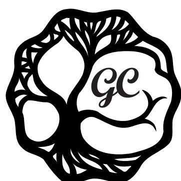
The Center for Research in Developmental Education and Urban Literacy

CRDEUL

Theoretical Perspectives for Developmental Education

Dana Britt Lundell
Jeanne L. Higbee
Editors



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Theoretical Perspectives for Developmental Education

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Foreword

David V. Taylor, Dean
General College, University of Minnesota

The mission of the General College (GC) is to provide access to the University of Minnesota for highly motivated students from the broadest range of socioeconomic, educational, and cultural backgrounds who evidence an ability to succeed in the University's rigorous baccalaureate programs. The mission is accomplished through a developmental general education program offered in a multidisciplinary and multicultural learning community by nationally recognized faculty and staff who are grounded in the theory and practice of developmental education. Through its teaching, advising, research, and outreach, the General College seeks to be the nation's preeminent developmental education institution.

In 1988, the mission of the General College at the University of Minnesota was changed. Although GC retained its primary role of providing access to the University for students who had not met the traditional preparation standards, the College voluntarily relinquished its degree programs. Its new mission, as a freshman admitting college, was to successfully transfer underprepared students into other degree granting academic units where they would complete their baccalaureate studies. The development of academic support programs and effective counseling and advising programs was crucial to the success of preparing students for transfer.

The faculty and staff embraced the theoretical construct of developmental education as descriptive of their work. Although the services that were provided to students in the General College went well beyond most developmental education programs, the existing theories and practices in the emerging field provided a core around which the meaningful research could be conducted. The energy that once sustained the vitality of the degree program was now liberated and redirected into research that explores the interrelationships between effective pedagogies, practices, and student outcomes. Our raison d'etre is to retain students and to assist them through the transfer process so as to enhance the likelihood of their eventual graduation and, secondarily, to disseminate to all interested parties what we have learned in the process.

Over the past decade GC has hired innovative faculty and creative student services personnel who understand and resonate to its new mission. They in turn have helped to define and sustain the work of the Center for Research in Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL). The First Intentional Meeting on Future Directions in Developmental Education held in Minneapolis in October of 1999, and the launching of the monograph series reflect their continuing interest in engaging professionals in the field about theories and practices that inform the discipline of developmental education. It is our hope that the monograph will be widely circulated and discussed. We encourage other scholars and practitioners to share with us research which will broaden an understanding of and improve services to college students.

Preface

Jeanne L. Higbee, Faculty Chair
Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL)

In 1995 the National Association for Developmental Education (NADE) published the following "Definition and Goals Statement" to guide theory, research, and practice in the profession:

> Developmental Education is a field of practice and research within higher education with a theoretical foundation in developmental psychology and learning theory. It promotes cognitive and affective growth of all postsecondary learners, at all levels of the learning continuum.
>
> Developmental Education is sensitive and responsive to the individual differences and special needs among learners.
>
> Developmental education programs and services commonly address preparedness, diagnostic assessment and placement, affective barriers to learning, and development of general and discipline-specific learning strategies.
>
> Goal: To preserve and make possible educational opportunity for each postsecondary learner.
>
> Goal: To develop in each learner the skills and attitudes necessary for the attainment of academic, career, and life goals.
>
> Goal: To ensure proper placement by assessing each learner's level of preparedness for college course work.
>
> Goal: To maintain academic standards by enabling learners to acquire competencies needed for success in mainstream college courses.
>
> Goal: To enhance the retention of students.
>
> Goal: To promote the continued development and application of cognitive and affective learning theory.

During the past year, leaders in the field (e.g., Malinowski, 2000) have revisited the NADE Definition and Goals Statement in a variety of forums and venues, including in a "think tank" of the NADE executive board, chapter officers, and committee chairs, held prior to the annual NADE conference in Biloxi, MS, and led by outgoing NADE President Martha Casazza, and at the First Intentional Meeting on Future Directions in Developmental Education (Lundell & Higbee, 2000), sponsored by the University of Minnesota General College's (GC) Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL). One of the foci of these discussions has been the formulation of a theoretical foundation for developmental education. Collins and Bruch (2000), reporting on a session at the intentional meeting, propose, "There are literally dozens of theoretical perspectives spanning multiple traditional disciplines that can contribute to the informed practice of developmental educators" (p. 19). A preliminary list brainstormed by session participants includes 23 disciplines and theoretical frameworks, ranging from adult education and student development theories to critical democracy theory and social constructivism, which might play a role in guiding our work. Obviously, this is a far broader approach than implied in the NADE Definition and Goals Statement. Collins and Bruch assert,

> We think it important to note that it is not from such disciplines or perspectives in isolation that we can construct powerful theories to guide practice in developmental education. Rather, it is from the purposeful interpenetration of the theories that inform disciplinary practices that

> the richness of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework for developmental education might emerge. (p. 20)

Recent developmental education publications also reflect a renewed interest in identifying theoretical frameworks (e.g., Caverly & Peterson, 1996; Darby, 1996; Duranczyk & Caniglia, 1998; Friedman, 1997; Maxwell, 1998; Silverman & Casazza, 2000) or creating a central theory of developmental education (e.g., Wambach, Brothen, & Dikel, 2000; Lundell & Collins, 1999, reprinted here). In this monograph authors representing a wide spectrum of disciplines and theoretical perspectives reflect on theories that influence research, teaching, counseling, advising, and administrative decision making. As Collins and Bruch (2000) propose, "Formation of interdisciplinary theories must have in mind the pragmatic business of informing the project at hand, and so such theory building must be flexible and adaptable" (p. 20). The purpose of this monograph is to promote further discussion regarding the definition of developmental education and the theory or theories that underlie practice.

The mission of the University of Minnesota's Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy is as follows:

> The Center for Research in Developmental Education and Urban Literacy, in partnership with the General College at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, promotes and develops multidisciplinary theory, research, and practice in postsecondary developmental education and urban literacy. The Center identifies future directions in the field locally, regionally, and nationally by bringing together a diverse range of faculty, students, and community organizations for research collaborations.

It is our belief that theory should provide the foundation for our research, and that research should guide practice. In launching this monograph series, it seemed appropriate that we begin with a volume devoted to theoretical perspectives. Calls for submissions and editorial guidelines for future monographs are provided at the back of this edition.

The authors of the chapters of this monograph represent the wide array of disciplines in which GC faculty and staff have earned their terminal degrees, and their writing reflects their endeavors to demonstrate that any introductory college course can be taught in a developmental education context. As individuals we may agree or disagree with some of the theories presented in this volume, or with their relevance to the field of developmental education. Some chapters provide a historical perspective; others challenge us to rethink even the most modern theories. Whether a century old or contemporary, the theories represented in this monograph have and will continue to influence how educators perceive their work. It is our hope that publications like this monograph will encourage developmental educators to further articulate the theoretical foundations for the profession and refocus on the link between theory, research and practice.

Dana Lundell and I would like to express our appreciation to David Taylor, Dean of the General College, and Terence Collins, GC's Director of Academic Affairs, for their continued support of CRDEUL and its programs, including this monograph series. We also want to recognize Devjani Banerjee-Stevens and Jennifer Kreml, our assistant editors, and Karen Bencke, who formatted this publication and created the cover design. Without their valuable assistance, this monograph series would not be possible.

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Introduction

Dana Britt Lundell, Director
Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy

The theoretical perspectives discussed in this monograph represent both new and established foundations for developmental education. It has long been important to articulate the theories that shape our teaching, and it is equally pertinent that we continue to explore those theories that more broadly define the profession (Casazza, 1998; Lundell & Collins, 1999; Silverman & Casazza, 2000). However, this is not an easy task for several reasons. First, developmental education is only recently beginning to rename and reposition itself within the broader framework of higher education. We, as developmental educators, have challenged the use of the term "remedial" in our own work (Boylan, 1999; Higbee, 1993; Maxwell, 1997) because it has perpetuated popular misconceptions about what it is that teachers and students do in these programs, sometimes unfortunately upholding the status quo in shutting students out of many of our public institutions. By naming what it is we do *not* do (i.e., we do not "remediate" students using a deficit model), we have made a space for discovering and articulating what it is we actually *are* doing effectively. To do so, many developmental education leaders have stated this priority clearly: we need to examine and share the theories that shape our best practices (Boylan; Casazza, 1998; Higbee, 1996; Lundell & Collins; Silverman & Casazza; Wambach, Brothen, & Dikel, 2000).

Although this is a potentially liberating point in history for the field, it presents some noteworthy challenges. When we begin to explore our diverse vantage points as institutions, administrators, instructors, advisors, and students, we recognize that these standpoints alone defy easy categorization. Because we serve a variety of students, for example, we rely on utilizing and implementing our knowledge of best practices in developmental education, which includes using a flexible range of learning activities such as peer group work, Supplemental Instruction (SI), freshman seminars, and a range of other instructional delivery methods such as incorporating technology and learning communities into our curricula and program foundations (Boylan, 1999; STARLINK, 2000). As knowledgeable and responsive as we have become in our teaching methods, we also need to consider that our theories informing these methods need to be equally responsive in addressing a similar diversity in learning styles, prior knowledge and educational preparation, and student backgrounds (e.g., issues of language acquisition, race, class, gender, disability, and other social and cultural factors).

Traditionally, theories in developmental education, and related teaching methods, have primarily reflected individualistic models for learning (Collins & Bruch, 2000; Lundell & Collins, 1999). Because this positively serves large numbers of students in these programs, it is clear that research continues to indicate a need to reflect more systematically on why some students are still not adequately being supported by the same programs. This includes research reports that continue to document lower retention and achievement rates in college by greater numbers of students from lower income families and students of color in proportion to White students (i.e., Center for Postsecondary Research and Planning, 2000). To address these disparities in particular, it is crucial that we begin to reflect more deeply upon our theories and definitions to identify what we may be missing, and to strengthen and share what we already have implemented successfully.

As a field, we have started to do this with a definition statement outlining some areas of theory in developmental education (National Association for Developmental Education, 1995). Even in naming common ground, however, we still experience the reality that our programs and practices vary widely

(Malinowski, 2000). These varied interpretations and definitions may pose some viable tensions to consider as we continue to define the field and develop theories for developmental education. First, it positively suggests a kind of breadth and collective strength in our work, the "continuum of services" (Boylan as quoted in Lundell, 2000, p. 51) we provide in programs and across institutions. That is, "developmental education" may not even be coined by this term, depending on the form in which it is applied (i.e., learning centers and stand-alone courses in institutions that do not recognize a separate developmental education division or mission). Second, as developmental educators find it difficult to describe even rather generally what it is we all commonly do, given this variety in outreach and purpose, it may be in our best interest to consider the assets inherent in this conundrum. When our programs have been sidelined in the past, it has ultimately stemmed from an overly simplified version of the work of developmental educators and these students as remedial or marginal in some way. It is to our advantage to continue developing our frameworks and definitions in a way that includes a wide variety of approaches, definitions, and theories—for this reflects our real work.

Sharing Theories for Developmental Education

"Few programs have articulated and presented their own models to a broader audience, specifically as they relate to relevant educational theories informing their conception and relationship to current definitions of developmental education" (Lundell & Collins, 1999, p. 7). There has been recent discussion about finding a theory, or theories, of developmental education (Collins & Bruch, 2000; Wambach, Brothen, & Dikel, 2000), but without first having the widespread articulation of key theories guiding individual teachers and program administrators themselves, a broader theory of sorts cannot yet practically be proposed. There is perhaps too much variety and range in perspectives to adopt a universal theoretical model at this point in time. We may need more theories *for* developmental education before we arrive at a theory *of* the field, if that is even a goal. In fact, it might be true and beneficial that the "one-size" model does not fit all in developmental education. This may be to our advantage as this appears to be one primary reason developmental education exists in the first place—to serve students for whom this type of one-size model has never fit, nor should ever entirely be made to fit. Perhaps our own theory or theories as a field might address this?

To explore the role of theory in developmental education and to articulate theories from one program, and specifically to demonstrate the range of both overlap and difference even within a program, we offer a set of theoretical perspectives from the General College (GC) at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities—one of the nation's oldest developmental education programs. The university is the largest public, land-grant institution in the Midwest, offering four-year undergraduate and graduate degrees. It is also the only Big Ten public research institution situated in its state's major urban site. General College offers a pre-transfer, credit-bearing undergraduate curriculum for students entering other degree-granting colleges in the university. Each fall the college admits approximately 850 new first-year students, and overall the college typically serves between 1400 and 1800 students each semester in its programs. GC accepts about half of its students from those whose composite admission scores (i.e., a combination of the American College Testing [ACT] score, high school rank, and high school grade point average) fall below university program entry requirements. Another large percentage of students are admitted to GC based on individual and committee reviews of their cases, and an additional percentage of students qualify and enter the college through the support of the federally-funded TRIO program. GC's mission includes an emphasis on preparation toward students' educational and career goals through a multidisciplinary curriculum with the goal of transferring into the larger university. GC also maintains a strong position that students are being served within a multicultural program that addresses issues of diversity in teaching, learning, and research. Overall, GC's strong record of student transfer rates to degree-granting colleges of the university—rates of 79% compared to 84% for retention rates in the rest of the university—indicate that GC's programs are successful for most students who enter the program.

The college also offers a range of academic support services and courses to prepare students for a successful transition. GC hosts numerous unique programs such as the Student Parent Help Center, TRIO pro-

grams such as Upward Bound, an Academic Resource Center, and the Commanding English Program. The college also supports externally funded grant programs linking the college with the local urban community, such as the Commanding English program's English as a Second Language (ESL) bridge courses taught in the local high schools. GC also supports the Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL), which promotes and develops multidisciplinary theory, research, and practice in postsecondary developmental education and urban literacy.

GC's curricular model includes a multidisciplinary range of Base Curriculum (BC) courses integrating both skills and academic content. This multidisciplinary programmatic model, which does not focus on traditional "skills-based" models for developmental education—at least not apart from integrating that with academic content—provides students with a range of perspectives and academic training for continuing work directly in their majors. Students can take writing, math, art, biology, sociology, anthropology, literature, freshman seminars, multicultural communication, and law and society. In doing so successfully, they fulfill some of their university graduation requirements while receiving full academic credit for transfer to degree-granting colleges of the university, which typically takes place some time during their second year. Faculty, administrators, and staff in this program incorporate a wide range of theories and methods in developing their curricula. In addition, they fulfill GC's mission of conducting and disseminating research in both developmental education and their disciplinary content areas.

Given the breadth of courses and services GC offers, and given GC's long history as a self-contained developmental education program, the college offers a fundamental point of reference for the field. Similarly, it can inform current definitions and theories in developmental education given its unique format and location within a public research university. Like all developmental education programs and services, there is a sense of uniqueness in its definition and model as GC is viewed by the University of Minnesota as its main point of preparation and access for many students. It is not strictly an open admissions college, but it does serve a diverse range of students for whom immediate entry into the university would not have been possible. Because of this history, it is important to share this work more broadly to examine GC's theoretical, research, and pedagogical foundations.

GC Perspectives

This monograph specifically offers perspectives from GC faculty and staff who have responded to the recent call to articulate the field's theoretical foundations (Collins & Bruch, 2000). In particular, this group of authors has begun to explore not only the theories that inform their own classroom practice specifically, but they offer some theories that have relevance for developmental education more broadly. By collecting a set of theories from a group of teachers within one program, it is easy to see the wide range of overlapping, and sometimes conflicting, theories that are influential to developmental educators. These authors all teach within the same program, under the same general mission, but their approaches diverge in interesting and effective ways. They represent a broad range of academic content and advising areas: sociology, anthropology, English composition, psychology, mathematics, history, multicultural education, philosophy, logic, and student support services.

In this publication, many of these authors reflect on areas that have not yet been addressed explicitly in the field, and several expand or critique current theories that are outlined in the NADE definition. For example, theories of democratic education and civic engagement, race-critical and multicultural theories, and theories from cultural studies have not been lenses with wide application in developmental education, yet they are articulated and applied more widely in other fields and arenas of higher education. Some of these authors focus on theories about institutional and cultural issues affecting students, while some focus on issues of individual development or behavioral theory. The layers and tensions present here are important because they demonstrate why it is difficult to articulate a single theory of, or a full range of theories for, developmental education. Perhaps no one lens can provide a complete answer to the rich range of questions and situations that are produced in the wide variety of services, courses, teaching methods, and students that make up these programs.

General College also represents some unique subject areas that are not typically taught in developmen-

tal programs or thought of as developmental core courses. This can provide yet another unique perspective for the field as there is work being done in these areas that can and should be considered for developmental education. It is a hope and goal of this publication to consider that definitions of developmental education might continue to address some of the issues these authors have begun to explore in their own work. Because most developmental educators come to the field from a specific content area, it is important to continue to let the research in those areas inform and expand frameworks for developmental education. In the future, it will also be necessary to apply these new theories for the field more directly to classroom practice and within the rich variety of contexts within which developmental educators work.

Transforming Theory, Research, and Practice

As Martha Casazza (1998) wrote, it is evident in producing this publication, that

> These theories raise as many questions as they provide answers. The next step is to engage in a process of critical reflection regarding practices in developmental education to see if they lead to a reconstruction of the principles currently used as a framework. (p. 43)

It appears that in the field of developmental education, we are at the point of critical reflection, but we are also still in the position of needing to articulate theories. Silverman and Casazza (2000) have demonstrated an innovative way for education professionals to push the current theoretical trends in the field, to incorporate new research and theory into an examination of practice that transcends the traditional model for educating students. For example, they note that passive forms of education, such as the banking model (Freire, 1970), are outdated and do not assist students in developing important skills such as critical thinking and active learning stances. Although we have known this for awhile through research in education, it has taken awhile for these concepts to be instituted in definition, theory, and pedagogy that informs other disciplines. In developmental education, this translates into a push for continuing to transform our work at the levels of research and theory that more effectively responds to student needs as they make educational transitions with the support of a wide range of developmental programs and services.

Multi-disciplinary models for theory, research, and teaching seem to provide the best range of answers to our questions about student learning (Bruch & Collins, 1999; Casazza, 1998; Silverman & Casazza, 2000). The richer the range of definitions and approaches we provide in developmental education, the more responsive our classrooms and programs can be to the diverse range of students we serve. Additionally, as Silverman and Casazza (2000) clearly address throughout their work, theories and research that can be transformative to the profession provide fertile ground for defining more successful future directions for education. Specifically, they argue that educators must view themselves as ongoing agents of transformation, and that they are in the most important position for illuminating future goals.

> Change agents challenge the status quo. They are not satisfied with repeating past successes or accepting failures. Most important, they motivate themselves and others, including students, administrators, and colleagues, to explore new directions and take risks. We support this view as a foundation for making changes in practice and using theory and research to guide the way. (p. 260)

Their model for integrating a wider range of theories, applied directly to student experiences through case studies, provides a clear direction and instructive example for how developmental educators can continue to create change for students specifically, and the profession more broadly. Their vantage points include a wider range of theories than present definitions have outlined, including sociolinguistic theories, constructivist models, adult learning frameworks, cognitive development theories, and multicultural education and intercultural communication theories. Their rich range of applied theories demonstrates that current individualistic models alone, which presently dominate definitions and practice in developmental education (Lundell & Collins, 1999), do not offer a complete enough response to understanding students.

In this monograph, it is clear that we can adopt even more vantage points to add to our work in research and practice. In particular, some of the multicultural and sociolinguistic models for education

appear to provide a new standpoint, as well as constructivist models applied in history and science classrooms. No matter which discipline is examined, it is important to take a step toward doing this type of critical theoretical reflection. The authors and editors of this publication hope they have offered something to trigger new conversations about theories of, and theories for, developmental education.

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New and Revisited Theories for Developmental Education

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Approaching Theory in Developmental Education

Carl J. Chung, Assistant Professor
Philosophy and Logic

The purpose of this chapter is to provide developmental educators with a useful initial framework within which to identify and reflect upon preconceptions concerning the nature and purpose of "theories." I accomplish this by presenting three general approaches to theory: the classical approach, the model-based approach, and the contextualist approach. Each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses, and each approach offers a different vision of the fundamental features of a theory of developmental education. I argue that no single approach is inherently superior to the others, and I suggest that learning to appreciate the strengths of each approach might lay the foundation for a robust theoretical framework unique to developmental education.

Recently developmental educators have been urged to embrace theory (Collins & Bruch, 2000; Lundell & Collins, 1999; Silverman & Casazza, 2000; Spann & McCrimmon, 1998; Wambach, Brothen, & Dikel, 2000). What is more, the reasons given to support this change implicate the very future of developmental education with this choice: we either embrace theory or face academic extinction. For example, in the *Proceedings of the First Intentional Meeting on Future Directions in Developmental Education*, Terence Collins and Patrick Bruch (2000) write that "Given the gains to be made through the process of vigorously theorizing our practice, 'developmental education' as simply a hodge-podge of contingent local practices guided by inexplicit and largely unintentional theoretical frameworks is no longer good enough" (p. 19). In an interview on the future of developmental education, Hunter Boylan asserts that

> An essential component of a successful program in the future will be research and development. The most successful programs are theory based. They don't just provide random intervention; they intervene according to the tenets of various theories of adult intellectual and personal development. (Stratton, 1998, p. 33)

Milton G. Spann and Suella McCrimmon (1998) characterize the importance of theory as follows:

> The field of developmental education currently faces an identity crisis. For the most part, it has little knowledge of its roots or a widely understood and articulated philosophy, a body of common knowledge, or a commonly accepted set of theoretical assumptions congruent with that philosophy. (p. 44)

Finally, Dana Lundell and Terence Collins (1999) echo similar concerns when they write: "Much of the published literature in developmental education lacks a theoretical base through which the motives and goals of seemingly disparate practices might be understood as constituting a unified core of disciplines" (p. 4). They motivate their call to theory by citing two main reasons:

> 1. Work in developmental education has matured intellectually to the point where we must be overt in theorizing our enterprise so that our research and curriculum studies can compete with each other for credibility in full view of the assumptions that are their intellectual foundation.
>
> 2. Attacks on developmental education are very easy to mount when the grounds for discussion are subject to redefinition at the whim of every legislator or academic vice-president who questions the value of our practice. That is, we need to know why we do what we do, and we need to say these things aloud. (p. 4)

As these quotations indicate, those advocating a larger role for theory do so for a variety of reasons, including overall program success, the identity and credibility of the field of developmental education, and the defense of the field against ongoing attacks from outside sources. In addition, this call to theory is, at least for some of those making it, overtly reformist. For example, the quotation by Collins and Bruch (2000) is critical of current theoretical frameworks that are "inexplicit" and "unintentional." That is, current theoretical frameworks have only managed to produce a ". . . hodge-podge of contingent local practices . . ." (p. 19). We, as developmental educators, are thus urged to be more systematic, explicit, and intentional in our theorizing.

One could respond to those advocating theory in a number of different ways. For example, one might agree (e.g., "Yes, this is obviously right; let's get on with it . . ."), one might ask for clarification (e.g., "What exactly do you mean by 'explicit' and 'intentional' theorizing?"), or one might disagree (e.g., "No, the 'theoretical state' of developmental education is just fine; I see no need to accept these recommendations . . ."). But no matter which response one adopts, we, as a community, are going to find ourselves having conversations about theories and about theorizing in the context of developmental education and its future as an academic discipline.

The main goal of this chapter is to try and ensure that those conversations about theory are constructive and not divisive or polarizing. This is a legitimate worry, for two reasons. First, the terms "theory" and "theorizing" are loaded in the sense that they encompass a range of possible meanings and associations, which in turn often reflect different underlying assumptions, values, and explanatory frameworks. Second, there is the incredible diversity to be found within the field of developmental education, including institutional diversity, practitioner diversity, disciplinary diversity, and theoretical diversity (e.g., Collins & Bruch, 2000, pp. 19-20). This diversity only multiplies the number of perspectives and assumptions we are likely to encounter, and it increases the opportunities for disagreement and miscommunication.

To accomplish this goal I present three general approaches to understanding what a theory is and what it means to theorize: the classical approach, the model-based approach, and the contextualist approach. For each, I set out some advantages of that approach, some disadvantages, and then I discuss how the approach would characterize the fundamental features of a theory of developmental education.

The point of doing this is not to offer a definitive typology of theoretical approaches, and it is not to defend one approach over others. Rather, I hope to provide readers with a useful initial framework within which to identify and reflect upon their own assumptions concerning theory and what a theory of developmental education ought, eventually, to look like.

The Classical Approach to Theory

One promising way to make sense of theory and theorizing is by clarifying what those terms mean in the context of our best examples of scientific inquiry. After all, physics and chemistry are well developed, robust, and time tested. If anything is going to count as a theory or theorizing, surely Newtonian mechanics and the mathematical modeling and experimental methodology of physics have got to be prime examples. Even if it is not possible for developmental educators to perform controlled experiments or to come up with mathematical equations, advocates of the classical approach nonetheless believe that the theories of the natural sciences embody an ideal standard worthy of emulation.

To identify some of the details of that standard, an example will help. Consider Newton's theory of motion, which is defined by three laws of motion and the law of universal gravitation (Beatty, 1980; Giere, 1991):

> First Law of Motion. If there is no force acting on a body, the momentum of that body will remain constant.
>
> Second Law of Motion. If there is a force acting on a body, that body will accelerate by an amount directly proportional to the strength of the force and inversely proportional to its mass.
>
> Third Law of Motion. If one body exerts a force on a second, then the second exerts on the first a force that is equal in strength, but in the opposite direction.

> Law of Universal Gravitation. Any two bodies exert attractive forces on each other that are directed along a line connecting them and are proportional to the product of their masses divided by the square of the distance between them. (Giere, pp. 69–70)

Several key points flow from this example. First, it is clear that the main ingredients of a theory are *laws* or universal generalizations. Second, taken together these laws *explain* why bodies move the way they do by identifying and interrelating certain causally relevant factors: force, momentum, acceleration, mass, and distance. Third, the laws allow us to *predict* movements of a body by extrapolating the effects of force, momentum, acceleration, mass, and distance from earlier to later times. For what I am calling the classical approach, then, a theory is essentially a collection of universal generalizations that allows us to explain and predict phenomena in a particular domain.

