Teachers can get children to perform who would not without aesthetic education experiences; can allow children to use their native abilities
Mr. Groves	Frees the teacher to be more creative, flexible (allows more of the real person to come through) and allows children to express themselves in different ways
Ms. Wilcox	Importance of the opportunity for expression by children ("turning a little key"); gets teachers out of ruts

Junior League Volunteers:

Ms. Forrest	Children's personalities "come out" -- "explode" -- and everybody can participate and express themselves; you don't have to be brilliant to do it, children of different ability levels benefit; involvement is contagious, you know it's catching on when kids contribute their ideas

Paraphrases:

Ms. McNeil	A wonderful creative opportunity for teachers and children (liberating because there are no right and wrong answers, but the freedom scares many people, especially teachers); creates self esteem in children; teachers must be really sold on the approach, but it's so much fun when everyone is enthusiastic
Program staff:	
Ms. Raines	Giving children a chance to participate and express themselves is important
Ms. Vinson	"Opens up" the children (if allowed to experience, participate, contribute their own creative ideas); importance of teacher's interest, which is "contagious," caught by students, teachers
Ms. Yarrow	Creative teacher is "loose," more concerned with child as a whole person than with the clock; assumes children will learn if given a chance
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	All kids have aesthetic appreciation in them; CEMREL kits are designed to spark the teacher's interest and creative ideas
Local teacher trainer:	
Dr. Thomas	Arts help people out of ruts, counteract tension and "burnout" (but most are intimidated by professional standards of performance, afraid to risk being expressive except in very "safe" environments)
National disseminator:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Arts promote "self actualization;" expression requires risk taking (often never experienced before outside intimate environments); must be in the context of aesthetic problem solving, freedom through discipline

THEME:	Importance of curriculum for general quality of life B) Motivates individuals
Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	Helps relieve students' frustrations (often caused by inability to cope without the teacher's help)
Ms. Carberry	Children are so eager to express themselves in the early grades and love the activities so much it makes the teacher feel good
Ms. Rausch	Older children have inhibitions; you have to start with quick, obviously "fun" activities to motivate kids to try before attempting more serious, disciplined arts activities
Ms. Sondheim	Helps motivate children and provides tension relief (for the teacher also, the teacher can relax and be herself)
Ms. Underhill	Children are motivated when they (and others) spontaneously recognize the quality of their work (though older children are often scared to try and you have to "pull" motivation from them). The teacher must participate enthusiastically to motivate the children.
Principals:	
Mr. Croft	His first objective is motivating children, making sure they want to come to school and participate; children are motivated differently, need a broad range of opportunities; aesthetic education is a good motivator
Mr. Groves	Emphasizes that aesthetic education can provide positive experiences that help the child feel a valued part of the school, feel self worth (teachers have to be enthusiastic and have support of administration or it won't work)
Junior League Volunteer:	
Ms. McNeil	Students are motivated to learn when it's fun

Program staff:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Yarrow	Gives the child a better self image (the slow child is never a failure and the advanced child has an opportunity to contribute)
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	Motivates children because there are no wrong answers; non-threatening
National disseminator:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Activities don't threaten children (no "wrong" answers)
THEME:	Importance of curriculum for general quality of life C) Improves school/class climate
Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Carberry	Looks for children's total participation. Program allows the teacher to have a different type of rapport with children (more human to human, more on the child's level) while maintaining control and keeping the students "on task;" teacher must take the lead in establishing a "safe" atmosphere
Ms. Rausch	Aesthetic education has to do with "living, getting along with people, expressing yourself, being pleasant, knowing your own talents." It is contagious, but the teacher must be enthusiastic and participate fully.
Ms. Underhill	Uses aesthetic education activities as a classroom management technique, to release tensions, pace activities, and allow input from students; it helps the teacher deal with students as individuals, students are more apt to be creative and show their unique talents; students can see and deal with their teacher as a human being also

Principals:	Paraphrases:
Mr. Croft	Develops children's social skills because it is so involving
Mr. Groves	Helps teachers learn you can laugh with a child and maintain control and respect (we need more skill at channeling the child's feelings, thoughts, and speech into a cooperative atmosphere of harmony and respect)
Ms. Wilcox	Involvement generated by aesthetic education pulls people together and builds closer relationships (builds self discipline in children and helps teachers get out of ruts). Program is contagious.
Program staff:	
Ms. Raines	General school environment is improved (more beautiful and "happier"); the program helps teachers avoid boredom and "burnout"
Ms. Vinson	Can make children happier, ties in with values education, helps teachers handle discipline problems; interest in program is contagious
Ms. Yarrow	Helps children relax and concentrate on the basics, but it is essential for the teacher to establish a "safe" atmosphere
Local teacher trainer:	
Dr. Thomas	Aesthetic education makes schools physically and mentally more attractive
National disseminator:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Group cohesion is a "serendipitous" benefit, comes from joyful sharing of creative problem solving in a non-threatening atmosphere (criticism should be constructive, to help the participant do better what he is trying to do; good efforts can always be improved)

THEME:	Importance of curriculum for general quality of life
	D) Permanent recreative resource
Teachers:	Paraphrases:
Ms. Abbott	The recreational aspect of the arts is important; arts bring out the best in people and help them get enjoyment on their own initiative (which will give them self fulfillment as adults)
Ms. Rausch	Aesthetic education is important to help children learn to use their leisure time
Principal:	
Ms. Wilcox	Arts are a resource for appreciation and expression which will last for a lifetime; of great value for recreation and stress relief
Junior League Volunteers:	
Ms. Forrest	Arts can be a big part of children's lives, as a lifelong interest, and will make the whole world so much richer for them
Ms. McNeil	Implies but does not state directly that the arts are a permanent recreative resource
Program staff:	
Ms. Raines	The child's whole environment may be improved.
Central administrator:	
Mr. Bird	If enough people develop appreciation for the different art forms, financing for the arts will not be a problem in the future
National disseminator:	
Mr. Tannenbaum	Arts provide intrinsic satisfactions, bring home the worth and importance of the "here and now"

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