For many, this classical interpretation of theory is intuitive and obvious. Applied to the field of developmental education, the first step toward forging a theory of developmental education would be to isolate and clarify the causally relevant factors governing student development, learning, retention, and success. So just as Newton had to isolate and clarify what he meant by force, acceleration, and momentum, so must development educators isolate and clarify what they mean by such factors as, for example, motivation, learning style, identity formation, self-regulation, and demandingness (cf., Silverman & Casazza, 2000; Wambach, Brothen, & Dikel, 2000).

The second step would be to formulate the laws or principles governing the causally relevant factors. Examples of such laws or principles might be: "All students who possess learning style A will succeed when taught with teaching method B"; or "All students in affective state C in environment E will fail unless they achieve affective state D"; or "No student with cognitive disability F succeeds without intervention G and teaching method H." If it turns out that generalizations of such universal scope (i.e., All A are B) cannot be formulated, statistical generalizations would still work (e.g., Most A are B; P are probably Q; S follows in X percentage of cases studied).

Finally, the third step would be to verify and refine the laws or principles by further experiment or research. Ideally, this would result in a unique set of laws or principles that best explained student development, learning, retention, and overall success. This collection of laws or principles would constitute the core of a theory of developmental education.

Advocates of the classical approach to theory can point to a number of advantages of their approach. First, the classical approach allies itself with the prestigious tradition of the natural sciences, a tradition that boasts some of the best examples of theory. In addition, because of its emphasis on laws, it is clear that a classical theory will be verifiable, testable, and, in the long run, refinable. The classical approach also provides an intuitive conception of how a theory explains and predicts, again due to the emphasis on laws: basically, explanation or prediction of a given phenomenon occurs if we can identify specific causal factors and then cite a law governing those factors. Finally, applied to developmental education, the classical approach provides a clear "recipe" for forging a theory of developmental education, and such a theory would have the legitimacy and advantages noted above.

However, even with such compelling advantages, the classical approach to theory has not been immune to criticism. One criticism is that, historically, the classical approach has failed to provide a convincing general account of theory and theorizing in all areas of inquiry. For example, it has proven difficult to make sense of the theoretical structure of psychology and evolutionary biology in terms of general laws (Beatty, 1980). This has led some historians and philosophers of science to conclude that the classical approach fails precisely because of its emphasis on laws or universal generalizations (Beatty). For present purposes, this raises the possibility that there are legitimate domains of inquiry that are simply not governed by general laws. If this is so, then perhaps a theory of developmental education is possible that does not require the formulation of laws of human learning or development. One such alternative conception of theory not based on laws is the model-based approach, which I shall discuss in the next section.

The Model-Based Approach to Theory

Advocates of this approach hold that a theory is essentially a collection of "models." The models of a

theory are abstract entities that serve to characterize and define certain kinds of systems (Beatty, 1980, p. 410). As such, models are like maps of an unknown territory: they provide an abstract representation of "the lay of the land," how the parts of the unknown territory might be arranged or fit together, and how the parts might interact. In the context of theories and theorizing, such models represent some phenomenon or process we are trying to understand and explain. For example, Newtonian mechanics looks like this if we adopt the model-based approach: "A Newtonian mechanical system = [df] a system of objects which behave according to Newton's three laws of motion and the law of universal gravitation" (Beatty, 1980, p. 400).

Thus, instead of equating the theory of Newtonian mechanics with laws and specific causal factors, the model-based approach equates the theory with a simple definition of a model or system that satisfies Newton's laws. The difference may seem trivial, but it is not. For the classical approach, axioms or laws *constitute* a theory, whereas for the model-based approach axioms or laws simply serve as one way to *constrain* possible models. For the classical approach, the laws constituting a theory apply directly to some part of the real world—the laws are either true or false. For the model-based approach, the models constituting a theory are what apply to some part of the real world, and instead of a model's being true or false we focus on how well the model fits. In other words, the claim that a model fits some part of the real world may be true or false, but this does not make the model itself true or false. To evaluate a model's fit amounts to evaluating how well the model *represents.*

Applied to developmental education, the model-based approach offers a more inclusive view of theories compared to the classical approach. Instead of requiring that we find the causal factors and the laws governing a specific domain, the model-based approach would have us construct a family of theoretical models that accurately represent the phenomena of student learning, success, failure, teaching, learning styles, temperament, self-concept, and so on. The de-emphasis of laws allows this family of models to draw inspiration from a broader and more inclusive base that includes assumptions, hypotheses, postulates, and, if forthcoming, universal laws. In this way, the model-based approach emphasizes the construction of models of developmental education over the discovery of laws.

The model-based approach is also more inclusive in another sense. Because it does emphasize broad-based model building, it can more readily accommodate the diversity of institutions, practitioners, disciplines, and theoretical frameworks that seem to be a fact of life in developmental education. That is, while the classical approach appears to be committed to finding the single best theory of developmental education, the model-based approach allows for the construction of clusters of models from diverse sources. To formulate a comprehensive theory of developmental education the challenge would be to forge coherent connections among these clusters; this contrasts to the classical approach, in which a small and powerful core set of laws would be used to unify the disparate and heterogeneous subdomains of developmental education.

Advocates of the model-based approach have pointed to one main advantage of their view: that it more accurately and more faithfully captures the actual state of affairs in some areas of inquiry. In other words, while the core "natural sciences" may well be in the business of discovering universal laws and forging a single best theory for each domain, this is simply not the case for all areas of inquiry. In fact, some areas of inquiry do not appear to be governed by anything like universal laws, and some areas of inquiry appear to *require* a plurality of theories to adequately account for and explain their domains (Beatty, 1980; Longino, 1990, 2000). Given that there are such lawless and pluralistic domains, the model-based approach provides a useful means of understanding theory in these contexts.

With respect to a theory of developmental education, the foregoing discussion prompts us to consider two questions: Are there laws of developmental education? Can a single, unified theoretical framework explain our domain adequately? If we answer "yes" to these questions, then the classical approach offers distinct advantages; if, on the other hand, we answer "no" to these questions, then the model-based approach might be preferable.

The fact that the model-based approach is more inclusive, however, opens it up to criticisms from both

the classical and the contextualist approaches. From the perspective of the classical approach, the model-based approach seems too inclusive. That is, even though it's not the case that "anything goes" in the model-based approach, it certainly seems as if "everything goes." How, after all, are we to halt the unending proliferation of models and clusters of models? Or, put differently, how are we to forge a manageable and coherent theory given the inclusion of all perspectives and points of view allowed by the model-based approach?

From the perspective of the contextualist approach, on the other hand, the model-based approach is not inclusive enough. That is, from this point of view neither the classical nor the model-based approach adequately accommodates the human and social context in which theory and theorizing occur. According to the contextualist, then, not considering these contextual factors and their role in theory making renders both the classical and the model-based approach fundamentally incomplete.

The Contextualist Approach to Theory

In the previous two sections, I presented two general approaches to theory and theorizing. But the manner in which I presented those approaches itself becomes problematic once we try to make sense of theory and theorizing from the contextualist point of view. In particular, I presented both the classical and the model-based approaches as abstract and general philosophical positions without reference to the specific contexts in which they originated or in which they might be deployed. For the classical approach, we need to focus on systems of universal generalizations—because that is what a theory is. For the model-based approach, we need to focus on families of abstract models—because that is what a theory is. But one basic tenet of the contextualist approach is that knowledge, explanation, justification, and theorizing cannot adequately be understood unless we realize that all these things are intricately bound up with specific human and social contexts (Longino, 1990, 2000).

What I am calling the contextualist approach, then, is a broad umbrella term that includes postmodernism, poststructuralism, feminism, literary theory, social constructivism, and deconstruction. For purposes of illustrating a contextualist approach to theory, I will present just one thread of this complex skein by focusing on feminist philosopher of science Helen Longino.

Longino's overall goal is to demonstrate that "scientific knowledge" is best understood as a form of social knowledge (Longino, 1990, 2000). She accomplishes this by providing an analysis of evidential reasoning, arguing

> that evidential reasoning is always context-dependent, that data are evidence for a hypothesis only in light of background assumptions that assert a connection between the sorts of thing or event the data are and the processes or states of affairs described by the hypotheses. Background assumptions can also lead us to highlight certain aspects of a phenomenon over others, thus determining the way it is described and the kind of data it provides. (Longino, 2000, pp. 215-216)

Longino's emphasis upon the efficacy of background assumptions clearly has implications for how one is to view theories and theorizing. After all, to the extent that evidential reasoning plays a role in the development of theories and in testing them, Longino's argument would highlight the importance of background assumptions for theories as well. And if background assumptions come into play in specific contexts, then this is one sense in which theories might be seen as context dependent.

Longino (2000) continues by arguing that the ubiquity of background assumptions leads to a problem that can be solved by adopting a "social account of objectivity" (pp. 215-216). The problem is that background assumptions can include "subjective preferences" and "opinions" (pp. 215-216). Given that background assumptions are as important as Longino makes them out to be, how can scientific practice ever result in objective and intersubjective knowledge? Clearly, "there must be some way of minimizing the influence of subjective preferences and controlling the role of background assumptions" (pp. 215-216).

Longino's (2000) solution to this problem is the key to her account of science as social knowledge. Basically, she argues that individualistic subjective preferences can be overcome by the right kind of com-

munity and social interactions. As she puts it, "The background assumptions that determine evidential reasoning are those that emerge from the transformative interrogation by the scientific community…" (p. 216). "Transformative interrogation," which is also called transformative criticism elsewhere, amounts to "…subjecting hypotheses, data, reasoning, and background assumptions to criticism from a variety of perspectives" (p. 274).

The right kind of community is one in which such transformative criticism is nurtured. More specifically, such a community is distinguished by ". . . establishing or designating appropriate venues for criticism, uptake of criticism (i.e., response and change), public standards that regulate discursive interactions, and equality of intellectual authority…" (p. 275). Longino's arguments concerning science as social knowledge thus highlight the contextual role of a particular community's "methodological choices, commitments, or standards" (p. 278) as essential to understanding how that community can produce objective and well-justified knowledge.

With the above overview serving as background, we can now make sense of Longino's (1990) claim that

> [The] theory which is the product of the most inclusive scientific community is better, other things being equal, than [a theory] which is the product of the most exclusive. It is better not as measured against some independently accessible reality but better as measured against the cognitive needs of a genuinely democratic community. (p. 214)

I take it that a community becomes more "inclusive" by nurturing transformative criticism and by fostering social interactions that distribute power as equally as possible among members of that community. The startling conclusion that follows from Longino's account is that inclusive communities actually produce more objective and better justified knowledge than communities that are exclusive, homogeneous, hierarchical, and in which the interchange of ideas and criticism is limited.

The upshot for those interested in pursuing theory in developmental education is that the contextualist approach broadens the meaning of theory and to theorize to encompass communities and their epistemological standards. So, to construct a good theory requires that we do more than merely identify causal factors and laws or merely develop families of abstract models. Instead, we must be mindful of the community from which our theories arise, and we must nurture communication and criticism within that community. This is so because the contextualist account implies that better theories require a certain community structure and a certain ongoing social interaction within that community.

One advantage of the contextualist approach is that it values the diversity we find in developmental education. That is, it is implicit to Longino's position that a diverse community can do a better job of producing knowledge and theoretical frameworks exactly because such communities contain different points of view. Adopting a contextualist approach to theory would therefore allow developmental educators to present the field's incredible diversity as an asset instead of a liability.

In a similar vein, the contextualist approach provides a novel resolution to a tension some developmental educators may experience regarding the call to do theory. That is, many developmental educators are committed to the field because they view it as a means of reforming traditional higher education and especially the academy (e.g., Spann & McCrimmon, 1998, pp. 44-45). After all, the students we serve have been systematically rejected by the academy and thus denied access to higher education and its benefits. For many, this is a political as well as an intellectual issue. Insofar as the call to theory is interpreted as a call to become part and parcel of mainstream academe—to "do theory" and conform to the standards of the academy—then this amounts to becoming exactly that which developmental education has traditionally stood against. But the contextualist approach recasts the meaning of theory. Instead of considering theory as abstract, disconnected from practice, intellectual, and hegemonic, the contextualist links theory to social interaction in particular communities at particular historical moments. Theory thus becomes bound up with the local, the pragmatic, the social, and the political.

On the downside, other developmental educators may recoil from the contextualist's broader conception of theory. The problem is that such a conception stretches the meaning of theory significantly beyond

what has traditionally been meant by that term. For example, those who are sympathetic to the classical approach to theories may well find Longino's contextualism interesting but nonetheless irrelevant to the real business of making, testing, and refining a theory.

Conclusion

As developmental educators increasingly encounter and reflect upon theory, they will find themselves forced not only to think within a particular theoretical framework but also to think more about theoretical frameworks and approaches in general. Just as we have become mindful of different student learning styles, so must we become mindful of our colleagues' different theory styles.

The classical, model-based, and contextualist approaches to theory discussed in this chapter each enshrine a different set of intuitions regarding theory and research. It is worth stressing that none of these approaches is "inherently" or "naturally" superior to the others. As I have tried to show, each approach has its own advantages and disadvantages. Rather than fall into the trap of arguing that one approach is the right approach, it would be very instructive for each of us to take a current research project and to consider it through the lens of classical theory, model-based theory, and contextualist theory. Doing so would allow us to make more informed criticisms of alternative approaches to theory, and it would lay the foundation for creating a robust theoretical framework unique to developmental education.

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The Student Personnel Point of View

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This chapter provides a history of The Student Personnel Point of View and explores how this theoretical perspective provides a foundation for developmental education theory, research, and practice.

In 1926 the American Council on Education (ACE) established the Committee on Personnel Methods to explore student personnel programs and services in higher education (National Association of Student Personnel Administrators [NASPA], 1989). This committee, led by H.E. Hawkes, conducted a survey authored by L.B. Hopkins to determine specific institutional practices designed to promote students' individual development. The results of this research, published in 1926 in *The Educational Record* (NASPA), prompted further investigation and innovation in the area of testing and measurements. In 1936 ACE replaced the Committee on Personnel Methods with the Committee on Measurement and Guidance. In April, 1937, the Executive Committee of ACE sponsored an invited meeting to examine ACE's role in further study and clarification of student personnel work.

The Original *Student Personnel Point of View*

The following individuals participated in the 1937 conference that developed *The Student Personnel Point of View*: Thyrsa Amos, F. F. Bradshaw, D.S. Bridgman, A.J. Brumbaugh, W.H. Cowley, A.B. Crawford, Edward C. Elliott, Burton P. Fowler, D.H. Gardner, H.E. Hawkes, L.B. Hopkins, F.J. Kelly, Edwin A. Lee, Esther Lloyd-Jones, D.G. Paterson, C. Gilbert Wrenn, C.S. Marsh, D.J. Shank, and G.F. Zook, then president of ACE (NASPA, 1989, p. 38). This list represents a virtual "who's who" in the history of the profession of college student development. Their report resulted in the formation of the ACE Committee on Student Personnel Work.

The Student Personnel Point of View (ACE, 1937; reprinted by NASPA, 1989) is divided into four sections: (a) Philosophy, (b) Student Personnel Services, (c) Coordination, and (d) Future Development. However, it is in the first two paragraphs that the authors established the theoretical framework that is the essence of *The Student Personnel Point of View*:

> One of the basic purposes of higher education is the preservation, transmission, and enrichment of the important elements of culture: the product of scholarship, research, creative imagination, and human experience. It is the task of colleges and universities to vitalize this and other educational purposes as to assist the student in developing to the limits of his potentialities and in making his [sic] contribution to the betterment of society.
>
> This philosophy imposes upon educational institutions the obligation to consider the student as a whole—his intellectual capacity and achievement, his emotional make up, his physical condition, his social relationships, his vocational aptitudes and skills, his moral and religious values, his economic resources, his aesthetic appreciations. It puts emphasis, in brief, upon the development of the student as a person rather than upon his intellectual training alone. (NASPA, 1989, p. 39)

The authors noted that prior to the Civil War "interest in the whole student dominated the thinking of the great majority of the leaders and faculty members of American colleges" (NASPA, 1989, p. 39). However, in the latter decades of the 19th century the emphasis of American higher education, reflecting the influence of the German model, shifted

> through scientific research, upon the extension of the boundaries of knowledge. The pressures upon faculty members to contribute to

> this growth of knowledge shifted the direction of their thinking to a preoccupation with subject matter and to neglect of the student as an individual. (NASPA, p. 39)

It is fascinating that this comment, made in 1937, mirrors the viewpoint of many educators regarding the mission of the research university during the last decades of the 20th century as well.

> As a result of this change of emphasis, administrators recognized the need of appointing a new type of educational officer to take over the more intimate responsibilities which faculty members had originally included in their duties. At the same time, a number of new educational functions arose as the result of the growing complexity of modern life…. (NASPA, p. 39)

Thus, student services such as admissions, orientation, financial aid, counseling and testing, career planning and placement, student activities, residence life, and health centers emerged on campuses across the country, often under the auspices of the Dean of Men and Dean of Women, positions that later merged under the title of Dean of Students, and later Vice President for Student Affairs or comparable position. "These officers were appointed first to relieve administrators and faculty of problems of discipline; but their responsibilities grew with considerable rapidity…" (NASPA, p. 39).

The authors of *The Student Personnel Point of View* remarked on their preference for the term "student personnel," rather than terms like "guidance" or "counseling" to refer to their philosophical point of view, which the authors considered "as old as education itself" (NASPA, 1989, p. 40). They went on to specify the types of services that should be included in student personnel work, and provided guidelines for the coordination of these services. They stated,

> The effective organization and functioning of student personnel work requires that the educational administrators at all times (1) regard student personnel work as a major concern, involving the cooperative effort of all members of the teaching and administrative staff and the student body; and (2) interpret student personnel work as dealing with the individual student's total characteristics and experiences rather than with separate and distinct aspects of his personality or performance. (NASPA, 1989, p. 42)

The 1937 original version of *The Student Personnel Point of View* is most closely identified with this focus on the whole student.

The Revised *Student Personnel Point of View*

In 1949 ACE published a revised edition of *The Student Personnel Point of View* (reprinted by NASPA, 1989) that reflected the changing face of American higher education, as well as noticeable anti-German sentiment. The sections of the new report were "Philosophy and Objectives," "Student Needs and Personnel Services," "Elements of a Student Personnel Program," "The Administration of Student Personnel Work," and "The Importance of the Research Emphasis" (ACE, 1949). In its philosophical statement the revised version built on the purpose of higher education as articulated in 1937, but focused on three additional goals: (a) "Education for a fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living," (b) "Education directly and explicitly for international understanding and cooperation," and (c) "Education for the application of creative imagination and trained intelligence to the solution of social problems and to the administration of public affairs" (NASPA, 1989, p. 17). The authors of the 1949 revision continued to emphasize the importance of educating the whole student as follows:

> Although these added goals aim essentially at societal growth, they affect positively the education and development of each individual student. The development of students as whole persons interacting in social situations is the central concern of student personnel work and of other agencies of education. This emphasis in contemporary education is the essential part of the student personnel point of view.
>
> The student personnel point of view encompasses the student as a whole. The concept of education is broadened to include attention to the student's well-rounded development—physically, socially, emotionally, and spiritu-

> ally—as well as intellectually. The student is thought of as a responsible participant in his [sic] own development and not as a passive recipient of an imprinted economic, political, or religious doctrine, or vocational skill. As a responsible participant in the societal processes of our American democracy, his full and balanced maturity is viewed as a major end-goal of education and, as well, a necessary means to the fullest development of his fellow citizens. From the personnel point of view any lesser goals fall short of the desired objectives of democratic educational processes and is a real drain and strain upon the self-realization of other developing individuals in our society. (NASPA, 1989, p. 18)

These paragraphs have served as the theoretical framework for countless research studies in student personnel work through its evolution into student affairs and student development, as well as providing the foundation for other student development theorists, such as Arthur Chickering (1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993) and Alexander Astin (1977, 1985, 1993). In fact, in his preface to *Education and Identity*, Chickering (1969) wrote:

> Higher education once aimed to produce men prepared to engage with the society of man. But as the changes of the last fifty years have occurred, higher education has altered its image of man. The focus has shifted from men to subjects, from persons to professionals. Consequently, men themselves have become subjects—subjects to majors, to disciplines, to professions, to industries. Higher education and society are mired in frustration and conflict. These conditions will persist until men—not materials, nor systems, nor institutions—again become the focus of human concern. (p. ix)

In *Achieving Educational Excellence*, Astin (1985) wrote,

> During my twenty-five years of research on American higher education, I have been increasingly attracted to what I shall term the talent development model of higher education. Under this model, the major purpose of any institution of higher education is to develop the talents of its faculty and students to their maximum potential. (p. 16)

Under the section on "Student Needs and Personnel Services," the revised report included a paragraph titled "The Student Succeeds in His Studies," as follows:

> The college or university has primary responsibility in selecting for admission students who have basic qualities of intelligence and aptitudes necessary for success in a given institution. However, many otherwise able students fail, or do not achieve up to the maximum capacity because they lack proficiency or personal motivation for the tasks set by the college, because of deficiency in reading or study skills, because they do not budget their time properly, have emotional conflicts resulting from family or other pressures, have generally immature attitudes, are not wisely counseled in relation to curricular choices, or because of a number of other factors. In order that each student may develop effective work habits and thereby achieve his optimum potential, the college or university should provide services through which the student may acquire the skills and techniques for efficient utilization of his [sic] ability. In addition to the contribution of counseling and removing blockages from his path toward good achievement, the student may also need remedial reading and speech services, training in effective study habits, remediation of physical conditions, counseling concerning his personal motivations, and similar related services. (NASPA, 1989, p. 22)

Thus, just as *The Student Personnel Point of View* is the cornerstone of the student development profession, it also provides a foundation for the broad definition of developmental education, as articulated by the National Association for Developmental Education (NADE; 1995).

Implications for Developmental Education

One of the goals of developmental education is "to develop in each learner the skills and attitudes necessary for the attainment of academic, career, and life

goals" (NADE, 1995). Although many developmental educators are unfamiliar with *The Student Personnel Point of View*, its impact can be felt throughout the profession.

The original group of higher education professionals who promulgated this theoretical perspective in 1937 made the following statement regarding "Coordination between Instruction and Student Personnel Work":

> Instruction is most effective when the instructor regards his [sic] classes both as separate individuals and as members of a group. Such instruction aims to achieve in every student a maximum performance in terms of that student's potentialities and the conditions under which he works. Ideally each instructor should possess all the information necessary for such individualization. Actually such ideal conditions do not exist. Therefore, a program of coordination becomes necessary which provides for the instructor appropriate information whenever such information relates to effective instruction.
>
> An instructor may perform functions in the realms both of instruction and student personnel work. Furthermore, instruction itself involves far more than the giving of information on the part of the teacher and its acceptance by the student. Instructors should be encouraged to contribute regularly to student personnel records such anecdotal information concerning students as is significant from the personnel point of view. Instructors should be encouraged to call to the attention of personnel workers any students in their courses who could profit by personnel services. (NASPA, 1989, p. 43)

Developmental education programs have a long history of encouraging communication among faculty, counselors, advisors, and students. The small class size inherent to most developmental education settings enables individualization and enhanced contact between students and faculty. Starks (1994) notes that these practices encourage the retention of developmental students "because they support academic and affective needs" (p. 25). Similarly, Neuberger (1999) states, "Programs which are comprehensive in nature—those that combine services and do not offer developmental courses in isolation—tend to be more effective" (p. 5). Boylan and Saxon (1998) provide a historical context for the link between developmental education and the focus on the whole student:

> There are those who believe that the term "developmental education" originated during the 1970s as a politically correct label coined to avoid offending minorities by referring to them as "remedial," "nontraditional," or "disadvantaged." This is a gross misconception. The term "developmental education" reflects a dramatic expansion in our knowledge of human growth and development in the 1960s and 1970s. As a result we began to understand that poor academic performance involved far more complex factors than a student's being unable to solve for *x* in an algebraic equation or write a complete sentence using proper grammar. If such deficiencies were the only problems for students having difficulty in college, simple remediation would be an appropriate solution for everyone. A variety of noncognitive or "developmental" factors, however, were also discovered to be of critical importance to student success. These additional factors include such things as locus of control, attitudes toward learning, self-concept, autonomy, ability to seek help, and a host of other influences having nothing to do with students' intellect or academic skill.
>
> By the late 1970s, educators who worked with underprepared students developed an entirely new paradigm to guide their efforts. Instead of assuming that students were simply deficient in academic skills and needed to have these deficiencies remediated, they began to assume that personal and academic growth were linked—that the improvement of academic performance was tied to improvement in students' attitudes, values, and beliefs about themselves, others, and the educational environment. This created a new model for working with those who had previously been unsuccessful in academic tasks.

The new model involved the teaching of basic skills combined with assessment, advising, counseling, tutoring, and individualized learning experiences designed not just to reteach basic content, but also to promote student development. The resulting model became known as "developmental education," and those who participated in it were described as "developmental students." (pp. 7-8)

Boylan and Saxon, like others writing in the field (e.g., Neuberger, 1999; Stahl, Simpson, & Hayes, 1992), further assert:

> Successful developmental education…involves more than just the teaching of basic skills. Understanding that there is a link between personal and academic growth is the key difference between "developmental" and "remedial" education. For developmental intervention to be successful, student development must be promoted through services such as advising, counseling, and tutoring. For these treatments to be effective, developmental educators must attend to noncognitive variables. (1998, p. 12)

A review of the developmental education literature reveals numerous models for addressing the noncognitive needs of students (e.g., Farmer & Barham, 1996; Gallagher, Golin, & Kelleher, 1992; Hammond, 1990; Higbee & Dwinell, 1998; Nelson, 1998; Roberts, 1990; Roueche & Baker, 1994; Upcraft & Gardner, 1989) and research studies that support the effectiveness of these models (e.g., Boylan, Bliss, & Bonham, 1997; Clark, 1987; Higbee & Dwinell, 1990, 1992; Kulik, Kulik, & Schwalb, 1983; Starke, 1994; Weinstein, Dierking, Husman, Roska, & Powdrill, 1998). Both research and practice in developmental education reflect the importance of addressing the needs of the whole student. Some programs, like the University of Minnesota's General College (Wambach & delMas, 1998) provide a full range of student support services, from orientation to scholarships, advising, an early warning system, freshman seminars, an academic resource center, career planning, a program for non-native speakers of English (Murie & Thomson, in press), and special services for students who are parents.

However, perhaps even more important than this emphasis on the whole student are the goals set forth in the 1949 revision that focus on "a fuller realization of democracy," "international understanding," and " the solution of social problems" (NASPA, 1989, p. 17). Developmental education is committed to the democratic ideal of access to higher education. Hardin (1998) explains,

> Some argue the philosophical issue of developmental education, suggesting that higher education should be "higher" and, therefore, limited to the financially able and academically gifted. Others argue that the American education system is based on the Jeffersonian concept that all American citizens are entitled to achieve their fullest academic potential. (p. 15)

Hardin further notes,

> Perhaps higher education has been "higher" because colleges and universities were able to stay above the problems of society; however, this is no longer possible. The problems of poverty, violence, drugs, mental illness, and homelessness are being brought to institutions of higher education…. (p. 22)

Developmental educators can take the lead in providing access to all levels of higher education, including the research university, through both content-based core curriculum courses (Brothen & Wambach, 1999, 2000; Ghere, 2000; James & Haselbeck, 1998; Jensen & Rush, 2000) and skill development elective courses (Higbee, Dwinell, & Thomas, in press) for graduation credit that enhance retention as well. They can also play a prominent role in promoting the celebration of diversity both within and outside the classroom, and facilitating understanding of and creating solutions for social problems. Recent trends in developmental education that support the accomplishment of these goals, in addition to content-based developmental courses in such areas as history and the social sciences (Ghere, 2000, in press; Pedelty & Jacobs, in press), include community-linked programs such as workplace literacy projects (Griffith, 1999; Longman, Atkinson, Miholic, & Simpson, 1999), service learning (SL; Borland, Orazem, & Donelly, 1999; Gordon, 1999;

McKenna, 1999; Robinson, 1999; Rockwell, 1999; Schnaubelt & Watson, 1999; Slimmer, 1999; Troppe, 1999), community partnerships (Tompkins, 1999; Wiseman, 1999), and other innovations that link higher education in general and college students in particular to the world outside the doors of the institution. In an interview (Mack & Nguyen, 2000) for a recent edition of *Community Connection: A Newsletter for Service Learning and Community Involvement*, Barajas-Howarth states, "Historically, the University has drawn on the community for research purposes. But we need to also be mindful that our teaching and research, in turn, benefit those communities" (p. 8). She further explains,

> SL is about much more than humanitarianism. This work is about learning, about making education come alive through application. As people privileged to enjoy the benefits of higher education, we have the obligation to learn from as well as to give to our community (p. 8).

It is imperative that the developmental education profession continues to provide leadership in the areas of pluralism (Higbee, 1991; Kezar, 2000; Walters, 2000) and public service (Coles, 1993). Smith (2000) reports that senior recipients of leadership awards at Longwood College had significantly higher cumulative grade point averages (GPAs), and that students with high GPAs but no leadership awards "showed far fewer social and personal gains" (p. 27), as measured by the College Student Experiences Questionnaire. Promoting intellectual competence (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993) is only a small part of the mission of higher education. Developmental education programs can continue to lead the way in enhancing the growth of the student as a whole person.

The Student Personnel Point of View may be more than 50 years old, but it still has much to teach the developmental educator. By familiarizing themselves with the basic tenets of this theoretical perspective, developmental educators can guide students to achieve to their fullest potential, while also setting an example for other higher educators who have lost sight of the fundamental purpose of higher education.

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Democratic Theory and Developmental Education

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Writing

In our present circumstances, it is incumbent upon developmental educators to construct alternatives to the privatized democratic theories of knowledge and power that, though once progressive, today propel rollbacks of support for underprepared students and widespread misunderstandings of educational success and failure. This chapter represents a contribution to this project of reimagining the definitions of democratic social relations that provide foundations for any talk of the social purposes of education. I analyze the contemporary impasse of privatized democracy as a theoretical framework for defining and defending developmental education. I discuss how two significant strands of contemporary democratic social theory can expand the current focus on discrimination and inattention to oppression. I conclude with a discussion of how developmental educators might build on the strengths of currently available alternatives to privatized democratic theory.

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois predicted that the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the color line (Du Bois, 1982, p. xi). For higher education, and most acutely for developmental education programs, the challenge of the twenty-first century will be the challenge of multicultural democracy. The challenge of multicultural democracy is not the same as the problem of the color line. The color line of Du Bois' time was institutionalized through official discrimination—through practices or policies that intended to either favor or penalize individuals on the basis of social group identification. Discrimination has, since the time of Du Bois's prediction, become illegal and socially unacceptable. Yet despite the best efforts of reforms, many of the social group hierarchies of Du Bois' era continue to structure higher education in particular and public life in general.

The new challenge, the challenge of multicultural democracy, demands that those of us within developmental education understand and respond to the obstacles to equality that remain after the implementation of formal nondiscrimination. One difficulty at this point in meeting the challenge of multiculturalism within developmental education is that researchers have not yet deeply examined the implicit conceptions of democratic social relations—the theories of how knowledge and power relate to democracy—that structure research in the field. As a result, developmental education research has largely operated within the broad popular assumption that we can best serve our students by supporting their individualized participation in existing institutions, where participation means fitting in and playing according to the rules of the institutions as they are currently defined. Given this focus, much of our research pursues strategies for helping students to adapt themselves to what Paul Fidler and Margi Godwin (1994) identify as "curricula, student services, and campus environment based on a white [*sic*] middle class norm" (p. 35). Hunter Boylan (1991) has drawn attention to the complex and contradictory roles that such research plays, commenting that

> all programs that work with nontraditional students have one, and only one, bottom line. And that's to make opportunity a reality rather than an abstraction, a fact rather than a noble fiction, an outcome rather than a piece of legislation. (as quoted in Craig, 1997, p. 23)

Boylan here pinpoints the social motivation of research and teaching in developmental education—making equal opportunity real one person at a time.

In addition to identifying our bottom line, Boylan's comment points to the frustrating experience of ongoing group inequality despite the erasure of the color

line and the implementation of formal nondiscrimination and individualized access. Boylan's references to equality as an "abstraction," a "noble fiction," or an unrealized "piece of legislation," hints at the need for a new vision of democratic equality. Boylan locates our efforts as struggling against the present condition of having extensive rules about equality but a reality of profound inequality. His comments suggest the need for theoretical discourses that can redefine the rhetoric and reality of equality. We need theories of knowledge and power that can help us to ameliorate the gap that currently exists between individualized strategies on one hand and historically, culturally, and institutionally entrenched relations of group privilege and oppression on the other. But despite the nagging sense that, on its own, "not only is an agenda of socialization insufficient for enfranchisement but…it might be detrimental to enfranchisement" (Prendergast, 1998, p. 50), developmental educators have not pursued a research agenda for redefining educational enfranchisement. Although important as a partial strategy, if pursued exclusively, the currently dominant research agenda ignores how facially neutral knowledge can, in practice, reinforce the power of dominant groups.

In what follows, I examine the relationships between democratic theory and developmental education, highlighting theories of democratic equality that offer more robust foundations for responding to the challenge of multiculturalism. I begin with a discussion of the democratic theory implicit to most contemporary research in developmental education. Here, I draw from the educational theory of David Sehr (1997) to argue that developmental education operates within a theoretical paradigm of privatized democracy. Next, I draw from research within developmental writing to outline the value of privatized democracy as a conceptual tool with which to erase the color line, and the inadequacies of privatized democracy as a conceptual foundation for grappling with the challenges of multicultural democracy. I follow this critical engagement with a discussion of resources available within two significant theories of democratic public life that seek to address the weaknesses of privatized democracy. I conclude with a discussion of how these theories might transform research and practice in developmental education in particular and higher education in general.

The Foundations of Developmental Education in Democratic Theory

In their discussion of the evolving definition of developmental education, Emily Payne and Barbara Lyman (1996) have recently pointed out that "developmental education, perhaps more than most disciplines, has been influenced by trends and issues outside the field" (p. 13). The most recent of these trends and issues have grown out of demands from and responses to social movements for group justice. Primary among the demands have been calls for institutional transformation to enact group equity. A primary response has been a focus on overcoming the legacies of the color line by more vigorously pursuing neutral standards for individual participation and success in powerful institutions like education. Responding to the way that the color line established inequality by defining and treating people as members of groups, the trend has been to define and strive to treat all people as separate individuals, and to support each individual's efforts to succeed.

Sehr (1997) has called this trend toward nondiscrimination and individualized competition "privatized democracy" (p. 1). For Sehr, privatized democracy refers to visions of democratic public life that emphasize individual self-determination and freedom. This strand of democratic theory has dominated United States social thought and policy to such a degree that it has become an invisible assumption within educational discourse. Thus, as Sehr points out, "behind the current clamor for educational reform, restructuring, privatization, and vouchers, is the assumption that the purpose of public education is to prepare Americans to compete, both as individuals and as a society" (p. 1). Importantly, privatized democracy defines equality as a relationship between individuals, detracting attention from the effects of the social and cultural contexts, the contexts of group relations, within which individuals interact.

This trend toward privatized democracy outside the field has influenced research and practice within developmental education. As suggested by Boylan's comment about making equality more than a promise, developmental educators have worked within a sort of double consciousness. On one hand, our close contact with marginalized, at-risk, first generation, and minority students has demonstrated to us the struc-

tural, social group, roots of our students' difficulties. These include, as Payne and Lyman (1996) point out, "unequal academic opportunity across socioeconomic levels, unequal funding of K-12 programs, unequal and unfounded academic expectations of students from different racial, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds, and erroneous and inappropriate student placement and tracking" (p. 15). On the other hand, faced with the reality of classrooms full of individuals who are being held out of educational and other opportunities by their location on the wrong side of facially neutral talk of standards and criteria of excellence, we have dedicated our research efforts to figuring out how best to enable these students to meet these standards of unfairness. Thus, within a context of privatized democracy emphasizing neutrality as a strategy for overcoming past favoritism toward dominant groups, developmental educators have spent less time questioning the possibility of neutrality and more time trying to help students succeed according to existing standards.

The broad and deep commitment to privatized democracy that has emerged as a cultural dominant in the post-civil rights era is a double-edged sword. Through the vigorous pursuit of institutional policies and practices that propose to treat all persons as equal individuals and ignore group dynamics, the categorical mistreatment of some has been fundamentally challenged and, in places, eradicated. This progress is real and has supported economic and social prosperity for some individuals from historically marginalized groups. Although highly successful as a response to institutionalized discrimination, though, privatized democracy has been unable to transform some group level injustices. For example, within developmental writing, Tom Fox (1993) has challenged the "access through language pedagogy" that continues to dominate developmental writing, calling this strategy "an unqualifiable failure" (p. 42) in dealing with the educational disenfranchisement of African American students. Fox documents how, despite official nondiscrimination, skill remediation does little to transform the group level results of past discrimination. As he points out, "If you trace participation in higher education by African Americans in the last two decades, you see an ugly picture of slow, actual decline until 1988, a small increase in the last few years, and an overall picture that *no* significant change is occurring" (p. 42). Although access through language appears to work for some individuals, it best serves those least in need. Also, by reaffirming the valued position of currently dominant forms of knowledge, narrow access approaches justify the disconfirmation and exclusion of many.

The decades-old dilemma of no significant change for African American and other students at the bottom of academic and socioeconomic ladders translates into data like those collected by Eleanor Agnew and Margaret McLaughlin (1999) who found that "[White] students who were *not* successfully remediated in one quarter" of basic writing still "have more than twice the success rate in subsequent college courses as black [*sic*] students who *did* pass the course" (p. 45). Building on this kind of empirical evidence documenting the weakness of trying to grapple with group level injustice at the individual level, it is incumbent upon educational researchers to reflect upon models of democratic equality that can support meaningful enfranchisement of historically marginalized groups. Within a paradigm of privatized democracy that ignores group relations, the best that can be hoped for is equal access to a fundamentally unjust work and social world. At the present time, the disproportionate lack of success among students from socially oppressed groups pulls practice towards individualized skill remediation that perpetuates the cultural and social exclusion of students from those groups.

Thus far, I have demonstrated that much of the research within developmental education can be understood as implementing privatized democratic theory. I have drawn attention to the limits of this theoretical paradigm for dealing with the group challenges of multicultural democracy. In short, privatized democracy represents a way of responding to the challenges that define developmental education that, in the long run, chronically underserves some of our students. Although it is valuable as a partial response to the challenges we face, it is anemic as a total response.

Though historically dominant, privatized democracy has always been challenged by alternative views of democracy that have emphasized participation and redefinition of social institutions as essential democratic activities. Sehr (1997) calls these theories of public democracy. Extending the intellectual traditions of Thomas Jefferson and John Dewey, these theories emphasize the importance of relationships, participation, and common good over private gain. Where priva-

tized democracy offers a universal vision of individuals as possessed of rights that should not be violated, public democracy expands the notion of citizenship beyond individualized access to existing institutions to include equitable participation in institutions and active, continuous redefinition of those institutions.

Dana Lundell and Terence Collins (1999) have recently begun pushing developmental education research towards a critical examination of the theoretical assumptions about knowledge, power, and democracy that underlie currently dominant practices. Specifically Lundell and Collins investigate "assumptions which, though unarticulated, seem to shape the research in developmental education" highlighting a strong need for "integrated models that are thoughtful in naming [the] prior assumptions" (p. 7) that motivate practice in the field. They conclude that, because it is primarily dedicated to enabling student assimilation to what are assumed to be inherently valuable (i.e., because institutionally valued) forms of knowledge, "research in developmental education primarily focuses on individual deficit and its remediation, even though the rhetorical emphasis is on serving diverse or non-traditional populations of students" (p. 7).

As an alternative that is practically as well as rhetorically committed to serving diverse or nontraditional students, Lundell and Collins propose a broad reconceptualization of developmental education that would focus on expanding discourse participation rather than discrete skill remediation. For Lundell and Collins, success in higher education involves learning to participate in communicative, affective, intellectual, cultural, and social norms and patterns that are distant from and potentially at odds with the norms and patterns that many students bring with them to schooling. In order to really serve these students, developmental education programs must create contexts in which the discourses of higher education can be selectively adopted while not being uncritically overvalued.

As Lundell and Collins suggest, the challenge of responding to group oppression is to come up with new ways of formulating the relationships between knowledge and equality that resist the trap of seeing knowledge as neutral and equality as dependent on individualized assimilation to an inherently valuable norm. Their theory of discourse is important because it invites reconsideration of the role of developmental education and the democratic purposes of schooling.

Lundell and Collins have initiated a necessary reexamination of the foundational assumptions shaping work in developmental education. In what follows, I undertake further work needed for discourse theory to constructively challenge the dominant framework of developmental education research. Recognizing that higher education is a discourse—a social construction that defines and distributes power—does not necessarily challenge developmental educators to rethink the assumption that exclusively redistributing currently valued academic discourses to more individuals can provide a ground for equal participation and opportunity. Nor does discourse theory necessarily invite critical reflection on how expanding access to privileged ways of being and knowing might unintentionally extend and reinforce the institutional privileges of currently dominant groups via those groups' preferred discourses even as it enables some individuals limited access to some of the privileges enjoyed by those groups. In other words, Lundell and Collins' presentation of discourse theory assumes the foundational insights of a critical theory of democracy and difference currently absent from developmental education. Without making these foundations explicit, discourse theory might not, in practice, engage the relational hierarchies that pit some discourses against others so that adopting one is to disconfirm and silence the other.

In order to make opportunity a fact and a reality, the reconceptualization of academic participation that Lundell and Collins propose will need to be rooted in a vision of knowledge and power that interprets and addresses the shortcomings of the currently dominant emphasis on nondiscrimination. Such theories provide a framework for redefining the inequalities we need to address in schools and other institutions, emphasizing the importance of transforming as well as distributing privileged discourses and providing a picture of what necessary transformations might look like. In the following sections, I outline the major tenets of two significant theories of public democracy and discuss the ramifications that each might have for developmental education. These theories provide rationale and criteria for critically challenging currently dominant discourses or forms of knowledge in the academy. In order to make my discussion of these theories man-

ageable, I concentrate on the implications that these theories have for rethinking our definitions of literacy.

Communitarian Democracy: Literacy and Mutuality

I begin my discussion of theories of public democracy with the communitarian model. Many political theorists look to a more robust community as the theoretical alternative to the individualism that they understand as the rip tide undermining social solidarity and group equality within privatized democracy. The most influential discussion of communitarian democracy as an antidote to the negative effect of privatized democracy is Benjamin Barber's *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for the Modern Age* (1984). In what follows I discuss specific contributions that the communitarian perspective makes towards reformulating the democratic prospects of literacy. These contributions include the foundational principle that literacy and other forms of knowledge are social constructions that should enable persons to participate in making and being made by history, and the connected notion that rather than a stable set of skills, literacy is a flexible practice of continuously redefining and enacting just relations among persons—communicative relations that enable all to participate meaningfully in creating a shared truth.

First, I will address how Barber's (1984) communitarian perspective formulates language as a practice for participating in, rather than escaping from, history. The communitarian view of language differs from the traditional privatized view with respect to the relation within each model between language and the historical contingency of truth. In each model, language plays an essential and definitive role in facilitating "democratic" relations among persons. Within privatized theory, language is understood as an ahistorical bridge between the autonomous self and the rational world. Standing apart from individuals and enabling individuals to stand outside of history, literacy enables the democratic community to argue about truth through appeals to reason. Barber contends that in order for the privatized model of individualist meritocracy to make sense, "the individual must know . . . truth in and of himself but also universally" (p. 59). As the connective tissue among individuals, language must itself be impartial. Thus, within the privatized democratic community, language provides a sphere for contestation over which perspectives or interpretations accurately reflect a universal truth outside of language. Through language, in privatized democracy, "reason is the vital link [among persons]—the common process that gives to individual discovery the legitimacy of mutuality" (p. 59). It is this view of language that has led developmental educators to the access through language model that Fox (1993), Prendergast (1998), and Agnew and McLaughlin (1999) challenge.

Drawing on the idea promoted by the group movements of the 1960s that "objectivity," "universality," and "impartiality" are socially determined terms that justify overvaluing some perspectives at the expense of others, communitarianism challenges the privatized view of language and truth. For communitarian theory, rather than existing outside of language, truths about who we are and what the world is like are products of the ways that we use language. Given this, multicultural democracy demands a definition of literacy—the language practices we value—as a public mode of participation that gives democratic legitimacy to truths that structure social life. In opposition to the privatized model in which language embodies the autonomy, rationality, and universality of truths, in communitarian theory, language expresses the mutuality and commonality that citizens construct through the process of making truths. In the communitarian model, then, the social function of language is not to provide a sphere for argumentation concerning autonomous truth, but to provide a sphere of participation in creating shared meanings that serve the common good within particular circumstances. For communitarian democracy, in distinction from privatized democracy, truths are "produced by an ongoing process of democratic deliberation, judgment, and action, and they are legitimized solely by that process" (Barber, 1984, p. 170).

The major democratic prospect of literacy in communitarian theory is "challenging the paradigmatic present" (Barber, 1984, p. 194). As a way of measuring literacy, challenging the paradigmatic present puts school knowledge in support of the civic practice of creating greater mutuality by contesting conventionalized uses and valuations of terms for describing contemporary realities. This discursive activity expresses the communitarian commitment to meaningfully involving citizens in creating shared interpretations of

public life. Rather than simply acquiescing to what exists, allowing others to define reality, or excluding persons from participating, citizens are understood through their obligation to deliberate over meanings for the terms they use to define themselves and others in ways that expand relations of mutuality. Strong democratic civic literacy emphasizes that language should be a sphere through which citizens continually question the present realities they face as a way of enacting the recognition that present realities are products of talk. In other words, for democracy, we measure our ways of talking not to question their truth but their consequences. Thus, Barber argues that "to participate in a meaningful process of decision making…self-governing citizens must participate in the talk through which the questions are formulated and given decisive political conception" (p. 196). Strong democratic literacy emphasizes that the formulation of problems and issues by citizens must be open and critical. Literacy must be defined by the ability to challenge the consequences of the language used to define a given issue.

Within communitarian theory, knowledge is seen as social and is measured in part by the relations among people that it operationalizes. The stark difference with respect to literacy within communitarian theory reflects its distinctive understanding of difference as an ingredient of, rather than an obstacle to, democracy. Within privatized democracy, difference is understood as personal and private, properly exterior to public life structured by universal and thus impartial truths. Within communitarian theory, difference is understood as a beginning perspective, a starting point, that democratic participation provides an arena for transforming. Within communitarian theory, then, the community is defined by its perennial transformation of differences into mutualities. The construction of community is idealized as mutually transformative and thus difference is not understood as defection from a neutral or universally valuable norm. Such a reading of literacy and difference holds great promise for equipping developmental educators to meet the challenge of multiculturalism. Specifically, the principle of mutuality potentially lifts the burden of assimilation from marginalized groups and creates conditions for challenging dominant forms of knowledge. At the same time, formulating all differences as formally equal starting places, Barber (1984) does not question the relations among them and thus abstracts difference from the realities of group relations. In this sense, the historical focus of education on the contingency of currently conventional truths and relations fails to question the invisibility to dominant groups of the ways that group privileges inflect their views.

As such, the way that communitarianism winds up constructing democratic equality, as a process of overcoming individual difference, exhibits certain conspicuous inadequacies for addressing the current challenge of multicultural democracy. The inadequacies of communitarianism revolve around the character of the mutuality that Barber (1984) advocates and the individualist understanding of difference that, within his vision of democratic community, mutuality works to overcome. It is important to point out that only by situating the project of mutuality historically as a response to specific problems that privatized democracy cannot adequately ameliorate, can communitarianism distinguish its own calls for mutuality from models of social life that use appeals to community and commonality to justify the suffering of members of social groups defined as different. Barber recognizes this need to historicize in his conception of language, but does not understand difference in terms of historically specific relations of power among groups.

The difficulty with the definition of community that Barber (1984) advocates is that it obscures the need for consideration of the historically situated relations of power between and among perspectives as these perspectives are grounded in the society that currently exists. Many of the conflicts that the communitarian perspective would see as opportunities for mutuality, conflicts over curriculum content for instance, are interactions among socially differentiated groups defined by unequal relations of power and privilege. As such, the mutuality created must specifically account for the practical inequality that currently defines the positions to be transcended. Barber's view of mutuality relies on assuming that the perspectives brought to a situation are equally legitimate. But if the positions are representative of historic and contemporary group inequities, then a democratic encounter should not consider all positions equal because they are defined, in part, by their relations to other positions. Instead of ignoring the social inequity that informs positions, the democratic encounter should emphasize challenging inequity and the impasse in deliberations that inequity creates. The democratic en-

counter should emphasize the public authority of those social groups that suffer from the formal but not actual equality of all perspectives.

Communitarian principles that knowledge is a social construction and that the purpose of schooling is to enable equitable participation rather than to justify existing hierarchies are important. Still, Barber (1984) can ignore the need to define mutuality historically because he distances communitarian theory from real world group struggles that have tried to implement participatory practices. By defining equality as a communicatively enacted relation among persons, communitarianism makes the important gesture of reformulating the privatized conception of individuals as static entities towards the view that individuals are created by their communicative relations with others. But in advocating a shift in emphasis from togetherness grounded in neutrality to mutuality constructed by deliberation as in and of itself sufficient to democratize society, Barber fails to account for the ways that social group hierarchies inflect the ways individuals are able under current conditions to relate and deliberate. Here, different positions must be understood in part through attention to the historical and current group relations of power that give differences social significance. In this perspective mutuality must be defined as a relationship that transforms the unequal relations of power that structures the meanings of difference between and among groups. Without explicitly recognizing that difference is not personal, but a function of norms and conventions that institutionalize power, the ideal of mutuality risks reiterating historical assaults on members of groups whose difference has been negatively charged. The ideal of all-encompassing mutuality risks targeting difference rather than inequality as the obstacle to democracy. It distances talk of democracy from the hopes and dreams of the civil rights movement, feminism, and other social group movements by distancing theory from the central lesson learned in these group struggles—that group injustices cannot be transformed by knowledge that proposes to transcend rather than engage group relations.

Critical Cultural Pluralism: Iris Marion Young

To recall the discussion thus far, within communitarian theory the purpose of valued knowledges like literacy is to affirm social equality among persons. In contrast to the opposition constructed by privatized democracy and communitarian democracy between truth and consequences as the goal of valued knowledge, Iris Marion Young (1990) has theorized a model of democracy that concentrates attention on the weak point of each of these theories, the unexamined assumptions within each about rising above group inequalities. She articulates the critical cultural pluralist view of knowledge, power, and democracy through her argument that equality is something that people do in relation to others, an exercise dependent upon conditions of enablement, rather than a possession. Further, conditions of enablement are contexts deeply informed by the overall social group hierarchies that structure the society. In this view, knowledge itself is a way of being a member of social groups, a way of exercising affiliation with some and differentiation from others. For Young, given the role that knowledge forms play in the construction, affiliation, and differentiation of social groups, and given the reality that social groups exist in relations of power and authority, competing knowledges cannot not be charged with intense political force. This concern for how structural group dynamics shape the conditions of doing in schools makes critical pluralism particularly valuable to educators. It provides foundations for revising the knowledges we value in the interest of addressing injustices.

In *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Young (1990) fully articulates her vision of the justification for and social realization of a democratic cultural pluralism. She begins with a critical reading of the distributive paradigm of equality that operates in privatized democracy. Distributivism assumes that social goods and burdens exist separately from persons and separately from language that names and measures them. Significantly, then, within this view, social goods and burdens are conceived as distributable things, and thus "What marks the distributive paradigm is a tendency to conceive social justice and distribution as coextensive concepts" (p. 16). In the case of education, for instance, distributivism limits conceptions of education to distributing currently valued knowledge.

For Young (1990), the distributive definition of equality is valuable in defining the ways that quantifiable resources such as wealth, food, health care, and other such discrete goods should be distributed in or-

der to make material relations more fair. She argues, however, that the distributive vocabulary suffers significant inadequacies for dealing with nonquantifiable goods, goods like the feeling of belonging, cultural legitimacy, or power that are significant to the challenges of multicultural democracy. First, distributivism "tends to ignore, at the same time that it often presupposes, the institutional context that determines material distributions" (p. 18). Second, "when extended to nonmaterial goods and resources, the logic of distribution misrepresents them" (p. 18). Taken together, these characteristics conceptually separate goods, persons, and institutionalized language, rules, processes, and assumptions. The effect of this separation is to ignore the significance of social groups as institutionalized identity relationships and thus to ignore the primary forms of injustice in contemporary democracies—group domination and oppression. In other words, distributivism understands persons and social goods as atoms that can be attached to each other but that exist independently. Distributivism is unable to appreciate how persons are in some senses created by the relations of burdens and goods they inhabit with respect to each other through institutional processes and practices. Thus, distributivism focuses on quantitative redistribution rather than the deeper needs for cultural and institutional transformation.

Rather than focusing exclusively on distribution, critical pluralism also addresses group oppression. In contrast to distribution, Young (1990) defines oppression as "the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a tyrannical power coerces them, but because of the everyday practices of a well-intentioned liberal society" (p. 41). For Young,

> oppression consists in systematic institutional processes which prevent some people from learning and using satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings, or institutionalized social processes which inhibit people's ability to play and communicate with others or to express their feelings and perspective on social life in contexts where others can listen. (p. 38)

An unintended consequence of privatized democracy, rather than a contradiction of its basic tenets, social group oppression expands understandings of democratic foundations for education.

Critical cultural pluralism is a particularly potent resource for responding to the challenge of multiculturalism because it addresses the significance of groups and the need for group equity beyond nondiscrimination. For critical cultural pluralism, social groups constitute persons by giving structure to the social perceptions that create how one is seen and understood by others and how one sees and understands others. Group conventions of knowledge and interpretation give group members shared experiences and perceptions so that "a person's sense of history, affinity, and separateness, even the person's mode of reasoning, evaluating, and expressing feeling, are constituted partly by her or his group affinities" (Young, 1990, p. 45). Further, other persons' ways of relating to one are structured by group relations of power and authority. As a White, able bodied, middle class, male, then, one exercises privileges and is treated with forms of regard that enact the social dominance of the group. Thus, although dominant political discourses often explain group difference as the *cause* of injustice and idealize transcending groups and seeing all persons as individuals, differences of language, social experience, modes of affiliation, are not themselves obstacles to democratic social life and are probably impossible to eliminate. The point, from a culturally pluralist perspective, is to recognize that social groups only have meaning in their relations with and to other social groups and that these meanings become ways of constituting individuals in relations of enablement or constraint. Individual oppression or privilege is the effect of what social groups are enabled to do in relation to other groups, not existence of group differences themselves.

For critical cultural pluralism, then, individual difference is, in part, a function of group relations. The individual identity of any person is not exhausted by an explanation of the social groups with whom one identifies because group identification is contextual and contingent, dependent upon circumstances and conditions, and thus always shifting and multiple. Still, groups can be said to "constitute individuals" (Young, 1990, p. 45) because they are the primary ways that people give meaning to their own sense of self and interpret others in social contexts. As social collectivities of identity affiliations and differentiations become institutionalized cultural practices within societies, one cannot not identify oneself through social groups. One "finds oneself a member of a group, which one expe-

riences as always already having been . . .For our identities are defined in relation to how others identify us, and they do so in terms of groups which are always already associated with specific attributes, stereotypes, and norms" (Young, p. 46). Thus the meanings that persons have are expressions of social relations between groups. Groups carry and enact—by their existence in and through their relations with other groups—the cultural meanings, knowledges, assumptions and practices that enable or constrain individual actions.

Young's (1990) central claim deriving from her attention to institutionalized relations among social groups is that although injustice is experienced by individuals, it is institutionalized as relations among the social groups that give definition to individuals' social locations, perceptions, and identities. Given this, Young defines a democratic view of difference in terms of institutional conditions and practices that enable individuals as members of different groups to enrich and enhance the social life that informs their own and others' identity and action. This involves but exceeds enjoying fair material circumstances to include,

> learning and using satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings; participating in forming and running institutions, and receiving recognition for such participation; playing and communicating with others, and expressing our experience, feelings, and perspective on social life in contexts where others can listen. (p. 37)

These are relational goals concerning communicative actions. They suggest that social justice demands institutional practices that go beyond not devaluing any person or social group. The democratic community should instead of formally disabling no one, actively enable all. For Young, the communicative imperative of creating institutional conditions of enablement suggests that part of the goal of democratic institutions must be to uplift members of social groups who experience social relationships that constrain the meaningfulness and authority of their action and participation. Rather than overcoming difference, such goals prioritize reproducing and enabling group differences while working to challenge the meanings that disable ascription of positive value to differences.

Building on her challenges to privatized democratic conceptions of knowledge and difference and her advocacy of a relational model of society that attends explicitly to group consciousness and the politics of difference, Young (1990) explains how public life would be structured under cultural pluralism, arguing, "the good society does not eliminate or transcend group difference. Rather there is equality among socially and culturally defined groups, who mutually respect one another and affirm one another in their differences" (p. 163). This ideal of cultural group difference and equality demands, in Young's view, dispensing with the ideals of community and individuality that have underwritten the continuation and entrenchment of social group injustices since the era of civil rights reform. Since that time, the logic of the community versus individuality opposition has become a commonsense feature of debates over democracy so that "for many writers, the rejection of individualism logically entails the assertion of community, and conversely any rejection of community entails that one necessarily supports individualism" (p. 229). But for Young the privatized and communitarian views of community are bound together by the fact that "each entails a denial of difference and desire to bring multiplicity and heterogeneity into unity" (p. 229). In this similarity, they each deny the politics of difference that inspired and were developed by the group movements born in the 1960s. Young thus constructs "a normative ideal of city life as an alternative to both the ideal of community and the liberal individualism it criticizes" (p. 237) as a way of trying to articulate a model of democratic social life that exercises and institutionalizes social transformation through attention to difference.

Through her definition of city life as a model of the good society, Young (1990) works to locate opportunities for more just social norms within the existing material and historical realities we face. Despite the realities of contemporary cities where the depth of social injustice is blatant, Young outlines the features of a democratic cultural pluralist public by outlining the virtues hinted at within the reality of present day cities. For her, the ideal of city life involves a shared life in which "differences remain unassimilated" (p. 241) and where "the public is heterogeneous, plural, and playful, a place where people witness and appreciate diverse cultural expressions that they do not share and do not fully understand" (p. 241). Bringing to-

gether persons of diverse backgrounds, interests, cultures, and beliefs, cities also bring together diverse activities of life and become spheres of exposure to multiplicity and dynamic possibility. For Young, the inassimilable diversity of city life presents a model of the good society to the degree that difference is associated not with notions of exclusion and inclusion, but with overlapping variety, attraction to difference, and publicity. Further, by enabling differentiation without exclusion through the simultaneous existence of social group differences and overlaps, the city demonstrates that social justice requires a politics of difference that "lays down institutional and ideological means for recognizing and affirming diverse social groups by giving political representation to these groups, and celebrating their distinctive characteristics and cultures" (p. 240). In the ideal city, for Young, the purpose of public life is to institutionalize social group equality.

As a resource for defining and defending developmental education, Young's (1990) vision of the city exhibits prominent strengths. Her view of the latent potential within urban social relations envisions an alternative to the institutionalized social group oppression that is not addressed by privatized or communitarian appeals to nondiscrimination, individual freedom, or community togetherness. Young's view attends to the suffering experienced by groups whose experiences, practices, cultures, histories, perceptions, and members are "feared, despised, or at best devalued" (p. 235) by practices and norms that propose themselves to be impartial.

By constructing her model of the good society through the norms of city life, Young places herself and the definition of democratic society in solidarity with downtrodden social groups who make up the majority of urban residents in many areas. At the current historical juncture, cities signify in the public consciousness non-White cultural spaces. As well, in material fact, from Detroit to Newark, Los Angeles to Miami, non-White cultures, practices, and perspectives exercise more public authority in cities than in any other space. Thus, holding up the city as representative of the social relations that our society should seek inherently denotes the significance of difference to a democratic vision of the future. As a model of a critically compassionate democratic society that not only accommodates difference but that institutionalizes equality across differences, Young's ideal of city life as a terrain of social group justice is compelling and promising.

Conclusion

The civil rights movement and the cultural upheavals of the 1960s have provided a new vocabulary—the vocabulary of nondiscrimination—for defining and defending developmental education programs. Drawing on this vocabulary, developmental education has extended a legacy of human hope that has historically sustained an interventionist attitude toward the suffering that society produces. In the aftermath of these efforts, new theories of democracy have emerged to make sense of unprecedented social realities and social hopes. The prospect raised by the civil rights struggles was that full participation in all aspects of shared life should not require assimilation to norms and practices that devalue any group's cultural heritage, perspectives, or practices. The social group movements, in contrast to individualist liberalism, subscribed to positive views of group difference and group solidarity, and thus audaciously hoped for and sought to realize, through thought and action, a public that would do justice to difference. In the aftermath of the privatized democratic civil rights era, theory and practice must continue to challenge cultural genocide as a prerequisite for social equality.

In this chapter, I have discussed theoretical responses to privatized democracy. These theories exhibit strengths and weaknesses for redefining and defending developmental education. In the aftermath of the civil rights era, human suffering has expanded despite the dominant language of equal treatment for all. As Henry Giroux (1997) has argued, in such a context, theory must be understood as an ethical and political undertaking: "Theory should be seen as abstract and anticipatory: abstract in that it makes the self-evident problematic; anticipatory in that it points to a language and project of possibility" (p. 206). Using this definition of theory, we can measure the value of theories of democracy by examining the kinds of hope and insight that the theories can inspire for educators. What aspects of the relations we have do these theories make problematic and what "projects of possibility" do these theories sustain?

Communitarianism hopes for a total transformation of privatized individualist social relations. The par-

ticipatory democratic community uses appreciation of the rhetorical nature of our relations to place mutuality rather than universality as the measure of the legitimacy of the truths that a community shares. Through commitment to enhancing bonds with others as a way of communicatively enacting democratic citizenship and as a way of maintaining the conditions for democratic decision making, civic literacy uses contingency to define the community. Engagements with others through literacy or other forms of valued knowledge is a process of self transformation in light of the partiality of any singular perspective and in an effort at "understanding individuals not as abstract persons but as citizens, so that commonality and equality rather than separateness are the defining traits of human society" (Barber, 1984, p. 119). As a model of communicatively created mutuality, communitarian theory inspires hope that the human capacities for collaboration can prevail over the logic of privatized competition.

As a foundation for education, the communitarian model argues that "Democracy means above all equal access to language, and strong democracy means widespread and ongoing participation in talk by the entire citizenry" (Barber, 1984, p. 197). In this sense, communitarianism as a theoretical model allies itself with the hope of making good—through participation—on the promise of social equality at the center of education. There is much to value in Barber's theoretical recognition that democratic principles are only given meaning as they are lived out and transformed by persons. As I have discussed, however, despite the appealing notion of personal change for the public good in communitarianism, the ideal of individual equality through participation and the hope for a social equality that transcends differences of social group perception, history, and practice, ultimately refuses to invest in social group affirmation. Barber ignores the complex obstacles to individualized equality that social group movements have encountered in recent decades. Whether equality among individuals is understood as a truth that precedes participation or as an outcome of participation, equality must be defined in terms of how it will transform the relations of social group injustice that currently exist. By refusing to talk of groups, communitarianism refuses hope for definitions of equality that respond to the claims from unprivileged social groups that inequality is not personal and individual, but a relation of groups.

In contrast to communitarian theory, critical cultural pluralism offers a powerful critique of existing theories and a utopian vision of an alternative society. Critical pluralism sees the hope of democracy in terms of social groups and emphasizes the transformation of institutionalized social group hierarchies as a central feature of an adequate definition of democratic community. It is this ideal of institutionalizing social group equality that most poignantly distinguishes Young's (1990) cultural pluralism from privatized or communitarian democratic theory. As a resource upon which to ground practice in developmental education, critical pluralism would enable professionals to redefine curriculum around the goal of just relations among competing knowledges and the groups those knowledges represent, and to define and defend developmental programs in terms of the educational mission of group justice.

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Toward a Theory of Developmental Education: The Centrality of "Discourse"

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Postsecondary developmental education encompasses a wide range of practices in a number of disciplines. The purposes and practices of developmental education have undergone a variety of historical transformations. Indeed, the term "developmental education" itself has emerged only recently to identify educational approaches or a set of practices which deliberately and holistically address students' educational needs and diverse backgrounds. Shifting demographics and social imperatives have influenced these developments. Educators have identified the need and demanded recognition for programmatic models that assist students in their educational transitions, specifically those students whose backgrounds may not include experiences and discourses valued in higher education. Terms such as "remedial," "special," and "developmental" have consequently evolved to define both the population served and the educational paradigm through which such students enter higher education, with "developmental education" being the current term of choice.

Much of the published literature in developmental education lacks a theoretical base through which the motives and goals of seemingly disparate practices might be understood as constituting a unified core of disciplines. This is perhaps a symptom of the energetically pragmatic purposes which drive this body of research and practice. Much of the research we produce remains at an applied or assessment level, lacking a connection across the wide variety of subject areas and socio-cultural contexts that our practices seem to assume and which our disciplinary approaches seem to have in common. We propose a closer examination of the assumptions which, though unarticulated, seem to shape the research in developmental education, and we seek the creation of integrated models that are thoughtful in naming such prior assumptions. The purpose of this discussion is to identify common assumptions made by developmental educators in current published research and to challenge these assumptions constructively with the goal of expanding our definitions and theories. We propose to do so, though not out of any disdain for the committed practice of our colleagues who, like us, struggle with very pragmatic concerns at the level of practice day in and day out. Rather, we assert the need for such an enterprise for two closely related reasons:

First, work in developmental education has matured intellectually to the point where we must be overt in theorizing our enterprise so that our research and curriculum studies can compete with each other for credibility in full view of the assumptions that are their intellectual foundation;

Second, attacks on developmental education are very easy to mount when the grounds for discussion are subject to redefinition at the whim of every legislator or academic vice-president who questions the value of our practice. That is, we need to know why we do what we do, and we need to say these things aloud.

Method

To get at an understanding of what the profession's common assumptions and what the extant of unarticulated theories might be, we surveyed representative articles in developmental education. These

articles varied in topic and purpose, including broad historical overviews, emerging definitions, and emphases on specific disciplinary areas such as math and writing. The primary source for the publications surveyed was the National Center for Developmental Education's recent *Annotated Research Bibliographies in Developmental Education, Volumes 1 and 2* (1997, 1998), which identifies articles in seven content domains, including articles from major field journals and research reports. That is, we took inclusion in the annotated bibliographies to be an indication that the piece under consideration had achieved credible status in the developmental education canon. In selecting articles and research reports for our overview, we focused on items that reported significant findings or that proposed curricular practices based on research. In each disciplinary domain, this included identifying popular debates and targeting articles that addressed these issues. The study also focused on key historical overviews, articles, and research reports exploring developmental education's definitions or foundations.

Our methodology in this literature survey included the identification, selective review, and meta-analysis of these works. We focused on the selection of approximately 20 articles from each of the seven major research and practice categories from Volume 1 (assessment and placement, critical thinking, developmental reading, developmental writing, developmental math, minority student retention, and tutoring). To identify "representative" articles from each category, we reviewed both abstracts and articles by prominent authors in each discipline (who had more than one article included in the volume), and we marked recurring themes or issues being discussed in the literature drawn from a thematic reading of the abstracts. Additionally, we surveyed approximately 25 more articles reflecting new categories in Volume 2 which reorganized the previous seven categories into 48 subheadings, including new areas of emphasis such as program evaluation, legislation, program management, and instructional design. Focusing on this representative sample, we then examined these to identify major themes, research topics, primary assumptions, and articulations of theory related to developmental education and/or disciplinary-based or broader educational foundations.

Our purpose in this overview was to identify and examine the underlying assumptions of published research in developmental education. It was our hypothesis that this body of research and practice lacks thoughtfully articulated theories or definitions of practices that adequately describe the range of student backgrounds and socio-cultural activities reflected in developmental educational programs. Furthermore, we speculated that a survey of representative articles and reports would reveal these gaps in our collective articulation of our theory. Research and practice in developmental education continues to evolve at an important time at the national level, and an ongoing exploration of these assumptions and definitions within and across the disciplines is key to strengthening programmatic foundations and addressing student needs.

Definitions of Developmental Education

A first finding grew from a cluster of articles with a focus on definition. The term "developmental education" is a fairly recent evolution from past terms and politics, suggesting an increasing awareness of the diversity of student educational needs and personal backgrounds served in the range of sites which form our field. Terminology is important, for in our successive attempts to name ourselves are found traces of unarticulated theory which have given rise to our practice. Primarily, this work has emphasized issues relevant to students' transitions between high school and college at sites such as community colleges and preparatory programs within four-year institutions.

Payne and Lyman (1996) outline the history and shifts in political climate that mark the progressive changes in terminology used to describe students thought to be underprepared for higher education. These changes are intricately linked to national economic trends and an ongoing examination of the larger role of education in American society. Developmental educators debate among themselves over the vocabulary used to describe their programs, students, and pedagogies, and recently have pointed to "an identity problem, if not an identity crisis" within these disciplines, suggesting that "developmental educators consider renaming themselves" in response to outside criticisms (Payne & Lyman, 1996, p. 13). This call for a re-examination of the foundations of developmental education marks an important moment in the history of this expanding body of research and practice. Although it may appear to be a time of crisis, it also

creates an opportunity for self-reflection, constructive critique, and a further articulation of basic definitions and guiding principles.

In recent monographs, The National Association for Developmental Education (NADE) has established a working definition for "developmental education" which includes a holistic focus on cognitive and affective development of students, acknowledges a spectrum of learning styles and needs, and promotes an interdisciplinary range of approaches and student services. Higbee (1991) further examines this definition within the context of cultural pluralism, emphasizing a more positive framework for viewing students in their full complexities, not as "deficient" as past terms such as "remedial" have traditionally implied. These terms have created definitional and programmatic "myths" (p. 74) which Higbee challenges, acknowledging the barriers and stereotypes that arise amidst this confusion over terminology. These challenges and current definitions represent the most recent efforts to examine foundations and create a critical agenda for the future of developmental theory and practice. But at the same time, the recurring nature of the definitional argument actually discloses the first tacit theory: it appears that as a profession, we operate from an assumption that students or their home environments must be "fixed," that the students served in our programs or their families or their neighborhood are in some way pathological when seen against an imagined "healthy" norm.

Tomlinson's (1989) report also identified the complex, shifting definitions during the past century, noting definition ambiguities and challenges facing developmental educators. She traces the history of terms used to label underprepared students which primarily have emphasized models of deficiency. Again, the evolution toward the currently preferred term "developmental" shifts away from these notions of students as "lacking" as individuals or in their backgrounds, to a model which focuses on how "to bring something into being as if for the first time" (p. 7). This term has called for the shifting of discussions about these students and their programs away from deficit theory to more ability-based definitions and assumptions. Even this more broad-based definitional shift exposes a theory some might find problematic: if the goal of developmental education is "to bring something into being as if for the first time," the tacit theory must include the notion that what is already "in being" about the student is to be devalued as unfit for the new environment.

Despite recent critical assessment of foundational terminology, however, developmental educational research and practice, and its definitions, remain in a state of flux and are subject to both external and internal challenges as many items in the literature indicate. This may simply be the result of the wide range of local conditions and shifting demographics that influence definitions, student populations, and programmatic structures (Tomlinson, 1989), or it may indeed disclose a lack of professional consensus on key issues of theory, on key issues of how we construct intellectual frameworks for practice.

Primary Assumptions

Beyond the basic definitions offered in recent literature, there are many unstated assumptions informing most research studies and program models. Even as programs fall within the general scope of "developmental education," they vary widely, and within this variation is the measure of our lack of a coherent theory, or rationalization, for what we do. Our unexamined practice and unarticulated theory—in a domain which is already marginalized in higher education research—places our enterprise further into a subordinate position. Despite a pattern of recurring calls for thoughtful self-definition, noted above, the primary body of literature in developmental education remains focused on under-theorized curricular practice and traditional disciplinary-based models for students and programs. The literature discloses several patterns:

1. Disciplinary-specific models and definitions of developmental educational practice which emphasize practical, pedagogical issues are the norm in the research.

2. Articulated assumptions about developmental education focus on attitudinal, psychological, and affective dimensions, primarily at the level of the individual and related mostly to behavioral and skills-based issues and needs.

3. Research in developmental education primarily focuses on individual deficit and its remediation, even though the rhetorical emphasis is on serving diverse or non-traditional populations of students.

4. The bulk of articles reflecting more broadly on national and historical issues relevant to developmental education tend to focus primarily on assessment tools and paradigms, reinforcing dichotomized "insider/outsider" categories for students in terms of barriers and educational hierarchies.

5. Few programs have articulated and presented their own models to a broader audience, specifically as they relate to relevant educational theories informing their conception and relationship to current definitions of developmental education.

Despite recent efforts to expand the definitions of developmental education, it is apparent that popular conversations which place students into simplistic, assessment-based categories prevail. The predominant orientation of these five patterns indicates a primary emphasis in the field on issues of pedagogy, and a tendency to reflect or borrow existing theoretical models, primarily in the field of psychology and from assessment measures. The majority of these models prioritize definitions and theories of students pitted against an imagined societal norm, discounting their prior knowledge, strengths, and home cultures. In our assessment of the literature, this theoretical stance appears to be adopted mostly by accident, through our cumulative lack of attention to the primary theoretical foundations and philosophies of our local practices in developmental education. We propose that these conversations will need to shift in the future toward an examination of these five assumptions as they will challenge current perceptions of our field, and as they will more thoughtfully contribute to our position as a theory-making entity within higher education. Our conversation begins with an exploration of how these patterns are mapped out specifically within the primary research canons in developmental education.

Evidence in the Literature

To uncover these assumptions, we reviewed our representative literature sample carefully to identify basic definitions, foundations, and stances toward research and practice in developmental education. Each domain we examined in the annotated bibliographies reveals a productive contribution to the field in terms of research publications that address practical and theoretical issues within specific disciplines. Yet as developmental education encompasses many disciplines, interdisciplinary links in information about theory and practice which cut across these areas have not been as widely produced. Individual, discipline-specific articles emphasizing pedagogical issues prevail over broad-based examinations of educational and developmental theories. It was our primary assumption that this reflects a historically constructed stance and ethos in developmental education which future conversations need to interrogate. While this position certainly reflects a richness in our commitments to classroom practice and to our students, it is an approach that has not led to expanded theoretical conceptions that can effectively articulate our primary contributions and foundations within higher education.

To test this first assumption, we sampled the content areas and categories in the literature for evidence of how the canon currently reflects this primary pedagogical orientation. The areas of reading and writing, for example, provide a thoughtful representation of this history in developmental education research. Articles in these content areas address issues in metacognitive development (Applegate & Quinn, 1994; Flower, 1989; Hodge, 1993), learning theory and classroom methods (Davis, 1992; Easley, 1989), process-based instructional paradigms (Commander & Gibson, 1994; Williamson, 1988), motivation (Mealey, 1990), support services like tutoring (Hartman, 1990), and assessment-related issues such as grammar and English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction (Diaz, 1995; Doyle & Fueger, 1995; Sedgwick, 1989). Dominant theories in the fields of education and composition also inform developmental reading and writing research, including areas such as socio-cultural issues related to theories of remediation in basic reading and writing (Hull & Rose, 1989) and histories of theoretical changes in these fields (Goodman, 1984; Quinn, 1995; Williamson, 1987). Although discipline-specific theories offer the possibility of connecting more broadly toward definitions of developmental education practice across the disciplines, the information typically remains rather pedagogically focused and disciplinary-bound within these primary content areas.

Our criticism of this research is not in its lack of ability to evolve our pedagogies and shape curricula in our local programs; rather, we see this as developmental education's inherent strength. In fact, it is this primary attention to the diverse instructional needs of

our students which marks our work as progressive in higher education. However, as we have given priority to this standpoint in the past, we have often remained myopic in these examinations as they are positioned more broadly across the disciplines. It is our challenge to the evidence of this first assumption that we need to begin the next step in a process of increasing developmental education's visibility. We also believe this can be done through an extension of existing research, for its implications are rich, but as yet unarticulated in their connections to a theory of developmental education. For example, theories and strategies in the development of critical thinking (Chaffee, 1992; Elder & Paul, 1996) that appear in developmental education research have the potential for further application across the disciplines. Similarly, studies of minority students and multi-cultural issues (Boylan, Saxon, White & Erwin, 1994; Knott, 1991; Miller, 1990) provide evidence of rich and untapped resources for theoretical development across the disciplines. An examination of these philosophical foundations and an application of these tenets to definitions of developmental education can create a more unified perspective of how our students learn with a focus on their multiple contexts, not just what we are teaching them in the content areas.

Even in this bibliographic categorization of these as separate content areas in the 1997 bibliographies—critical thinking, and minority student retention—a particular pedagogical and epistemological stance is reflected. These categories seem to reflect a possible point of transcendence over the traditional disciplinary divisions as they prioritize theoretical orientations and culturally relevant issues over pedagogical tactics. Yet while it is necessary to address content-based approaches within our current structures for developmental programs, it appears that our most widely useful theoretical models often remain bound within these preconceived categories. This results in a strong, ongoing assessment and sharing of practice-based issues, but it does not ultimately lead to a strengthening and building of relevant theories that can be applied across the disciplines and contribute to a better understanding of our culturally diverse student populations. The most recent bibliographic volume (Volume 2, 1998), however, reflect a more integrated approach to its organization as it shifts from the content-based labels to a richer blend of foundational, pedagogical, and theoretical areas reflected in the research. This shift positively challenges the first assumption simply through its suggestion that a range of issues, rather than a fixed set of disciplines, is what unifies us as a body of research and practice. However, our theory and research designs need to follow similarly in this approach to work more explicitly as a theory-building entity in higher education, a move which ultimately best serves our students through our strong tradition of pedagogical critique.

The second assumption we uncovered is reflected in a recurring focus on attitudinal, psychological, and affective dimensions in the field which emphasize individual, behavioral, and skills-based issues and needs. These have certainly provided one of the most informative and active frameworks through which we have challenged reductionist education models and expanded definitions. In surveying the most recent (1998) bibliographic collection, we noticed that learning assistance, advising, tutoring, and skills-based models for learning reflect our primary developmental models. These are informed by a rich history of learning development theories based on cognitive and affective processes (Boyle & Peregoy, 1990; Hylton & Hartman, 1997; Smith & Price, 1996; Spann, 1990). These models have contributed to the development of one of the unique features of developmental education programs—the use of additional educational support services such as learning centers which offer individualized assistance. However, as far as these skills-centered instructional modes go to address these cognitive factors, they do not expand much beyond this mode of learning enhancement to challenge this deficit-based programmatic model.

The third assumption in the literature describes how these individualistic models tend to reinforce notions of remediation even as they may purport to reject them, especially as they apply to diverse student populations. When our definitions remain focused on linear, stage-oriented developmental schemes, we develop only one aspect of a more complicated picture of students' backgrounds and of the role institutional contexts play in these interactions. This includes a broad range of social, economic, political, and cultural backgrounds which intersect in ways that affect students' experiences in the classroom. While our rhetoric embraces notions of diversity and recognizes that we serve non-traditional populations of students in greater numbers than most programs in higher education, our

research does not similarly reflect this reality. Linear models of cognitive and affective development are often used to justify and validate assessment tools and behavioral labels, and they typically categorize students within a limited range of specific "skills sets" or linear developmental tasks. What is missing from existing frameworks is a culturally-based examination of student needs and pedagogical implications.

A broader recognition of the diverse contexts within which developmental education takes place is essential. For example, the notion of multiple contexts and communities (Phelan, Davidson & Yu, 1998) within which students, their programs, and their teachers live and work is key in this evolving understanding of developmental education. Work, family, peers, school, languages and other communities are interconnected in this broader picture. Such culturally-specific models for development address students holistically as they make transitions into higher educational settings. These issues are especially important as we continue to discuss educational opportunities and experiences relevant to the needs of students of color and other traditionally bypassed populations such as students for whom English is a second language, low-income and first-generation college students, and students with disabilities.

Current individualistic definitions simply do not extend far enough in recognizing multiple cultural issues which are important factors in student success in higher educational settings. We propose that interdisciplinary theoretical models be incorporated into definitions of developmental education. More research must be done in this area to challenge individualistic models which often separate students and their academic skills from their communities. Such research might help developmental educators challenge deficit models of students by constructing models that can view students as fully formed individuals—and not merely as "underprepared." Students can be seen instead as individuals who are traversing the territory of new communities while retaining and bringing their previous strengths and identities into higher education. This might also lead us to expand beyond the linear views in developmental psychological theories which unrealistically tend to scaffold and compartmentalize students' development. This would answer Higbee's (1996) call for an ongoing focus on the more positive, domain-oriented educational models which address intellectual development.

A fourth assumption uncovered by the survey focuses on conversations about assessment, which form the bulk of research studies in the developmental education. The reality is that most educational programs are frequently defined by local contexts such as legislation, politics, test scores, and other external factors of placement. This is perhaps the reason for the richness in programmatic models and emerging definitions in the field, yet these conversations also tend to reinforce the language of barriers and "insider/outsider" notions even as much of the recent research in this area has attempted to challenge this trend (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Gabriel, 1989; Fuentes, 1993; Kerlin & Britz, 1994; Jitendra & Kameenui, 1993; Seybert, 1994). Whereas this assessment bind may be inescapable in many locales, it also marks an important place in our practice where the challenge to externally-limiting definitions can continue. As definitions in developmental education become less focused on a language of remediation and more on inclusive, holistic models, it is important that research in assessment also begin to challenge its traditional stance of divisiveness and barrier-making language—even when these realities continue to be binding. While assessment tools certainly create initial placement lines and define who does or does not enter programs, developmental education does not begin or end with these preconceived boundaries.

The final assumption we uncovered in this survey focuses on the articulation of programmatic models to broader audiences—beyond the boundaries of individual disciplines, specifically as they relate to relevant educational theories informing their conception. There is a strong history of sharing classroom models and strategies within field-specific domains, but few of these are linked directly to definitions of developmental education and an explanation of relevant educational theories which inform their foundations. Programs need to be more self-reflective about current goals and theories, like La Guardia Community College (Chaffee, 1992; Simpson, 1993) has done in the past. Discussions such as these, which are oriented toward the unveiling of tacit theories underscoring local practice, provide directive starting points and useful models for other programs to investigate and share their work with a national audience. Such ongoing articulation and sharing of programmatic philosophies and educational foundations is important, especially in a field which is interdisciplinary by nature. Research centers like the National Center for Developmental

Education (Spann, 1996) and national organizations like NADE also continue to provide forums for this shared information. However, this strand of our conversation needs to move beyond the sharing of pedagogical and classroom models and toward an inclusion of broad-based representations of programs, their locales, their educational philosophies, and the communities they serve. This will contribute to a richer definition of developmental education, and it can provide ongoing, interdisciplinary frameworks linked to useful theories in education which, in turn, can lead us to expanded research in the field.

Toward Theory: James Paul Gee and the Centrality of "Discourse"

We argue that a healthy next step for this discussion would be consideration of a variety of theoretical directions for developmental education. As a profession, we have operated on the basis of tacit theories of deficit models and normative socialization. Such tacit theories are disclosed by examination of our practices. But the examination of practices to discern what our tacit theories might have been seems backwards, at best. A more deliberate engagement with theory as a precondition for adoption of practice is consistent with developments such as the recent public articulation of definitions of developmental education among NADE members (Higbee & Dwinell, 1996). In recommending a greater engagement with theory, we risk appearing to be judgmental about or dismissive towards the literature reviewed above. Nothing could be further from our intention. In calling on colleagues—and ourselves—to articulate and apply theories which might guide our practice and form a framework for further testing of our assumptions, we hope to add value to the everyday efforts which are at the heart of developmental education and access programs in higher education. We recognize, too, that examination of theory is inherently frustrating. As each theory is examined and tested, its limits become apparent and competing theories enter our field of vision. Moreover, as we embrace any one theory for the space of time it takes us to learn from it, we are inevitably in a reductionist posture toward the complex domain of developmental education. Theory is humbling, as well, in that fiscal and human resources rather than theory typically provide and define the tangible limits of our efforts. Recognizing that, however, we also remain convinced that in the absence of evolving theories of what we do, we are left without the complex bases on which compelling cases can be made for both what we do and how we propose to do it.

As a starting point in engaging theory which might better inform our practice as developmental educators, we point to James Paul Gee's notion of "Discourse" (Gee, 1996). Building from the intersection of culture studies and sociolinguistics, Gee defines a Discourse as follows:

> A *Discourse* is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and "artifacts", of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or "social network", or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful "role." (p. 131)

That is, Discourses are ways of being in the world. (Gee [1996] uses the upper case "D" to distinguish this complex meaning from "discourse" in its everyday uses tied to spoken language). A Discourse "is a way of speaking/listening and often, too, writing/reading in specific social languages, as well as acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies" (Gee, 1998, p. 9). Our "primary Discourse," most typically the one we acquire at home as children, forms our language uses and defines for us the basic terms of human interactions. This primary Discourse makes available to us a sense of values, a set of cues from which we learn our roles and response patterns. The primary Discourse and its ways with words, ways with people, ways of carrying ourselves, ways of understanding the complex varieties of human behaviors that make up home life and neighborhood life, is powerfully formative. This primary Discourse gives us, according to Gee (1998), "our initial and often enduring sense of self" (p. 9) Moreover, the primary Discourse gives form to our culturally specific vernacular language, the language we take out into the world with us when we go off to school.

For Gee, Discourses are embricated with ideology. Without our giving it much critical reflection, we acquire values, world views, perceptions of others, and a definition of ourselves within the deeply complex affective and cognitive domains of the family or other

unit of early socialization. These include our situated language (our family or community's version of English, for instance) and our initial perceptions of what "counts" as knowledge and its meaningful expression (like storytelling from individual experience as the unit of knowledge and its expression, as an example). These languages and perceptions are acquired within the same deep contexts as are our sense of what is right, what is wrong, how the social world is modeled or imagined, and a host of other "truths" (i.e., perceptions) through which we construct our social selves within the everyday realities we inhabit. As a result, Discourses are comprised of interpenetrating patterns of values, "knowledge," language, beliefs, roles, and relationships.

From this vantage point, one's life can be said to be marked by the interplay of different Discourses. Our primary, or initial, Discourse is added to or modified by the series of secondary Discourses with which we come into contact and to which we attach value as we live our lives. Gee (1998) notes emphatically that as we acquire or learn secondary Discourses, we "filter" (p. 10) them through our primary or initial Discourse. New Discourses (such as the Discourse of being a student in a school) are acquired or resisted in proportion to their perceived compatibility with the primary Discourse. Furthermore, acquiring any secondary Discourse (where "acquiring" means that its features become part of one's enduring sense of self) requires both learning the terms of the new Discourse and recurring meaningful practice of its key features.

School is comprised of sets of Discourses—"ways of using language, other symbolic expressions… thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting" (Gee, 1996, p. 131). In the U.S., the Discourses of schools are marked by white middle class ways (how adults are addressed; how a child is groomed; how authority is asserted or acknowledged; how limited forms of English are used; how literate knowledge is primary; and how knowledge is expressed, and so forth, for example). In addition, school Discourses reflect and value the practices and world-views of specialized communities, such as science or law. Children in many families, of course, learn within their primary Discourse many of the features of the secondary Discourses they will encounter when they enroll in school. That is, they will have a primary Discourse which includes values, ways of expressing themselves, dispositions toward what counts as knowledge, ways of dressing and behaving, which are consistent with the specialized Discourses of school. An individual's "enduring sense of self" (Gee, 1996, p. 9) can be said to have been constructed in ways which dispose him or her towards the Discourse of school. For "successful" students, school becomes the place in which they acquire through both learning and meaningful practice the peculiar set of secondary Discourses that comprise school knowledge and behavior.

How successful one will be in acquiring a new Discourse depends in large part on the degree to which the new Discourse conflicts with or threatens the primary Discourse and the enduring sense of self it sponsors. From this perspective, some students who do not do well in school might be seen to have not acquired school Discourses (school values, preferred language forms, authority structures, constructions of knowledge, ways of expressing knowledge, social practices) because the new Discourse threatened or conflicted with the primary Discourse and its ways in those domains. And it is often such students who enter the programs where developmental educators work.

Gee (1998) calls such students who come to higher education without having successfully acquired school Discourses "latecomers" (p.11). However, as he has evolved the term recently to reflect a more positive connotation, he now calls them "authentic beginners" to describe "people, whether children or adults, who have come to learning sites of any sort without the sorts of early preparation, pre-alignment in terms of cultural values, and sociocultural resources that more advantaged learners at those sites have" (Gee, 1999, p. 1). For authentic beginners, who lack experiences in and familiarity with the domain of education and, in particular, higher education, the task of acquiring the new Discourses in ways which might lead to full mastery of knowledge sets and fluency in skills is complex. In fact, he notes, "People who teach latecomers [authentic beginners] require the most knowledge, sophistication, heart, and talent of any teachers I can think of" (1998, p. 20). Gee assigns to higher education an assembly of specialized Discourses, all of which would be situated as secondary Discourses against the primary Discourses of students whose families or early socializing environment has not led them to smooth acquisition of school Discourses. (In this he is consistent with developmental education legislation under the U.S. Department of Education TRIO Programs, in which special supports are targeted at "first-genera-

tion college students" on the assumption that the primary Discourses of such students will not be formed in ways which lead to ready acquisition of the secondary Discourses of school and higher education.)

A number of implications for developmental education might be derived from Gee's Discourse theory. When we invite "underprepared" or developmental students to join us in the enterprise of higher education, we invite them into a social world where sets of certain secondary Discourses define the terms of success. Certain modes of social behavior, certain ranges of spoken and written English, certain conventions of dress and of interpersonal relations, and certain modes of inquiry, all of them interpenetrating, interact to define what is appropriate, what is valued, what counts as knowledge in this environment. These secondary Discourses are most typically outside the range of the "everyday" world inhabited by our students as an extension of their primary Discourse. The acquisition of the new secondary Discourses of higher education for such latecomer students is no simple matter. Gee (1998) articulates a number of features necessary for the success of developmental students and which will mark successful developmental programs for "latecomer" students in higher education. Each has implications for our practice. Taken together they add to our capacity to affirm some aspects of current practice and to critique elements of the status quo as evident in the survey of the literature cited earlier.

First, Gee argues that effective efforts aimed at developmental students must have a "low affective filter" (Gee, 1998, p. 16). That is, the new Discourse of higher education must be organized and made available to latecomers in ways which will not promote conflict with their primary and other extant Discourses. He notes that central to this is treating latecomer students and their other Discourses with respect, and "allowing them to actively build on what they already know and feel as a bridge to acquisition of a new Discourse" (Gee, 1998, p. 16). When our utterances and our practice as developmental educators represent the primary and other extant Discourses of our students in a deficit model needing remediation, we have already lost the battle.

Second, latecomers will acquire the Discourse of higher education most efficiently through what Gee (1998) calls "situated practice" (p. 16). He argues that people learn by "engaging in authentic practices within the Discourse [and] finding patterns in those experiences" (p. 16). He draws on research in a number of disciplines to argue that people need "lots and lots of actual and meaningful experiences (practices) in a new Discourse" (p. 16) if they are to acquire it. Developmental education programs which posit a "quick fix" or instruction disembodied from meaningful practice (as some drill and practice programs have been characterized) offer a low probability of success, despite their attraction to legislators and administrators with pinched purses.

Third is the principle of "automaticity" (Gee, 1998, p. 17). Gee asserts the need for developmental students to acquire simultaneously both lower order and higher order skills of the Discourse of higher education in the context of meaningful practice. Through repeated practice in meaningful contexts, the learner masters lower order skills to the point of their being automatic, while the higher order skills are used and also mastered. He uses the example of reading to illustrate. To read efficiently, one relies on mastery of lower order skills (e.g., recognizing words) in order to do the important work of making inferences from the text (the higher order skill). Students will acquire the lower order skill of recognizing words at the level of automaticity only through repeated meaningful practice in actual Discourse contexts (suggesting there is something important to be learned). The principle of automaticity seems to argue for developmental programs in which the authentic-beginner student engages in meaningful practice toward important learning, and suggests, perhaps, that "skills" are acquired only in the context of meaningful engagement with the subject matter curriculum rather than in isolated preparatory skills courses.

Gee's fourth principle is "functionality," which he defines succinctly:

> It is impossible for people to acquire any secondary Discourse unless they truly believe (not just say they believe) that they will be able (and allowed) to actually function (at least eventually) in the new Discourse and get something valued out of it. Of course, one good way to gain this belief is to experience oneself as actually functioning in and benefiting from (at progressively more sophisticated levels) a Discourse as part and parcel of the process of acquiring it. (p. 17)

Developmental programs which isolate students from "real college" and unduly postpone the experience of its benefits are at odds with the principle of functionality. Most importantly, programs which create (or which are perceived to function as creating) an overly "contingent" relation between the student and the mainstream of the institution might be counterproductive.

Students who are engaged in meaningful practice in the ways of the new Discourse of higher education through their developmental programs are, according to Gee (1998), on the right track toward acquisition of the Discourse. But the practice must be structured in ways that the student learns from experience the "right" and "wrong" ways of operating. This is his fifth characteristic, which he calls "scaffolding" (p. 17). As he outlines this principle, Gee notes that latecomer learners engaged in meaningful practice must interact with teachers or others who have mastered the Discourse, so that these "masters" can intervene in the midst of this practice to say "pay attention to this now" (p. 18) or otherwise provide explicit guidance, explanations, or perhaps modeling of the "right" ways of performing within this aspect of the Discourse. "Scaffolding" would seem to argue for developmental education practices such as supplemental instruction, basic writing workshops of small enough enrollment to make the process of intervention possible, supervised homework sessions in mathematics, and other learning situations that are sufficiently constrained to allow the learner to see the teacher as one who intervenes in the process of practice as a trusted coach with mastery cues.

Gee's (1998) sixth principle is related to the idea of scaffolding. He articulates it as "meta-awareness of what one already knows" (p. 18). As noted several times, the acquisition of new Discourses is optimally possible when the new Discourse is not seen as threatening to or demeaning of the learner's primary or other extant Discourses. Similarly, the acquisition of a new Discourse is easiest when the process assists the learner in coming to know better what it is that he already knows on related matters—to know better what it is one has already mastered in the primary or other extant Discourses. An obvious example of this can be found in those basic writing pedagogies in which users of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) acquire so-called "Standard English" through practice which builds on becoming aware of what they already know through their mastery of AAVE.

From the perspective of Gee's (1998) seventh point, for authentic-beginner learners to acquire the new or secondary Discourse of higher education, they must engage in a process of "critical framing" (p. 18) of competing Discourses. Gee notes (1998) that those who are "core members" of a Discourse tend to be "true believers" (p. 18). That is, when we are grounded in a Discourse, we are not disposed toward critiquing it. After all, as we acquire Discourses we are forming the self, or at least the social self, in new ways. This reluctance to critique a Discourse in which we are situated is thus understandable, given the complex interweaving of values, social forms, linguistic forms, beliefs, roles, etc. which comprise a Discourse in which we feel "at home." When we attempt to acquire a new Discourse, it is important that we be able to identify conflicts between old and new Discourses—that we "frame" one within the other in order to see both critically. In the instance of the latecomer student, such critical framing might lead to an awareness of the limits of both the old and new Discourses, and might also help the learner see the potential each Discourse has in their domains of strength.

Finally, Gee (1998) insists that authentic beginners must be involved in a process of "transformed practice" (p. 19) in regard to the Discourses they inhabit. In particular, says Gee

> It is necessary that they come to understand how Discourses work to help and harm people, to include and exclude, to support and oppose other Discourses. It is necessary that latecomers develop strategies of how to deflect the gatekeepers of Discourses when their newly won and hard fought for mastery may be challenged or begin to fail them. It is necessary that they develop the power to critique and resist the impositions of Discourses when these Discourses are used to construct people like themselves as "inferior" (often because they are latecomers [authentic beginners]). (p. 19)

Gee seems to be arguing that those of us who work in developmental education need to invite our students into a very clear discussion of the ways in which higher education as a Discourse operates as an agent of social construction. In the process of helping our stu-

dents to enter that specific Discourse as developmental or "remedial" students, it is critical that we assist them in coming to understand the nature of Discourses in general and the place they occupy from their location as latecomers caught between competing ways and contradictory values on their way into the strange—or strangely wonderful—construct we know as higher education.

The implications of Gee's observations might take us in a number of directions. His theory of Discourse and synthesis of features of educational programs which lead to the acquisition of the Discourses of higher education seem to point toward developmental education programs which (a) respect through rhetoric and practice the students' primary Discourses acquired in family and community; (b) engage students recurrently in meaningful practice in situations where real learning is the goal; (c) provide full disclosure of the terms of success through ambitious and meaningful practice marked by frequent, supported interventions by trusted "masters" which guide the learners toward patterns and ways which are "right" in the context of the new Discourse; (d) build explicitly on what students already know; and (e) disclose the essential features of higher education, its values, and the nature of its practices. At the same time, Gee's theory of Discourse points us away from simplistic deficit models and a preoccupation with assessments which are not thoughtfully constructed and carefully explained. The theory might further provide the basis for critique of developmental programs of short duration or overly limited scope. Gee reminds us that when we invite authentic-beginner students into higher education through the portal of developmental education programs, we invite them into a complexly structured institution with arbitrary norms, into a socially and culturally constructed Discourse which may well be at odds with the "enduring self" (1998, p. 9) of the student as formed within the circle of family and community—and that to do so puts the burden of welcome and inclusion on us, the students' instructors. Above all, the theory of Discourse engages us in an optimistic re-examination of various assumptions and principles which have formed both our professional practice and our literature. In that spirit, we offer this essay as a start toward a discussion of theory.

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Culture and Constructivism

CRDEUL

Is Developmental Education a Racial Project? Considering Race Relationships in Developmental Education Spaces

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As a sociologist teaching in a developmental education unit, I am acutely aware that both disciplines, sociology and education, revolve around White theorists, create spaces that are inherently White, and create a culture of Whiteness that is more apt to study persons of color than to utilize their skills, talents, and ideas. The theoretical arguments and empirical evidence in this article explore the possibility that schools are what critical theory terms a racial project in which everyday school experiences and the school process are racially organized. Often, participation in racial projects silences students of color, and creates barriers to resources much like gendered spaces silence and create barriers for women.

This last year has found the call for a cross-disciplinary theoretical framework for practice in developmental education getting louder. The reasons for this are numerous, but Martha Maxwell (2000) gives both academic and practical reasons. Maxwell states that developmental education "not only lacks academic standing, but its practitioners do not have power to set or even contribute to policy decisions within their academic communities" (2000, p. 8). Judith Shapiro (2000) writes that students tend to define the term "racism" as discrimination based on what we take to mean physical differences of one kind or another. This definition prompted her to ask students what "class" means. What Shapiro expected to hear was a definition of class that included the structure of our society and how socioeconomic inequalities were built into it. However, her students seemed to be concerned about individuals—prejudice against individuals belonging to less-privileged socioeconomic groups. Shapiro's experience provoked her to ask a very important question: Were students also viewing racism exclusively in terms of individual identities and interpersonal relationships? Shapiro's fear is that the goal of creating a more just society had dwindled into a matter of sensitivity training or what she refers to as "sociological illiteracy" (p. A68). She states, "as a person may be illiterate in the most literal sense (unable to read or write), or scientifically illiterate, so a person may be uneducated in the social sciences, and thus unable to make use of the insights and tools that those disciplines provide (p. A68). Her argument is simple. If people know nothing about scientific topics they are "generally aware of their ignorance, readily admit it, and realize the remedy for their ignorance is serious and systematic study" (p. A68). However, when the subject is society, how society operates and why people behave in particular ways, people tend to confuse their beliefs with knowledge. We all walk around with theories about the social world in our heads just like sociologists. Unfortunately, people tend to do it badly. This brings us to our role as educators in a fairly sociologically illiterate society. Shapiro states that as educators, we must take our share of the responsibility to provide "to all of our students…basic tools of social and cultural understanding…to teach them how historical understanding is constructed" (p. A68). Shapiro issues this challenge to social science educators. I would like to issue that same challenge to us as developmental educators.

As our multi-disciplinary and diverse population of educators continues in its efforts to understand and define developmental education, we must not proceed without considering the way we think about race, because how we think affects the way we understand and relate to students of color. This is not to say that developmental educators do *not* consider issues of gender, race, and class particularly in practice. However, developmental education theoretically tends to stand in the same place as other disciplines such as

sociology, as a "White" discipline. Hartmann (1999) recounts that in 1975 a sociologist named Joyce Ladner along other colleagues attempted to ameliorate this situation through the critique of traditional sociology as inattentive to the ongoing struggles for freedom, equality, and justice for people of color. He states that for Ladner, doing so would mean more than studying people of color and their particular problems. Although Ladner and her peers introduced the need for a change in traditional sociology 25 years ago, Hartmann acknowledges that a new millennium has come and the Whiteness of traditional sociology has not been detoured. His claim is that sociology has remained entrenched in traditional ideas because race is not, and should be, treated as a distinct area of sociological specialization. In addition, Hartmann argues the sociology that is specific to race relations tends, unlike other academic disciplines, to be framed in assimilationist theory. History, American studies, legal studies, women's studies, and literature all have taken on the task of treating framing research in a race-critical approach.

This last year has found developmental education attempting to redefine its current theoretical framework based in psychological theory to include a cross-disciplinary approach. One of the reasons for doing so should be similar to those Ladner (1972) stated were necessary for a change in sociology—the traditional framework in developmental education tends to focus on deficit and normative models of student educational attainment rather than on the struggle for educational equality and justice for people of color. What complicates the situation of developmental education is the rich literature that speaks to how we practice as educators. The literature contains impressive consideration of students who do not fit the mainstream picture of education. However, we seldom utilize theoretical frames that help us explain the experiences of students of color beyond their skills. The consequences are that we cannot understand how the structure of our relationship with the institution affects our relationships with our students, regardless of what that institution is, rather than just exploring the student-institutional fit. The introduction of race-critical based theory to a theoretical framework for developmental education is important as part of the foundation of practice. Exploring the processes and mechanisms through which we work as educators is vital to understanding how we practice. However, race-critical based theory acknowledges that individual agency, and the struggle and resistance social actors employ, are not always in opposition to existing structures, but have developed as a part of the reproduction and transformation of those structures. Acknowledging such a presence serves an equally important part in developmental education; that is the effect that a theoretical framework that includes race-critical theory potentially could have on policy.

Race and Schools: What Is Left Out?

Leading theories about race and educational attainment assume that students of color in general have two options: assimilate to an established norm and succeed or resist that norm and fail. The exception to a dichotomous model is found in Hugh Mehan's (1979, 1992, & 1996) work. Mehan's excellent piece of scholarship and example of applied sociology discusses ways in which Latino students resist yet succeed in public school. However, one exception has not yet diminished the prevalence of dichotomous models found in much of the theory. The reason may be that even when citing structural disadvantages as a cause of school failure, resistance to school norms and success are often considered mutually exclusive and determined by student decisions alone. Such an approach ignores the processes and mechanisms through which students are privileged or disadvantaged.

We do, in education, look at relationships in schools as we explore how to understand educational institutions, and there is no doubt that we talk about race and schools. Overall, however, we look at schools through the eyes of those who are employed in the institution, the eyes looking at the population we serve rather than through the eyes and experiences of those we serve. I suggest we think about how relationships experienced in school look through the eyes of students of color. To do so, I will explore how race-critical theory explains a small sample of my empirical data about Chicano Latino students. Between 1996 and 1998, I interviewed 45 university Chicano Latino students participating in a mentor program housed at a large Midwestern university. Thirty-one are female and 14 are male. Thirty-three participating students are bilingual, Spanish and English speaking, and 12 speak only English. University participants ranged in age from 18 to 25. They relate both kindergarten through 12th grade and university experiences.

Chicano Latino Students in School Space

Chicano Latino students more often than not described schools as "White spaces." I had to figure out what this meant. As I looked for patterns in their explanations, I found examples of institutions acting as White spaces through their formal practices. By formal practices I mean school policy, such as admissions, financial aid, and what programs educational institutions provide for students of color, or what is not provided. In addition to formal policies, some aspects of schools as White spaces may be identified through informal practices such as control over the classroom environment, grading practices, and the assignment of negative attributes to Chicano Latinos as a group. The examples for this chapter focus on informal practices because that is where many Chicano Latino students relate the importance of strong cultural identity and with that strength, appear to negotiate the consequences of informal practices occurring in White spaces.

University students often disclosed that they were drawn to certain things as younger children, but not necessarily being aware of these things as part of a cultural identity. As a process, these students nurtured an awareness that their difference is important, and strengthening connections to what made them different is important. This was particularly true in situations where those connections were disrupted. For example, Laticia, a 21 year old Chicana university freshman relates that

> when I got into high school it became something very important to me because I went to a high school where the population was upper class and mostly White. And I learned that I had frustrations with the mentalities or the ideologies that the students had . . . So I think in high school that is when I really tried hard to understand Spanish and get everything down grammatically and verbally. And that is when I started to seek out other opportunities where I could hang on to my culture or gain knowledge of different parts of my history.

When asked if she could remember a specific example of this "White mentality," Laticia recounted a situation in her high school humanities class, basically an English literature class. The class was reading *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad (1969). In the class discussion, this student had brought up the ignorance of the author by referring to the trek into Africa as darkness, equating the darkness with an evil energy stripping the White men of their will to work and hope. Laticia had even read an essay by an African American writer who made this argument. She went on to tell me that several White students in the class were offended by her comments, saying that Conrad wasn't even talking about race, only about how much vegetation surrounded the river. After the first comment, Laticia raised her hand to participate in the conversation, but the teacher refused to call on her, and after five comments from White students about the offensiveness of this talk about race, the teacher closed the discussion. Laticia talked to the teacher after class and asked why he didn't call on her. He told her, "I did not call on you because I knew what you were going to say, and it is too upsetting to the other students." Laticia tells me,

> I understood that the assumption of the White teacher, that White students, who were the majority of the class, were in need of protection [and that] silenced me. It also taught me that even in academic discussions, I am not part of the White world of my school.

This student clearly understood the school world as White. Furthermore, the power a majority of White students and a White teacher have in a classroom discussion is about more than numbers. How do we discuss this experience? What concepts define patterns like this? The mechanism that allows White teachers and students to participate in a conversation like this one is what I have termed the taken-for-granted organizational logic that orders classroom interactions as White spaces. The environment or climate of the classroom situation was more than chilly for Laticia. She does not say she is "uncomfortable" or that she felt others were not taking her seriously. Nor did she say she felt discriminated against. Laticia defines her experience as someone who is not White upsetting those who are White, consequently being told through words and actions that she should keep that difference invisible. Furthermore, Laticia learned through this experience that appropriate relationships in the classroom are those that keep her difference invisible. White students receive the same messages but in a different way. They were able to participate in the classroom

by being who they are, but not necessarily by being aware that who they are is the norm because the school is a White space. Laticia's White teacher may understand he has authority and therefore power in the classroom, but may not associate that power and authority with practices that reinforce his classroom as a White space. Yet, the teacher by his actions and words made the student of color disappear. This is how invisible White space is to White people in that space, and how visible it often is to the "other" in that same space.

Relationships as Part of Organization Logic and Racial Formation

Feminist theorists such as Joan Acker (1989) and Jennifer Pierce (1995) have addressed the idea of a space operating as a place of advantage or disadvantage. Their research argues that a process exists by which "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1989 as quoted in Pierce, 1995, p. 30). In addition, Acker's definition of organizations as gendered states that "gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived of as gender neutral. Rather it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be understood without an analysis of gender" (1989, p. 146). This distinction is important because both Acker's and Pierce's research support the concept of space as gendered, and as having negative consequences for women. The way in which a gendered space operates is through the relationships in that space. What I discovered in the empirical evidence from my study is that school spaces racialize (read like gender) as White space silences students of color, and creates barriers to resources much like gendered spaces silence and create barriers for women in the workplace. In the educational institutions I studied, White space is created and reproduced through a specific kind of organizational logic, a mechanism of informal practice and formal policy that renders "difference" to disappear in order for the institution to appear race neutral. Such an organizational logic does not necessarily support perceptions about race strictly through outward markers of race, such as skin color or surname. The organizational logic is devised through symbolic meanings of what it means to be White in a White space and what it means not to be White in a White space. Organizational logic conceptually exists in other institutions besides education. For example, the law utilizes a kind of legal logic that determined the outcome of the Susie Phipps case in 1983 (Omi & Winant, 1994). Phipps, a light-skinned woman, unsuccessfully sued the Louisiana Bureau of Vital Records in order to change the racial classification on her birth certificate from Black to White. Louisiana's "one-drop" law defines anyone with one thirty-second "Negro-blood" as Black. Therefore, outward appearance, such as white skin, cannot determine the assignment of a racial category because the organizational logic of the courts, a kind of legal logic, maintains the symbolic meaning of what it means to be "Black" in a White space.

Although social scientists have theorized about space as affected by race, no one has defined the process by which organizations become a racialized space as clearly as Acker (1989) has defined organizational spaces as gendered. This is because Acker suggests that in a work organization, power exists in the relationship between what is male and what is female. The concept of space as racialized is also about relationships. The relationship is between a White space, valuing White, male, and middle-class interpretations of what has worth and what does not, and other interpretations of worth. This concept of space as White constructs differences in the school along racial lines and has real and often quite negative consequences for those who are defined as the "other."

The next theoretical point is to define what I mean by racialize. In order to understand race relationships in the school and how these relationships are created and sustained, we need to talk directly about race. For the most part, issues of race and education are discussed through language such as stratification, inequality, and segregation. However, the educational process for many students of color is also tied to cultural identity, original community, and ways that social actors negotiate the educational process. These issues come into play because race relations are a fundamental component of the educational process. Race relations in educational institutions, however, are more complex than prejudice and discrimination. Race relations are a part of the hegemonic workings of the structure and the individual social actor, and linked to how the individual explanations of his or her behavior in the context of peers, family, and school relations.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) approach these issues theoretically through a process called racial formation. Racial formation is the "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed" (p. 55). An ideological link to how we think about race is provided through racial projects connecting what "race *means* [their emphasis] in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized" (p. 55). Racial formation, according to Omi and Winant, is a "process of historically situated *projects* [their emphasis] in which human bodies and social structures are organized" (p. 58). Racial projects become part of the social structure through our understandings about race that we believe are "common-sense" (p. 59). Common-sense understandings give us the ability to interpret racial meanings according to preconceived notions. These notions condition meanings about who fits into which category and how we expect categorized people to behave. Conversely, our ongoing interpretation of our experiences in racial terms shapes our relations to the institutions through which we are embedded in social structure. On the level of everyday life, we categorize individuals, often unconsciously, in the ways we "notice" race (Omi & Winant, p. 59).

The concept of racial projects is best understood by first defining race. Although I do not define race or ethnicity in terms of physical characteristics, social relations in the United States do categorize individuals and groups according to physical characteristics such as skin color. According to Omi and Winant (1994), "race is not an essence, nor is race fixed, concrete and objective, nor is race an illusion or a purely ideological construct" (p. 54). In other words, there are real material consequences to the way we practice race. Having defined what race is not, Omi and Winant suggest race be defined as a "*concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies* [their emphasis]" (p. 55). They further argue that the concept of race cannot be minimized, such as viewing the social world as "color-blind," because doing so would mean posing race as a problem or irregularity within the social world when race should be considered a central organizing principle of human representation. For example, like many other students, Josie states that grades are important because they are the way that other people evaluate your academic abilities. As Josie states,

> Grades are important because they are a way that people figure out if you are a hard worker or not and that's important to me. I have a very strong work ethic. I don't care what people think about Latinos, my family is very work oriented and if you have all "Cs" then it looks like you don't do anything...even though you know you're working 35 hours a week and a C would be doing quite well, you know other people's perceptions would be that you're not working.

Laziness as a common expected behavior assigned to Latinos frustrates many university Latino students. At the university level, students often choose which courses they want to pass with high grades and which courses they are willing to simply pass. Latino students believe they may not always make this choice because they do not want people to assume they are lazy or incapable, common expectations and behaviors assumed in the organizational logic of the school. This means White students are advantaged, able to assign a different meaning, to earning a lower grade. For White students, this choice is not about a strong work ethic. Choice may also be about practicality or the ability to prioritize. What Josie says suggests that the organizational logic of the school questions Latino academic ability and, when ability is proven, links the choice to perform at a lesser level to a poor work ethic. Latino students find themselves in the position of doing more when more may not be academically necessary, but necessary to negotiate an organizational logic that contributes to schools as White spaces.

There is a problem with examining school experiences through racial formation. Omi and Winant (1994) state that a conscious understanding of racial formation and racialization empowers the racialized individual to reconstruct racialized identity and to discontinue living in categories that demand we look at them as different. As good as this sounds, their theory still focuses on the subordinate position of the racialized individual. In addition, empowering racialized people to reconstruct their own identity does not necessarily mean others have reconstructed their identity. Students of color, although they may have raised their own consciousness about who they are, have not experienced a change in how they are categorized within the insti-

tution. How do we avoid limiting Omi and Winant's astute observations about racial formation? I suggest we begin to produce a better understanding of race relations in schools by not positioning students of color as the only racialized participants in schools. We need to consider the position occupied by Whiteness as a racial category. Work by David Roediger (1991), David Wellman (1994), and Ruth Frankenberg (1993) examines Whiteness as a privilege often void of racialized meaning among White people. People of color, however, have a clearer understanding of the connection between Whiteness and privilege. Roediger reminds us that "for at least sixty years, Black writers have stated that race in the US is a White problem, with consequences that fall on people of color" (p. 6). The way we continue to approach race is through a color-blind lens. However, color-blind actions erase the color of the "other" and privilege Whiteness as the norm, whereas recognizing racialized differences would highlight that privilege. Why privilege? Because as Cheryl Harris (1993) argues, Whiteness becomes property, something that we own that is as beneficial to us as a piece of real estate.

Recognizing or understanding the consequences of schools as White spaces is important to the educational development of students of color. The majority of the literature suggests that students of color have two options, assimilate and succeed, or resist and fail. My data suggests that Latino students negotiate educational success through other means. For example, Latina students accommodate the organizational logic of the school by appearing to adapt to prominent ideologies. However, through awareness of the school as a White space and their position in that space, they have learned to value other things. They have discovered that White spaces necessitate the creation of what Patricia Hill Collins (1990) calls "self-valuing" (p. 107) to compensate for common-sense interpretations of racial meanings practiced through the organizational logic of the school. This kind of knowledge gathering is different from and beyond what is required of dominant culture students.

Our sociological thinking and general understanding by the larger society of success and failure is reflected in Robert Merton's (1957) argument about assimilation. Merton suggests there are no alternatives other than to accept or reject the "means to an end" assimilation requires. Individuals from other cultures must accept discarding their ways of being in order to assimilate into the American melting pot. Rejection of the means (i.e., discarding one's own culture) proposes not obtaining the ends (i.e., assimilation). The underlying assumption in the informal practices and formal policies of school organizations is success through assimilation. However, the organizational logic of the institution may not allow for complete assimilation because that space is racialized.

Power differentials exist that influence the consequences of an organization logic that distinguishes along race lines. This power exists because once the organizational logic is racialized as White, it is difficult for groups of color to break into that logic. Given the power differentials Whiteness enjoys in the educational institution, as in the larger society, White groups acquire greater benefits from the racialized divisions in the organizational logic and in the organization. Take for example the ability to acquire housing or taking advantage of a legacy admission to an Ivy League university, or racial profiling leading to higher arrest rates of African Americans for smaller offences such as driving without a license. This is not to say that power and control are always intentional or part of a White conspiracy against folks of color. As Gramsci (1971) and Omi and Winant (1994) point out, the social construction of race becomes "common-sense" and hegemony is achieved through what is believed to be commonsensical. The organizational logic at work in the school socially constructs race in a common-sense way. Just as Acker (1989) claims that organizations are not gender neutral even though what is masculine is considered neutral in our society, I argue that the school's organization logic views Whiteness as natural and therefore is considered neutral. Organizational logic, built on assumed ideas and categorizations that White is natural and neutral, permeates that organization's material and symbolic practices and policies. Furthermore, this organizational logic racializes the very space of the institution into a White space, a space that privileges White and disadvantages people of other color. If the organizational logic of the school that privileges Whiteness is not intentional, how may this concept be observed and how is it reproduced?

As Nina Eliasoph (1999) suggests, sociological treatments of how Whites "objectively reproduce racial oppression may be found in how they buy a house in

one neighborhood and not another, pick one school over another, locate a company in one part of town and not another" (p. 483). However, to understand how decisions are made by Whites when neither prejudice (Wellman, 1994) or profit (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991) fully account for these decisions, we must look to other kinds of explanations. To begin with, the assumed rules for interaction inside organizations such as the school and in the workplace are subjectively colored with Whiteness in their everyday decisions and activities (Eliasoph, 1999; Fordham, 1988; Gould, 1999). Illuminating ways in which the organizational logic of the school neutralizes interactions may help us understand why many participating in school organizations do not understand that color, especially Whiteness, matters.

More than half of the university students and high school students I interviewed related instances when teachers expressed surprise at their knowledge, writing skills, or preparation for class. Many times, these remarks were related to assumed lack of language or writing skills by someone with a Latino surname. An organizational logic that defines expectations and appropriate behaviors from Chicano Latino students based on a White norm is another observable element that defines school space as a racialized White space. For example, in an American literature class at the university, Josie's teaching assistant (TA) wrote on her first paper, "your writing is coming along well," which she found offensive. She talked to the teaching assistant to find her suspicions were correct—that the TA had assumed because of her surname, she was not American and therefore not English speaking. Josie states that the TA was surprised by Josie's response because she felt she "was responding to my paper in a culturally sensitive manner rather than just critiquing the writing as she would any other paper." What the TA mistook for cultural sensitivity is a liberal response to interpreting a situation through the lens of an organizational logic that responds to difference as less than the norm.

Positive statements are helpful to any student but do not take the place of positive critique. In this case, the TA did not apply positive critique because she assumed the student to lack the skills necessary to write a better paper. Josie identifies this "treatment by my university TA and generally within school as difficult." Josie does not analytically understand what is difficult. However, over time, Josie gathers this information into a kind of understanding that she uses to help her negotiate school practices. She reports, "I figured out how to do school. I appropriated the system and have been doing so ever since." Although not saying so in these words, Josie developed an understanding of school as a White space working through an organizational logic that privileges markers that assume White values, and constrains markers that are assumed to be less than White. The constraint also neutralizes Josie's "difference" by not holding culturally different students to the same standard as "normal" students. In practical terms, this means Chicano Latino students at the university will not benefit from the same level of constructive criticism, one of the most important processes for becoming a better writer. Josie explains she has found a way to negotiate the organizational logic of this space by appropriating the way to "do school." Josie states that there is a difference between "doing" school and learning. She comments,

> I like learning. I like being interested in what I'm learning and I'm not very hard to interest in stuff. Because the one thing I know is that whatever I learn, I relate to myself, and then it is a part of me.

Josie has learned that school consists of more than gaining intellectual knowledge. She has also learned what is expected of her as a student, appropriate responses to that expectation, and a way to "do" a racialized other in a White space. What Josie does is negotiate the organizational logic that neutralizes her difference by making the topic of learning a part of herself. It appears she has found a way to be in the White space of the school without being part of the organizational logic, which would make her disappear. Instead, she mediates that space and gains what she wants: to learn. Regardless of her efforts to appropriate the system, there continue to be expected and appropriate behaviors in a White space that impact Josie's decisions as a Latina student.

Through these experiences, we gain insight into how schools as racial projects function through a White space, and how that space delineates relationships and creates barriers for students of color within the school along race lines. We also see how White space is negotiated through positive resistance. Resistance is a difficult term in that we often attach resistance to fail-

ure, and we also generally perceive it as negative rather than positive. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) argues that African Americans have developed a specific understanding of what is necessary for a Black person to survive in a White world. Collins describes Black women resisting imposed racialized identity through a clear definition of self and identity. Collins states that identity is not the goal, but the point of departure for creating a self-definition that challenges external definers. Self-definitions and self-valuations happen in safe spaces that Black women create for each other. Defining and valuing generates what Collins characterizes as "an independent consciousness as a sphere of freedom" (pp. 142-143). Furthermore, Collins states the process of defining and valuing the self is not about finding an increased autonomy as a separate individual. Instead, Black women's self-defining and self-valuing is found in the context of community. In my study, I found that Latinos often resist White space yet succeed in school by creating safe spaces, spaces that Patricia Hill Collins refers to as "spheres of freedom" (p. 103). These are spaces where self-valuing compensates for common-sense interpretations of racial meanings practiced through the organizational logic of the school. Understanding this phenomenon expands our ability as educational practitioners to help students of color develop in areas previously not considered, but is nonetheless part of their educational development.

Discussion

Let me summarize what Chicano Latino students told me and what observations and analysis of the institutions revealed. The gist is that color-blind actions erase the color of the "other" and privilege Whiteness as the norm. What happens in schools? The taken-for-granted assumption is that educational institutions are race neutral organizations and what is esteemed, White, middle class, male values, is neutral. In other words, schools, as Chicano Latino students inform me, are White spaces. What I discovered in my research is a mechanism that sustains this seemingly color-blind appearance of the institutional process, an organizational logic that advances White, middle class values and disadvantages those who do not fit into this privileged box. This organizational logic assumes a neutral position by distinguishing along racial lines in taken-for-granted aspects of school policy, and informal practices that determine what behaviors for people of color are allowed and expected in White spaces. What distinguishes this process is that "the others" are neutralized, or made to disappear in order for an assumed neutrality to continue. So it is more than marginalization of the other, it is about making the other disappear because recognizing racialized differences would highlight White privilege.

What do students do? My research indicates that Latino students negotiate their educational experiences through a process of self-definition and self-valuing. This process is dynamic, changes over time, and differs from person to person relative to that individual Chicano Latino's personal history. There are, however, patterns in this process that allow us to see a distinct progression in self-definition and self-valuing in connection to the school experience. The process is also affected by the degree to which the individual is grounded in the context of a community that provides a safe space, or sphere of freedom that challenges dominant definitions and valuing.

Our solutions thus far to educating other than White, middle class Americans are to provide compensatory education, special programs for students of color, and to proclaim schools as dedicated to diversity, multiculturalism, or at the least cultural sensitivity. There are three problems with these solutions. First, these solutions place the burden of change on the victim of an unjust educational system. Although directing efforts to improve the educational experiences of Latinos to Latinos may be helpful, why many of these students need "help" is not clear. Latinos as well as educators and the general public may unconsciously believe they need special help because they are deficient. One of the reasons schools and education in general continue to focus on individuals is because, like Shapiro's (2000) students, we tend to forget the structure of our society and the inequalities built into it. Instead, we are concerned about individuals, easily characterizing their ability or inability to participate fully in the educational process as individual and installing mechanisms for change accordingly. Furthermore, the individual on which the mechanism is focused is usually the person of color, not the seemingly able mainstream student. This is true for special programs designed for marginalized student populations, and for those designed to change the behavior of authoritative groups such as teachers. What we end up with in education in general is watered-down curriculum changes, half-hearted attempts to address

learning style differences, and mandatory multicultural training for teachers and administrators. In developmental education specifically, we continue to utilize deficit and individualistic models and definitions of developmental education masking other kinds of relationships in the educational organization that affect taken-for-granted assessments of student skill and student need. As long as education, educators, and researchers continue to attack the problems in education on an individual level, including our views on racism in the schools, that the privileged group can ignore, we will not change race relations or educational institutions. bell hooks (1994) explains it this way:

> Despite the focus on diversity, our desires for inclusion, many professors still teach in classrooms that are predominantly White. Often a spirit of tokenism prevails in those settings. This is why it is so crucial that "Whiteness" be studied, understood, discussed—so that everyone learns that affirmation of multiculturalism, and an unbiased inclusive perspective, can and should be present whether or not people of color are present. (p. 43)

hooks illuminates a crucial issue in race relations today. White people do not think about race unless they are thinking about people of color. The reason for this is well explained by George Lipsitz (1998), who states that "[W]hiteness is everywhere in the U.S. culture, but it is hard to see…as the unmarked category against which difference is constructed, Whiteness never has to speak its name, never has to acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations" (p. 1).

What does this mean in terms of developmental education? What would happen if education in general, and developmental education in particular, begins to look at itself, its research, and application as a White space? What would it mean to those participating in the relationships in that space? My analysis of Chicano Latino experience may appear as if once again the entire burden for change is on students' of color ability to find spheres of freedom. To the contrary, students who have found this safe space in which to pursue their education have enlightened us as to the need for structural change, and given us some hints as to how to effect that change.

First of all, we need to pay more attention to race relations as the central subject of discovery. I would challenge White folks in educational institutions to look for and define those taken-for-granted assessments of students and applications of teaching in developmental classes, not in terms of curriculum, but in terms of how the relationships in the classroom are affected by our assumptions. In order to ask these questions about White space and the relationships that take place in that space, researchers and practitioners must first consider approaching their work recognizing institutions as racial projects built on White spaces. The theory in which we ground our research and practice must be considerate of race relations. Our research and practice must recognize the institution as historically and contemporarily built on values and ideas that are specific to one group rather than assuming the neutrality of the spaces in which we work. Our research and practice must recognize that our participation in the social structure, our statuses and roles, are not neutral. Most of all, we must listen to students of color and really hear them. What students tell us is their real experience, and we must believe and respect them rather than dismissing them through our own paternalistic interpretations of their experiences. What students in my research discuss is not racism, or individual prejudice such as Shapiro's (2000) students suggested. These students discuss their relationships to education as a part of the social structure, and we should respond accordingly by seeking structural change. Because we cannot change the entire structure of the institution overnight, we must find a starting point. That point is to allow students of color to find spheres of freedom—give them time and space to address what the reality of their educational process really is in our classrooms, our offices, and in our research. We must consider that the spaces those of us who are the mainstream population research and practice in is a safe space for us, but not necessarily for those who are not like us. If we begin here, we will be giving more than rhetorical responses to the race relations in educational institutions as part of the race relations in the larger social world.

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The Place of "Culture" in Developmental Education's Social Sciences

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Anthropology
Walter R. Jacobs, Assistant Professor
Sociology

Recently, developmental educators have argued that we should view students in their full complexities, rather than as "deficits" to be fixed. This position can be actualized in the social sciences sector by retheorizing "culture." Whereas many common assumptions of anthropology stress semiotic meanings of culture and many sociological approaches focus on structures and processes, we argue that developmental education should include both meaning and structure in understandings of culture. We use a cultural studies framework to combine anthropological and sociological groundings into a model of culture that demands that we first access students' pre-college lived experiences and understandings, and work with them to expand, rather than replace, their knowledge with the formal discourses that they must master to negotiate academic spaces. In our model, culture is the collaborative practice of continually making and remaking contexts (i.e., structures and meanings) that provide students with dynamic tools to succeed in the academy and beyond.

To: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu, wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
From: burdell@tc.umn.edu
Subject: social science classes at GC
Date: June 13, 2000

Hello, my name is George P. Burdell. I am an incoming General College freshman, and I am interested in taking a social science class during my first semester. The last time I had a social science class was during my junior year of high school, and it was pretty basic. I remember that I liked the unit on popular culture best, but I can't recall if that fell under the anthropology or sociology sections. I would like to learn more about popular culture, especially issues about music. Should I sign up for the introduction to sociology course or the introduction to anthropology course? Thank you.

To: burdell@tc.umn.edu
CC: wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
From: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu
Subject: RE: social science classes at GC
Date: June 14, 2000

Dear George,

Your note comes at an interesting moment. We have been asking similar questions as we rethink the curriculum to meet the needs and interests of General College (GC) students. Forgive us if we provide a fairly long-winded, yet indefinite answer to your question. We have used the occasion of your query to begin a dialogue among ourselves concerning the benefits and limitations of our disciplines as well as potential ways to improve and integrate the sociology and anthropology curriculum. Given your direct interest in the issue, we decided to let you in on the discussion. We'd love to hear what you think after reading our responses!

Walt will be able to tell you more about the People and Problems (Introduction to Sociology) course. I will begin by explaining the benefits of anthropology in regard to your interest in popular culture and music.

The major strength of anthropology is that it is comparative. By that I mean anthropologists have studied thousands of

cultures, and therefore make an attempt to understand behavior by comparing different cultural lifeways. For example, rather than study popular culture in the United States alone, an anthropologist would tend to think about those familiar cultural forms as part of the larger human cultural experience. Anthropologists have studied rock and roll music as ritual (Hämeri, 1993), in Australian aboriginal culture (Dunbar-Hall, 1997), Papua New Guinea (Gewertz & Errington, 1996), Western Canada (Johnston, 1980), and throughout the world.

One of the advantages of our comparative methodology is that by studying others' cultural realities we can begin to realize that we, too, have constructed our world. In other words, we begin to see that the interpretive realities we mistake for objective or natural reality are instead specific cultural interpretations of the world. These cultural interpretations of the world are developed partly through "enculturation," the process through which individuals are taught the symbolic patterns shared by others around them. For example, what people in a capitalist society refer to as human nature is instead a reflection of capitalist culture. Similarly, the folk category of race as defined in the United States is a cultural concept, a way of (very poorly) categorizing human phenotypic (i.e., physical) diversity according to cultural beliefs, rather than a set of biologically significant categories (Fish, 2000).

The work of Margaret Mead serves as a third example. Freudian theory, as a manifestation of the Western cultural belief system, holds that human beings experience a major and traumatic break between childhood and adulthood, resulting in adolescent rebellion against the parents. By studying adolescence in other cultures, however, many anthropologists, including Margaret Mead (Mead & Boas, 1928), have demonstrated that adolescence is not this way in all societies. In some societies, for example, the age-period we have defined as adolescence is considered to be full adulthood. Conversely, for other societies, this period is marked by uninhibited social and sexual experimentation, without the extreme personal and intergenerational traumas associated with "coming of age" in Western societies.

It is quite common for us to mistake culture for nature. That is one of the issues we study in Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. Therefore, the study of cultural anthropology is partly a process of discovering the cultural matrices (i.e., webs of meaning) we inhabit. That process of discovery can often be a liberating experience.

Marcus and Fischer (1986) call the comparative aspect of anthropology "defamiliarization by cross-cultural juxtaposition" (p.157), which is just another way of saying that we anthropologists hold up other ways of life as a critical mirror to our own. We do that so we might better understand our own cultural patterns. As a result of such critical exploration, we might find better, more humane ways to construct our cultural realities and conduct our social lives.

In discussing the comparative element of anthropology, I have indicated another major emphasis of the discipline. Anthropologists believe that in order to understand any given behavior or belief of another society, you must first try to understand it within its surrounding cultural context. This is called cultural relativism, and it is the opposite of ethnocentrism. The ethnocentric person tends to judge other cultural behaviors and beliefs based on his or her own cultural value and belief system. Conversely, the researcher practicing cultural relativism tries to understand other cultures on their own terms.

Cultural relativism requires that we understand the internal logic of another cultural behavior or belief, rather than judging others according to our own cultural values. For example, White people in North America have often referred to American Indians as unfriendly or distant, based on the cultural tendency in many Native American cultures to be very reserved with strangers. In many Native American societies, the cultural rules for getting to know another person require significant

time and silence, not to mention the fact that interactions with strangers have had, on the whole, extremely negative consequences for Indian peoples. Conversely, the White tendency is to aggressively shake hands to begin an encounter with strangers, and one is supposed to engage in conversation in order to get to know them. These two cultural modes are often in conflict, and the resulting misunderstandings have had negative repercussions in political, educational, and business settings. White teachers working with Indian students, for example, have often misunderstood the meaning of silence in the classroom.

A number of anthropologists, particularly anthropological linguists, have studied such cultural misunderstandings in depth (Basso, 1970). The goal of such study is to increase people's understanding of others' behavioral tendencies, so that intercultural relations can be based on communication, understanding, knowledge, and respect.

Given your interest in popular culture, the Introduction to Cultural Anthropology course would work well for you. Culture is the main focus of anthropology. Although I cannot speak for sociology (I'll let Walt do that), the historical tendency of sociology has been to emphasize social structure (i.e., society), whereas anthropologists tend to examine the symbolic world (i.e., culture). In other words, sociologists tend to be more interested in social organization, whereas anthropologists tend to emphasize belief systems, ritual life, and the symbolic patterns that the members of a given society share. Therefore, although sociologists certainly are interested in culture, and some are dedicated almost exclusively to such studies, the historical tradition of the field has been to study social institutions and behavior in modern, Western nations. Conversely, although there are certainly anthropologists who study social structures particularly in small scale societies and subcultures, the main emphasis of the field has been cultural life in the non-Western world. Although neither Walt nor I represent these tendencies in our own research and courses, our respective disciplines are largely differentiated according to geographic (First vs. Third World) and topical (Society vs. Culture) foci.

This difference between the disciplines is represented in methodology as well. Sociology, as a field, has tended to emphasize large-scale, quantitative study, emphasizing survey, interview and census techniques. The study of large-scale social structures often requires such methods.

Conversely, anthropologists tend to use "ethnographic" methodology. Ethnography involves long-term study from within a culture. One must spend a great deal of time to learn some of the basic ways of thinking in another culture. In other words, the ethnographer essentially becomes a child again. Just as a child learns largely through trial and error, an anthropologist becomes a student of another culture, learning how to behave by being taught how to, and how not to, behave in that society.

Anthropologists are mainly interested in the "emic" point of view, which is the cultural insider's interpretation of the world. That is as opposed to the "etic" point of view, the interpretation of an outsider. Granted, we always remain outsiders, and will therefore always maintain and express etic perspectives as well, but the goal is to immerse ourselves in the other culture.

Whereas other disciplines will use broad, yet shallow, quantitative methodologies to gain an outline of mass behavior, we live in and amongst a culture for long periods of time, a narrow and deep strategy. Sociologists often work with populations in the hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands. We tend to focus on small collectives of less than 100 people. For example, a sociologist studying the question of illegal drugs might conduct a survey of thousands of respondents in order to answer a very specific research question, such as relationships between drug use, ethnicity, age, gender, education, occupation, employment, income, marital status, household composition, and other variables. Conversely, an anthropologist would be more likely to live in and among

a group of drug sellers or consumers for a long period of time in order to find out why people sell and buy drugs (Bourgois, 1996). As a result, anthropologists attempt to create a more complete and in-depth picture of an actual cultural world. Doing so, however, requires that one study a relatively small social group. The results are generally deeper in terms of cultural meaning and understanding, but not as broad and generalizable as data derived through traditional sociological methods. Each perspective and methodology has its place and purpose.

Whereas interviews might be considered a deep investigative method in other fields, for us the formal interview might be just day one of a year or two period of living with those in another culture. Thereafter, we emphasize participant observation, which simply means taking part in some of the essential cultural activities of others so that we might understand them better. Rather than talking to them once, we keep a dialogue going for long periods of time, as one would with a friend or family member.

So, getting back to the point, what might this mean in terms of your interest in popular culture and music? Well, that happens to be my area of interest as well. I have been studying the popular culture of Mexico for several years now. In order to do so, I have conducted interviews, observed hundreds of musical rituals from neo-Aztec drumming to Mexican rock and roll, learned to sing boleros, and to dance the danzón (poorly, like a Gringo). I have been studying musical ritual in Mexico City as a form of public pedagogy, examining the ways in which the state, church, and other social organizations attempt to instruct people through musical ritual. I am now writing about that research, primarily for a U.S. audience, because I think people in the U.S. should know more about our "Distant Neighbors" (Riding, 1986).

I bring issues of popular culture and music into my class. The course is based on a workshop format, emphasizing "hands on" student research projects. Therefore, if you were interested in Irish folk music and culture, for example, you might plan and conduct an ethnographic study of an Irish folk music group here in Minneapolis. In class you would study some of the basic theories, concepts, and methods of anthropology, and then apply them in your research project.

However, I am certain that you would also be able to learn a great deal about popular culture and music in People and Problems. Walt's research and teaching also emphasize these issues. He's writing an e-mail to you, too; it should arrive soon. Good luck.

Mark Pedelty

To: burdell@tc.umn.edu
CC: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu
From: wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
Subject: RE: social science classes at GC
Date: June 15, 2000

George-

I received your note a couple of days ago and am thrilled that you are coming to the General College and have an interest in the social sciences. We have a lot of opportunities here and hope that you use them to the fullest extent. Once you arrive on campus, feel free to stop by my office at any time to chat.

I see that Mark (Dr. Pedelty) has already answered your e-mail, and he did a great job of describing his course and his discipline of anthropology. He also did a very good job of describing some of the main ideas of my field of sociology as well! So, I won't repeat what he said, but let me go into a little more detail about how sociologists view culture. I do this because (a) this concept is central to all of us here in GC's social science division, and (b) it'll give you a foundation to better understand your interest in popular culture.

One of the things that you'll discover about most academic disciplines is that they have a specialized vocabulary to describe terms and concepts. Sociology is

no exception. It may be useful, then, for me to provide a glossary of terms here at the beginning of the e-mail so that you can better understand the ideas I explain later.

Glossary

autonomous individualism: belief that a person can obtain any goal with enough effort; other forces are irrelevant

beliefs: ideas about reality

binary opposition: a concept that has two parts, and each part is the exact opposite of the other, e.g., good and bad, night and day, male and female

cultural capital: set of symbolic elements valued by the dominant class, such as etiquette, artistic tastes, speech patterns

culture (summary): group way of life that is simultaneously constrained and enabled by both historical memory and contemporary stratification

culture as map *of* behavior: culture is understood as a force for order and stability

culture as map *for* behavior: culture is understood as scene of debate and struggle

dominant class: those with high-level positions in government, business corporations, or the military

doxa: that state where a person's subjective beliefs closely approximates his or her objective social positions

expressive symbols: representations of ideas and things

hegemony: process by which groups with power maintain power by combination of coercion and consent of other groups

heterogeneous social contexts: situations where people have many different traditions and values

homogeneous social contexts: situations where people are more or less the same

ideology: distortion of reality

mentality: state of mind

norms: rules for behavior

sociological imagination: process of connecting personal experiences with larger structural issues

stratification: unequal distribution of resources and rewards based on social group membership

structuralists: a group of social theorists who believe that humans understand the world in terms of binary oppositions

symbolic interactionists: a group of social theorists who believe that culture is a set of common meanings generated in face-to-face interaction

thick description: detailed, multi-layered, analytical narrative about social group structures and experiences

values: attitudes about what is good and bad

In *Webster's 9th New Collegiate Dictionary* (Mish, 1985), there are two broad classifications of culture. On one hand, culture refers to aesthetics: a cultured person has excellent tastes, moral facilities, training, and so on. On the other hand, culture refers to a patterned way of life of a group of individuals. Sociologists are more interested in the second usage. Within this definition, however, many different approaches to the study of culture can be categorized. Peterson (1979), for example, discusses four broad perspectives on culture: as norms, values, beliefs, and expressive symbols. Wuthnow and Witten (1988), alternatively, lump norms and values into one perspective, and compare that orientation with two others: culture as beliefs and as mentality. Additionally, there are several other ways to classify culture, such as discussed by Griswold

(1994), Mukerji and Schudson (1986), and Swidler (1986). Which are we to use?

I believe that an instructive categorization is one that compares approaches of "culture as a map *of* behavior" with "culture as a map *for* behavior" (Peterson, 1979). Indeed, each perspective leads one to ask very different questions and construct disparate answers: the former sees culture as a force for order and stability while the latter views culture as a process of contentious production and change. I will review these two perspectives in turn, providing examples and discussing their strengths and weaknesses. I will then conclude with a brief discussion of my own orientation to the concept of culture and how it's used in the People and Problems (Introduction to Sociology) course.

Culture as Map of Behavior

In this paradigm, culture is theorized as a force for order and stability: values, traditions, norms, beliefs, and attitudes are seen as regulating the conduct of everyday life. Furthermore, these forces are usually theorized as working implicitly; it is the task of the analyst to discover them and probe their inner workings in relation to larger social structures. For example, you may think that it's "natural" to change classes when the bell rings, or go to your locker at the end of the day, but these things are determined by the set-up of your school; in an alternative school you may not have bells at the end of periods (or class "periods" at all!) or lockers, because the administrators have a very different view of how the school should be run than those of public schools.

A group of theorists called the structuralists help us understand culture when theorized this way. They believe that values and traditions are the result of the human mind ordering experience into categories of binary oppositions (see Mukerji & Schudson, 1986; Williams, 1981). The major problem with this approach, however, has been a tendency to focus on "high" and "low" forms of cultural expression. Such a conceptualization is highly problematic in a society as complex and fluid as the U.S. (Gans, 1974).

Clifford Geertz's (1973) interpretative approach, on the other hand, was instrumental in a shift towards efforts to study popular forms of culture (Mukerji & Schudson. 1988). Emphasizing "thick description" as the means of discovering everyday understandings and cultural practices, Geertz argues that symbolic expression is the defining feature of the human species. Geertz, along with other anthropologists influenced by sociologist Emile Durkheim (like Sahlins, 1976, and Turner, 1967) argue that humans are primarily meaning-making animals instead of profit-making animals, and that symbolic expression is the necessary basis of practical activity. At this point you may be wondering, "just how is shared meaning reached?" Although thick description is very useful within tightly bound homogeneous social contexts, it is of reduced utility when investigating the production and expression of culture in expansive heterogeneous social contexts.

Here the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1990) is useful. His "cultural capital" is a set of symbolic elements that are valued by the dominant class. Individuals, families, and groups are believed to spend resources to gain cultural capital, which is in turn reinvested to gain more valued resources. Note that the focus is on obtaining the perspectives of the dominant class, not the other way around.

A weakness with Bourdieu's work specifically, and the culture as map of behavior camp in general is its reductionism. Social class is the most important force for Bourdieu; he pays little attention to ways in which locations such as age race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation affect things like doxa. For example, Bourdieu would not consider that even if you are from an upper-class family, as someone who is under 21 you can not yet fully participate in American culture: you can't legally purchase alcohol. It seems that culture as map of behavior theorists are too focused on the one or two key

elements that hold the entire cultural world together.

Sometimes, however, a few elements can be effectively isolated to form powerful insights about implicit cultural understandings. When reading *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985), for instance, I initially thought that interviews with 200 White, middle-class Americans unduly excluded large segments of the population (recall Mark's point that sociologists usually study people in very large numbers). Their resulting discovery, however, of an isolating language of autonomous individualism does seem to be a reality applicable to other groups. Perhaps a major task of culture as map for behavior theorists is to investigate how culture in a homogeneous context operates very differently in another, heterogeneous context: it shifts from a relatively harmonious process of discovering a shared sense of values and norms to a blueprint for never-ending contentious debate and struggle. I now turn to that orientation.

Culture as Map for Behavior

> This revised imagery—culture as "tool kit" for constructing "strategies of action," rather than as switchman directing an engine propelled by interests—turns our attention toward different causal issues than do traditional perspectives [of culture as model of behavior]. (Swidler, 1986, p. 277)

When reviewing Bourdieu's work, it is not entirely clear as to which of our two perspectives he belongs. The notion of cultural capital, after all, does stress that some groups strive to produce and consume symbolic content valued by the dominant class; in a sense, culture as the possession of cultural capital is a resource that individuals can use flexibly to guide behavior. Swidler's concept of culture as "tool kit," however, theorizes culture as an *active* process, where groups explicitly articulate interests and strive to realize them. Cultural capital, on the other hand, is theorized as passively achieved, through such vehicles as socialization through educational institutions (Peterson, 1979); cultural capital is a "switchman" governed by the interests of powerful elites that direct the masses onto certain tracks. Bourdieu, then, belongs in the culture as map of behavior camp.

Staying in the realm of education, the investigations of critical literacy scholars more clearly illustrate the culture as map for behavior perspective (Giroux, 1994; McLaren, 1995). These analysts theorize educational institutions as places where groups bring conflicting understandings of the world to bear on learning. Although the interests of elites are privileged, other groups can—and do—resist the imposition of elite understandings; culture is theorized as the process of setting up alternative perspectives, and expressing these understandings symbolically. There is not one culture that everyone participates in, but numerous cultures that are not uniformly spread through the social system. Individuals face a variety of pressures (from both within and without the various groups involved) as they negotiate in and between various cultures.

Let me give you an example that contrasts Bourdieu's map of behavior with the critical literacy people's map for behavior. If you came to GC and excelled (as we know that you will!), Bourdieu would say that this is because you learned rules by watching and listening to the professors, and then followed the rules without question. The critical literacy people, on the other hand, would say that some type of negotiation took place: you learned some rules of GC but at the same time adapted these rules to take advantage of your ideas and experiences, such as specifically scheduling classes that were taught in a style that uses your strengths.

The tradition of symbolic interactionism can also be said to operate in the culture as map for behavior perspective (Becker & McCall, 1990; Denzin, 1992). Culture, for symbolic interactionists, is understood as the set of common meanings generated in

face-to-face interaction, which are open for flexible interpretation. A weakness with this approach, however, is that too little attention is paid to larger structures that affect local interactions, which is a vitally important consideration in our increasingly non-face-to-face mediated worlds (Gottdiener, 1995).

Analysts operating within the paradigm of cultural studies explicitly examine the importance of mediated communication in symbolic expression and experience. Kellner (1995), for instance, argues that the media have become the dominant influences on subjectivity: both our sense of who we are and how we act are deeply influenced by exposure to mediated information. Furthermore, the individual's position in social groups creates certain forms of symbolic expression that are continually negotiated in hegemonic space (see also Grossberg, 1992; Lury, 1996; Rose, 1994). Culture, in sum, is theorized as a group's response to its social experiences, in an effort to increase its ability to articulate its interests and maximize access to valued resources.

A weakness of the culture as map for behavior perspective is that it often approximates the notion of "ideology" as a distortion of reality, only without negative permutations and connotations; in some cases, ideology can be substituted for "culture." In many cases, however, symbolic expression operates above and beyond mere ideological motivation. For instance, the elaborate expressive styles of many rap music artists and their fans surround desires to make lots of money, more so than they support aspirations of uplifting the community or engaging anti-hegemonic struggle (Rose, 1994). Furthermore, when we expand the scope of analysis, the strength of the perspective becomes its applicability for a large and extremely heterogeneous society like the United States, with its history of conflicting norms and values: groups have and will explicitly express interests and mobilize symbolic expression to achieve ends in other social spheres. Culture as map of behavior, in this context, is quite a powerful construct.

As is probably clear by now, my own orientation to the concept of culture lies squarely within the culture as map for behavior camp. I personally define culture as a group way of life that's simultaneously constrained and enabled by both historical memory and contemporary social stratification. I see this way of life as increasingly mediated: members of social groups use symbolic content, especially in electronic form, to guide the construction of visions of who they were, are, and should be, and how they should interact with other groups. This process, further, is inherently flexible and dynamic, as groups constantly use material and symbolic objects in public- and popular-sphere efforts to define and articulate themselves and their interests in never-ending hegemonic struggle:

> Hegemony always involves a struggle to rearticulate the popular. There can be no assurance ahead of time what the results will be, for it depends upon the concrete contexts and practices of struggle and resistance. Speaking in the vocabulary of popular ideologies, using the logics by which people attempt to calculate their most advantageous position, celebrating the pleasures of popular culture, appropriating the practices of daily life – this is where hegemony is fought and what is fought over. (Grossberg, 1992, p. 247)

Through a combination of force and free will, they persuade other people that the ruling group's interests are really the interests of all the other groups; culture is the ground on which much of this process is done. My People and Problems course, essentially, is a semester-long exploration of how hegemony works in the United States. From time to time I will discuss processes in other parts of the globe, but the focus is on how we can use these understandings to better understand our situation here at home. Eventually, of course, one should know a little about the cultures of other countries in their own right as well as the ins and outs of United States cultures, so I'd recommend taking courses in both anthropology and sociology.

In People and Problems I help students develop their "sociological imaginations" (Mills, 1959), the process of connecting personal experiences with larger structural issues. I use popular culture throughout the course to help students do this: we look at both processes of production (e.g., how things like movies and TV shows are created and marketed) as well as consumption (i.e., how people receive these products and the meanings they construct about them). So frequently we watch clips from TV shows or music videos, or look at print ads, and then have class discussions about them. My class is primarily oriented towards visual media so I don't explore music in as much depth as Mark does, but if you're into music videos you can be sure that we'll analyze a few during the semester!

Overall, because I use the culture as a map for behavior perspective, I'm very interested in working with what students bring to the classroom, so I always build in plenty of time to explore interests that I cannot anticipate ahead of time. Last year, for instance, students were very interested in the Y2K computer problem so we spent an extra day on it. In the future, I expect to devote additional time to hot topics built into the syllabus as well as to explore subjects that students initiate. Who knows, maybe you'll bring up an issue that students will get excited about? I can hardly wait to find out…

–Walt Jacobs

To: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu, wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
From: burdell@tc.umn.edu
Subject: negatives of sociology and anthropology
Date: June 16, 2000

Dear Dr. Pedelty and Dr. Jacobs,

Thank you for your replies to my question regarding the social sciences at General College. I have one follow-up question. Dr. Pedelty emphasized the benefits of his discipline while Dr. Jacobs looked at strengths and weaknesses of sociology's definitions of culture. Dr. Pedelty, what are some of the negative aspects of your discipline for a student interested in popular culture and music? Dr. Jacobs, is there a big weakness of sociology overall for a student like me?

Thank you,

George P. Burdell

To: burdell@tc.umn.edu
CC: wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
From: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu
Subject: RE: negatives of sociology and anthropology
Date: June 17, 2000

Dear George,

I am very glad that you asked this question. Indeed, there are many limitations to anthropology for a student interested in studying popular culture. And, there are many problems with the discipline of anthropology, in general. I'll cite a few here. Pardon me if I get a bit long-winded. We anthropologists have a tendency to rip apart our discipline. And, ultimately, I believe that is literally what needs to be done to the discipline.

But, as you read this, please remember that these are just my views, not necessarily those of the field as a whole. One of the things that you will learn in college is the importance of turning opinions into actual arguments and supporting each thesis with evidence and a cogent line of reasoning. Hopefully, the arguments I present here will help you decide which discipline best matches your interests.

Let me start my critique of cultural anthropology by citing the strengths of sociology. Sociologists are particularly good at identifying the major problems in large scale, contemporary, Western, capitalist societies. Although anthropologists may suggest alternatives based on comparative study of small scale, non-Western societies, past and present, sociologists usually offer more detailed and engaged critiques of the types of social contexts most of us actually experience in

our daily lives. Sociology is thus often a more practical discipline, contributing more to social change on regional, national, and global scales than anthropology. Anthropology often deals with more marginalized people and problems. Although these problems are important, they may not relate as directly to the experiences of many students as the issues tackled by sociologists.

Sociologists are also good at looking at issues of scale. Anthropological work is generally focused on small-scale collectives, such as rural villages or urban neighborhoods. Anthropologists are often not so hot at putting such local realities into national, regional, and international contexts. With important exceptions, the discipline has only recently turned significant attention to larger scale issues, such as the affects of globalization on national cultural sovereignty and identity. Sociologists have made such issues the bread-and-butter of their discipline for decades.

Likewise, cultural anthropologists are sometimes accused of being cultural determinists. Cultural determinism is the tendency to reduce all explanations to matters of culture. In fact, archaeologists and physical anthropologists often critique cultural anthropologists for overemphasizing the role of culture. Indeed, the emphasis on symbolic reality may cause anthropologists to act as if all of reality is simply constructed, denying any sort of material reality beyond that which is formed via human interpretation. Complex systems of interaction between the physical, social, and cultural worlds may all be reduced to issues of interpretation and "text." As a result of this theoretical bias toward culture, material systems of production and power may be ignored in some anthropological studies. This has negative theoretical and political consequences, particularly for those who suffer the most within these very real material systems. Culture is not everything.

So too, the smaller scale focus of anthropology may have negative moral and political consequences. Although studies involving interpersonal and intercultural misinterpretation noted earlier present an important contribution to the study of social behavior, they may fall short if not combined with more large-scale sociological and historical research. Such large-scale sociological and historical contexts are as, if not more, socially significant than the study of localized interactions. Sure, these studies might help us learn how to engineer more effective interpersonal and intercultural relations, but to what end? Will more effective interpersonal communication really lead to less intercultural and international domination? What of our interactions with the billions of people we never meet, including those who assemble our cars, sew our clothes, or pick our vegetables? Given that the readership of academic anthropology is mainly middle to upper class White people in Europe and the United States, isn't such knowledge concerning the other simply enlightening and thus further empowering the powerful?

Furthermore, what good is smooth intercultural and interpersonal communication, if we are still part and parcel of a much larger social apparatus that privileges most of us living in rich nations? We often prosper at the expense of millions whom we never meet (e.g., every time we buy clothes, shoes, or electronic goods mass produced in Third World sweatshops). Might we not simply mistake good interpersonal relations for actual intercultural and international accord? In other words, the study of how people communicate across cultural boundaries in local and interpersonal contexts is important, but so is the study of the larger class, race, and gender-based systems of economic exploitation we all take part in, whether we realize we are doing so or not. Just as society is made up of much more than interpersonal community interaction, so too should our research do more than simply document the local lives of individual communities.

Sociologists have been better at studying large-scale systems of exploitation. Sociologist Jonathan Kozol's (1991) *Savage Inequalities*, a critique of the educational

system, is a good example. Although anthropologists have been good at helping a mainly Western readership understand the cultural lives of those in other societies, they have tended to do less in terms of studying social power and inequality in the contemporary world. Therefore, although my colleagues in anthropology would cringe if they read this, I would have to recommend sociology, in general, if you are interested in issues of social power and inequality. As for sociology and anthropology at General College, however, you are as likely to study these issues in either course.

Which brings us to the problem of colonialism. Although it is becoming one of the most diverse disciplines in academe, anthropology has traditionally been dominated by White men, like me (although the rest of them tend to dress better). For this and other reasons, the discipline has been correctly criticized as "colonialist." Vine Deloria's (1969) *Custer Died for Your Sins* presents a brilliant and humorous critique of anthropological exploitation. I would recommend reading that if you want to gain a critical view of the history of anthropological research in North America.

Public critiques like *Custer Died for Your Sins* became fairly common in the 1960s, as activist groups in the Third and Fourth World (indigenous communities) began to gain a public voice. Ethnographic research began to be viewed as a form of cultural exploitation and appropriation (i.e., borrowing from another culture for personal gain). Many anthropologists, such as Gerald Berreman (1981), began to publish such critiques from within the discipline itself. The participation of several anthropologists in the Vietnam War and other questionable international programs likewise brought the issue of anthropological ethics to the fore.

Unfortunately, the anthropological response has been less than adequate, in my opinion. Anthropologists have tended to modify theory and rhetoric, but not their basic practices. Although India, Mexico, China, and many other countries have strong anthropological traditions, the field is still mainly comprised of First World academics going out to study Third World peoples. Even when guided by a sense of empathy or political solidarity, the basic social structure and practices of the discipline remain largely unchanged. The sort of critical, inter-subjective research Laura Nader (1972) called for in "Up The Anthropologist" is still rarely enacted. The research "gaze" is still very much top-down. Anthropology is still about relatively privileged people studying relatively oppressed people, although many anthropologists have added White guilt to their theoretical tool kit. Although a handful of us have turned the ethnographic gaze on elites in our own ethnographic work, those in power still remain largely outside the ethnographic gaze.

Yet, there is hope for anthropology. I compare anthropology's colonialist conundrum to Los Angeles' pollution problem. Los Angeles releases about the same amount of pollutants per capita into the air as any other city in the United States. Yet, because Los Angeles is situated in a mountainous coastal basin with prevailing westerly winds, a great deal of its pollution hangs over the city, rather than blowing off into the desert. Los Angelinos are forced to live in their own pollution. To bring the analogy home, anthropology is probably no more colonialist than any other Western academic profession. All Western academic disciplines have a colonialist tradition, be it by omission (e.g., historians, musicologists, sociologists, and others have tended to undervalue non-Western cultures) or commission, as is the case with anthropology. However, because anthropology is dedicated to the holistic study of human diversity, the discipline has had to come to grips with the issue earlier than others. Anthropologists can ignore the problem of colonialism no more than Los Angeles can pretend it has no air-quality issues. Yet, given this legacy of colonialism, and continued vestiges of intercultural domination within the field, does anthropology deserve to exist? I have been asking myself that question for 18 years, and I am no more certain than when I first posed the question.

Which brings us to the problem of cultural relativism, the attempt to understand the cultural perspectives of others. Whereas I cited this concept as one of the positive aspects of anthropology, it can also become a negative. Cultural relativism certainly has its methodological place. After all, even if one is studying a heinous cultural practice, it is useful to first understand its cultural context and intent. If one were concerned about a ritual involving nonconsensual and painful physical mutilation, for example, the best way to stop such abuse might be to gain a clearer understanding of its cultural context and causes.

The problem comes in, however, when cultural relativism is mistaken for moral relativism. Some would believe that an outsider must never take a moral or political stand on cultural issues. Fortunately, most anthropologists now make the distinction between cultural and moral relativism. Although we use cultural relativism to study societies, both foreign and familiar, as human beings we must also take moral and political stands. In fact, the consideration of difficult cultural and moral dilemmas helps us to rethink the difficult questions concerning who can really be defined as "outsiders" or "insiders" in a globally integrated world, when we are all increasingly liminal (i.e., in between) in terms of social practice and cultural identity.

Furthermore, no person or culture is completely bounded. We are all members of multiple, overlapping and intersecting cultural "flows," to borrow a term from anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996). There are, therefore, divergent views and dissenters in all societies. As people who have studied cultural problems, we not only have the right but also an obligation to take a position on cultural issues. But I digress. The main point, George, is that cultural relativism has had positive results when applied as a research method, and negative consequences when conflated (i.e., confused) with moral relativism.

Sorry about the earful. You only wanted to know which course to take, and I now I have presented a treatise on my discipline. Regardless, I hope that this will help you choose which discipline best matches your interests. Thanks for sparking this dialogue.

And, by the way, please call me Mark.

To: **burdell@tc.umn.edu**
CC: **pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu**
From: **wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu**
Subject: **RE: negatives of sociology and anthropology**
Date: **June 17, 2000**

George–

Once again, Mark has beaten me to the punch with a richly nuanced answer to your question! Mark gave you some more insights into sociology in addition to revealing new information about anthropology. His e-mail was a long one and you may still be digesting it, so let me add just a brief nugget to piggyback on Mark's point about moral and cultural relativism. My advisor at Indiana University, Tom Gieryn (1994), wrote:

> To be objective is not just to tolerate another's epistemic culture, but to engage in cross-the-border conversations, selectively borrowing what works for you, perhaps seeking to persuade the other of the utility of your knowledge for their projects (success at this can not be guaranteed), never imposing your epistemic culture by force of gun or pretensions of privilege (i.e., rationality, truth, moral purity, standpoint), and using the encounter to examine ceaselessly the foundations and implications of one's own knowledge-making practices. (p.325)

Basically what Tom is saying is that throughout life you will encounter people with radically different perspectives from you, but your job is (a) to try to make sense of where they are coming from, and (b) to combine elements of both perspectives to empower yourself, other people, and the communities around you while rejecting elements that threaten this

project. College is a great place to learn and practice this process, and it is central to both the anthropology and sociology courses here in the General College. Although there are problems with the lessons of both disciplines, we believe that once you've completed both courses you'll be a more well-rounded person. We look forward to working with you over the years…

–Walt

To: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu, wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
From: burdell@tc.umn.edu
Subject: Is there a Socio-pology?
Date: June 18, 2000

Dear Walt and Mark,

Thank you for the information and advice. I'd like to take both courses, but I wonder if I can fit them both into my schedule? Sounds like the perfect course for me would be something that combines the strengths of both sociology and anthropology. Too bad there isn't a Socio-pology course or something like that!

To: burdell@tc.umn.edu
CC: pedeltmh@tc.umn.edu
From: wrjacobs@tc.umn.edu
Subject: RE: Is there a Socio-pology?
Date: June 19, 2000

Dear George,

Although this is coming from Walt's e-mail account, we are both writing this to you. We are in Walt's office, but Mark is doing most of the typing.

There actually is a field of study dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of contemporary culture. It is called "cultural studies." Cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field that draws theory and methodology from several disciplines, including anthropology and sociology. Walt mentioned it in his first e-mail; we'll explain more about it here.

Although there are certainly problems with cultural studies as well, we both believe cultural studies successfully integrates the various strengths of our fields. This is not only the case for the study of popular culture, but for the study of contemporary societies in general. Whereas anthropology can be faulted for focusing overwhelmingly on the study of Third World and rural cultures, sociology can be faulted for its over-emphasis on social research in Western societies. There has been much too little critical, comparative, and cultural study of dominant institutions in the contemporary world (e.g., governmental organizations, corporations, mass media, new technologies).

Cultural studies has attempted to fill that gap. Anthropology and sociology have slowly begun to recognize their respective oversights, however. The sociology of culture and the anthropology of globalization are just two of the areas in which such a growing synthesis is evident. The overly simplistic binary oppositions upon which both fields were organized are rapidly falling apart. We can no longer speak of Western versus Eastern cultures, First versus Third Worlds, society versus culture, or make many similar distinctions without obscuring much more than we clarify. For better or worse, the social and cultural world is being reorganized and integrated in ways that challenge simplistic notions of culture, society, and identity. As these trends continue, sociology and anthropology will undoubtedly continue to change as well. We believe that cultural studies will be a shared discussion point as these sister disciplines continue their discussion concerning the nature of social reality in a globally integrated world.

Therefore, we are working on ways to make our courses more interdisciplinary and relevant as well. Cultural studies is one of the ways we are trying to do this. We believe that this will not only strengthen our courses, in general, but that interdisciplinary social study will also be more useful to General College students as they move on to enter a diverse range of majors and career paths. Interdisciplinary courses also allow us to adapt course content to the desires and needs of students, rather than discipline them from the outset of their college

experience. As has been true in other multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary departments, cultural studies is emerging as one potential means for integrating a diverse curriculum at the General College, not only within the social sciences, but in the humanities as well.

The General College is the University of Minnesota's developmental education unit. Following recent discussion about the purpose of developmental education to establish a pluralistic and discursive framework that builds on students' existing knowledge and practices, instead of one that focuses on standardized deficits and remediation (Lundell & Collins, 1999), we believe that a cultural studies curriculum should provide students with flexible tools to understand and shape a rapidly evolving world. Michel de Certeau (1997) argues that "spectators are not the dupes of the media theater, but they refuse to say so" (p. 31). Similarly, students in the General College are not passive dupes of media (as well as other social) theaters, but often will not question their surroundings. A cultural studies perspective is powerful in that it seeks to make interventions in existing social conditions, at the level in which students are living instead of in the abstract, as in the case of more traditional sociological and anthropological practices.

Eventually we'd like to eliminate "sociology" and "anthropology" designations from our social science courses, renaming them "cultural studies." Further, we'd like to experiment with the very nature of "course." Rather than having 40 or more students meet with one instructor for 16 weeks to broadly cover a single subject area, we will explore possibilities of a modular system in which students are with instructors for shorter periods to study narrower subjects in depth before moving on to other units taught by different instructors. We also hope to experiment with a variety of classroom structures and practices to optimize learning possibilities.

We will begin work on this integrative curriculum design during the 2000-2001 academic year, so it won't appear until the 2001-2002 school year as the earliest possibility. In the meantime, both of us incorporate cultural studies into our current sociology and anthropology courses. Cultural studies demands that individual practices and products, like those of popular music, be examined from multiple perspectives. As discussed in his first e-mail, Mark uses multiple methods (e.g., interviews, participation, observation, comparative analysis) to learn and teach Mexican music in his Introduction to Cultural Anthropology course. Walt's freshman seminar on "Living in the Electronic Information Age" is built around the "circuit of culture," (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay & Negus, 1997) which says that examining a practice or product from the perspectives of production, consumption, representation, identities, and regulation provides individuals with a very rich tool kit to explore contemporary life. Given our deployment of strategies such as these, you will find our courses relevant to your interests in popular culture and music. Check out our web pages for syllabi and other information.

http://www.gen.umn.edu/faculty_staff/pedelty/

http://www.gen.umn.edu/faculty_staff/jacobs/

Have a good summer. We look forward to teaching and learning with you this fall!

Mark and Walt

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Cooperative Learning in the Multicultural Classroom

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This chapter addresses the connectedness between developmental and multicultural education and discusses the role and application of cooperative learning in creating an inclusive, interactive classroom for developmental learners. While examining the theoretical premise behind cooperative learning theories, this chapter highlights the specific worth of such methods in classrooms that involve multicultural curricula. Although paradigms of teaching have focused on instructional role and dissemination of knowledge, the paradigm of cooperative learning emphasizes the value of active learning, shared governance, group accountability, and student-generated construction of knowledge, as a means of creating a community of learning in the classroom.

Tell me I forget

Show me I remember

Involve me I understand

—Ancient Chinese Proverb

Throughout the history of American higher education, students, educators, and the public have wrestled with the question of college curricula. Indeed, the changes in college curricula have been shaped by the historic forces of the time. With the end of the Civil War, the traditional curriculum was criticized for having "little relevance to contemporary life" (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997, p. 266). This same clamor for relevance and inclusiveness was heard during the Vietnam War, culminating in the birth of Black Studies (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997). More recently, the debate on what we should teach in college reached another heated peak in the 1980s when the awareness and demand for a multicultural curriculum swept the nation. In addition, the needs of diverse learners have required us to examine not only what we teach, but also how we teach. With attention to the necessity to reexamine teaching methodology, this paper begins with a description and application of cooperative learning theory, and then focuses on the effectiveness of cooperative techniques in classes with multicultural curricula.

The concept of cooperative learning is not new to the world of academe, but certain forces are pushing it to the forefront for a variety of reasons. From a philosophic perspective, the need to recreate communities of learning stems from what Patrick Hill (1985) calls the "fragmentation of the disciplines and departments and people" (p. 1) in higher education. As we observe our students in the classroom and reflect on our professional relationships, I have begun to question whether the competitive and isolated process of learning has left us so focused on minutiae that we are missing the big picture. Others like Parker Palmer (1991) concur that academia is undergoing a shift from the "atomistic and Darwinian" (Claxton, 1991, p. 22), to a model of reality that is more communal in nature. He argues that "there is a growing sense that teaching and learning don't really happen unless there is some

kind of building of relationships—not only between teacher and students but between teachers, students and subject" (p. 23). Another reason for the growing acceptance of learning communities and cooperative learning is "a changing philosophy of knowledge" (Cross, 1998, p. 4). Cross argues that unlike the traditional view of knowledge, where the learner discovers external realities, the "nonfoundational view of knowledge is built on the assumption of constructivism where knowledge is actively built by learners, working together cooperatively and interdependently" (p. 5).

It is this idea of producing learning rather than the distribution of knowledge in neatly wrapped parcels that separates the Learning Paradigm from the Instruction Paradigm (Barr & Tagg, 1995). In their article, "From Teaching to Learning," Robert Barr and John Tagg argue that to truly reform education we need to look outside the framework of traditional instruction and lecture style teaching where students are passive bystanders. Rather, we need to create "environments and experiences that bring students to discover and construct knowledge for themselves, to make students members of communities of learners that make discoveries and solve problems" (p. 15). It is to this end that cooperative learning seeks to engage students in their own learning process.

What Is Cooperative Learning?

Roger and David Johnson have been working on cooperative learning since the early sixties. Together with Karl Smith, they argue that cooperative learning theory stems from three theoretical perspectives: cognitive development theory, behavioral learning theory, and the social interdependence theory. Each perspective offers a different lens to examine cooperative learning; they suggest that cooperative learning is most strongly rooted in the work of the social interdependence theory. The Johnsons and Smith (1998; Johnson & Johnson, 1997) have examined all three theoretical positions to demonstrate that each provides a different perspective and dimension to the concept of cooperative learning.

From the standpoint of cognitive developmental theory, they reflect on the work of Piaget and Vygotsky (Johnson & Johnson, 1997; Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1998) who believe that collaborative learning and problem solving are critical to the construction of knowledge. The work of Piaget is founded in the belief that when individuals interact with their environment, some type of socio-cognitive conflict is likely to occur. The efforts towards managing this cognitive dissonance "stimulate perspective taking ability and cognitive development" (Johnson & Johnson, 1997, p. 97). Vygotsky (1962) posits that knowledge is socially constructed from cooperative group efforts to comprehend and collectively solve problems. Thus, both theorists focus on the cognitive aspects of processing conflict, the result of which is newfound knowledge.

The Johnsons' and Smith's (1998; Johnson & Johnson 1997) examination of the work of behavioral theorists such as Skinner, Bandura, Thibaut, and Kelly suggests that cooperative learning is "designed to provide incentives for members of a group to participate in the group's efforts" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, p. 29). More specifically, Skinner focuses on the importance of conditioning and reinforcement in determining behavior. Skinner suggests that behavior modification individually and in groups is based on positive reinforcement of desirable overt behavior (Schultz & Schultz, 1992). His position on verbal behavior is also relevant to cooperative learning in that he suggests that "speech is a behavior and thus is subject to the contingencies of reinforcement and prediction and control, just like any other behavior" (Schultz & Schultz, p. 359). Like Skinner, Bandura has a behaviorist approach, but his theory has a cognitive component as well. Although he agrees with Skinner's notion of reinforcement as a motivation for changes in human behavior, he also posits

> All kinds of behavior can be learned in the absence of directly experienced reinforcement. We do not always have to experience reinforcement ourselves; we can learn through vicarious reinforcement, by observing the behaviors of other people and the consequences of those behaviors. (Schultz & Schultz, p. 366)

Thus, modeling plays a role in learned behavior based on observing and emulating the behavior of others. From the perspective of behavioral modification and concrete learning, one can see the connection between effective modeling and reinforcement of positive behavior in shared governance, open communication, and cooperation in the classroom. Yet, the be-

havioral perspective does not examine the introspective aspects of individual and group motivation towards common goals.

Although the aforementioned theoretical orientations have their supporters, social interdependence theory has been the strongest theoretical basis for the examination of cooperation and competition. This theory has a long history, one that began in the early 1900s when Gestalt psychologist Kurt Koffka suggested that groups were dynamic wholes, and its members depended on each other to varying degrees (Johnson & Johnson, 1997). Koffka's colleague Kurt Lewin (1935) further developed this concept of group interdependence by suggesting that the nature of this dynamic relationship is dependent on two factors. First, the essence of the group is the extent to which the members of the group are interdependent on each other in their pursuit of common goals. The pursuit of these shared goals creates a dynamic whole such that a change in the "state of any member or sub group changes the state of any other member or sub group" (Johnson & Johnson, p. 97). Second, the inherent tension among group members pushes them toward achieving their common goals. Thus, the push and pull of cooperation and conflict within groups, and the manner in which this shapes the achievement of collective goals, was borne from Lewin's theory and research on interdependence.

One of Lewin's graduate students Morton Deutsch (1949) expanded the ideology of social interdependence to develop a theory on cooperation and competition. His theory was based on two principles. The first principle related to the type of interdependence that existed among people in a given group, and the second principle related to "the types of actions taken by people involved" (Johnson & Johnson, 1997). These principles illustrate that the way we are connected shapes the types of outcomes that will result from our interactions. "Positive interdependence (cooperation) results in promotive interactions as individuals encourage each other's efforts to learn. Negative interdependence (competition) typically results in oppositional interaction as individuals thwart each other's ability to succeed" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1998, p. 29).

David Johnson was one of Deutsch's graduate students, and along with Roger Johnson and Karl Smith, he has continued the work of cooperative learning theory. Although there are differences between the three theoretical perspectives, each provides a valuable dimension to developing and sustaining classroom dynamics that result in student centered learning. At the heart of cooperative learning is the concept of interdependence between members of a group that results in enhanced problem solving and the birth of new ideas. Yet, one should not simplify the concept of cooperative learning into group work. Simply throwing students into groups does not result in the development of community, nor does it dissolve the competitive, individualistic behavior that many students think is expected of them. Simply declaring that the group will be a community is like declaring that there will be world peace. It doesn't work. To create community requires facilitating, teaching, and familiarizing students with what it means to work together.

The unfortunate reality is that most of our students have been accustomed to simply receiving pellets of knowledge from teachers and then regurgitating this material back to us in the form of tests and papers. Hence the questions "Will it be on the test?" Or, "Is this important?" I can hardly blame students for this approach; it is simply what they are used to. To show students that they can be engaged and active participants in their own learning requires specific steps and criteria.

Roger and David Johnson together with other educators (Johnson & Johnson, 1991, 1995, 1997; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1990; Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1991) have written numerous books on facilitating cooperative groups and describe some basic factors that must be set in place to create positive interdependence. First there must be a way to link classroom activities or assignments so that group members need each other's input in order to be successful. Second, there must be a means of capturing individual accountability within the group process. Third, students must be encouraged to help each other and provide feedback to their group members about individual and collective work. This step requires that we as instructors have the ability to model and develop an environment of trust and respectful communication. Finally, because all these pieces rarely fall into place immediately, groups need to have time to reflect and identify ways to improve their collective process of learning (Johnson & Johnson, 1995; Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1998).

Constructive Controversy: Can We Disagree?

It is also important to note that although cooperative learning encourages accountability and shared learning, it does not require that members of the learning community engage in agreeable group think. Quite the opposite is true. In fact, Johnson, Johnson, and Smith (2000) have introduced the concept of constructive controversy to engage students in discussion and debate in the classroom. They suggest that constructive controversy exists when there is dissonance between the beliefs, information, and conclusions of two or more students around a given topic. This dissonance results in a process in which both put forth cooperation and conflict in an effort to reach a resolution. "Controversies are resolved by engaging in what Aristotle called 'deliberate discourse' (that is, the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of proposed actions) aimed at achieving novel solutions (that is, 'creative problem solving')" (p. 2).

Although controversy is not uncommon in classrooms, the way in which instructors facilitate controversy and the level at which student groups are working effectively together will determine whether disagreement results in new knowledge and synthesized arguments or pointless yelling matches. To develop an environment that fosters creative conflict, instructors need to examine the role of the questions they are asking students to answer. Do the questions invite debate and synthesis of knowledge, or are they limited to responses that demonstrate mastery of facts? Do the questions open the door to new inquiry and collective problem solving? This takes us back to the notion of setting a standard of cooperation in the class. Research comparing constructive controversy with concurrence seeking and individualistic learning suggests that controversy in a cooperative context "induces more complete and accurate understanding of the opponent's position (and feelings) and greater utilization of others' information" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 2000, p. 7). In addition, constructive controversy promotes "greater liking among participants than concurrence seeking (avoiding disagreement to reach a compromise) and individualistic efforts" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, p. 7).

These findings are particularly relevant to creating community and creative conflict in classrooms that focus on multicultural curricula. Why? For starters, as many colleges have incorporated cultural diversity requirements into their curriculum, students who may not have opted to enroll in a "diversity" class are required to take one. Second, even students who choose to participate in such courses are surprised and fearful of the broad range of ideological differences that exist between them and their peers.

As we examine racism, classism, homophobia, sexism, and ableism, classroom reaction can range from strong resistance to complete shutdown. If there is engagement, it often translates into angry outbursts, blame, and the inability of two parties to listen to each other. How do we help our students cross the chasm between resigned resistance and misdirected anger to a place of "creative" conflict? How do we help them create a space where their ideas and diverse experiences become the impetus for a paradigm shift allowing them to see the world from many different perspectives? Cooperative learning and constructive controversy theories provide a powerful template for creating community and trust in the developmental multicultural classroom.

The Relationship Between Developmental Education and Multicultural Education

Spann and McCrimmon (1998) argue that three terms, "remedial," "compensatory," and "developmental," have emerged to define the educational experience of students who are "underprepared." The term remedial implies a deficiency in the student and therefore a push to fix or remedy the issue. The use of the term compensatory began in the 1960s, as part of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, when the goal of education was "the lessening or removal of environmental induced deficits" (Spann & McCrimmon, p. 41). Although the former term focuses on remedying the deficit, the latter acknowledges that the deficit is not innate but a result of external factors. Both terms however, smack of negativity and tend to label their referents. Hence, in the 1970s faculty working with at-risk students chose to remove the negative connotations by referring to their work as developmental. This term focuses on the students' "potential rather than the deficits" (Spann & McCrimmon, p. 41). By refocusing on potential, developmental educators ar-

gue that they also take a holistic approach to their students—focusing on academic transition and personal development beyond the limited realm of academic skills alone (Higbee, 1996; Spann & McCrimmon, 1998).

In an effort to further articulate the difference between what is considered remedial education and the work of developmental educators and students, Higbee (1996) writes:

> Among the meanings of "develop" are "to evolve the possibilities of…to promote the growth of" (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary,* 1981, p. 308). "Development" is defined as "the act, process, or result of developing" (p. 308). "Remedy," meanwhile refers to "a medicine, application, or treatment that relieves or cures a disease…something that corrects or counteracts an evil" (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, p. 970). To remedy is "to provide or serve as a remedy for" (p. 970). Pardon me if I bristle every time I hear someone refer to what I do as remedial…My students are not sick, and they do not need to be cured. They are evolving, and the possibilities are limitless. (pp. 63-66)

This argument further illuminates the fact that academically underprepared students are not the only ones served by developmental education. Rather, the ideology of promoting intellectual and holistic growth serves the needs of "the learning disabled, the visual and hearing impaired, those with mobility impairments, the English as a Second Language student, the student-athlete, the returning adult student, and the first generation college student" (Spann & McCrimmon, 1998, p. 41).

The same themes of deficiency and lack have been challenged by multicultural educators in their battle to incorporate cultural pluralism into the educational process. Multicultural educators face those who assign a deficiency orientation to students who are "socially or culturally deprived" (Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 38). These terms are code for students of color, multilingual students, students with disabilities, and low-income students. Much like developmental educators, multicultural educators have challenged this model by creating their own paradigms of teaching. There are numerous approaches to multicultural education that honor difference and illustrate the value that diversity brings to the learning experience. Two approaches that I will highlight include the human relations approach and the multicultural education approach.

Human Relations Approach

The theoretical background for the human relations approach comes from general psychology and social psychology (Sleeter & Grant, 1988). Like cooperative learning, this approach is also referred to as intergroup education, and focuses on "helping students communicate with, accept, and get along with people who are different from themselves" (Sleeter & Grant, p. 77). This movement towards reaching and teaching students at an affective level began during World War II and continued after the war in an effort to eliminate discrimination, not only abroad but also at home in the United States. Human relations advocates argue that to use this approach effectively it must be infused in the curriculum and actively involve students in the process of learning. They also suggest incorporating real life scenarios into the understanding of intergroup hostilities and most importantly, creating a classroom environment in which a student's ability to be successful is not dependent on the failure of others in the class (Sleeter & Grant). These premises clearly reflect social interdependence as discussed with respect to cooperative learning and support the ideology of an environment that facilitates sharing of knowledge, resources and problems.

Multicultural Education Approach

Although multicultural education has now become the catch phrase for much of the work involving race, class, gender, homophobia, and disability issues, the multicultural education approach grew out of the 1960s when the potency of the civil rights movement pushed for a reassessment of the deficiency orientation. Sleeter and Grant's (1988) review of the literature demonstrated five primary goals of the multicultural education approach: "(a) Promoting the strength and value of cultural diversity; (b) promoting human rights and respect for those who are different from oneself; (c) promoting alternate life choices for people; (d) promoting social justice and equal opportunity for all people; (e) promoting equity in the distribution of power among all people" (Gollnick, 1980,

as cited in Sleeter & Grant, p. 137). Thus, the multicultural education approach celebrates the ideology of cultural pluralism and is not limited to issues of race but examines the similarities of racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and ableism as systems of oppression.

Why is this important to developmental education? In my view, developmental education seeks to meet students at their level of proficiency and work with them to unearth their potential. This involves the teaching of discipline related skills, critical thinking, and college expectations, but it also involves the holistic development of the person. The understanding of who we are as individuals is deeply tied to our ability to reach our full potential.

Secondly, developmental students are a diverse group of learners. This not only demands that we have a greater understanding of their diversity, but that we as educators use this rich tapestry of difference to allow students to teach each other. In addition, it is interesting to note that students taking developmental courses are "more likely than those not receiving [developmental] help, to have a family income of less than $20,000 annually, to have been born outside the United States, to speak a language other than English at home, and to be people of color" (Burd, 1996). This suggests that many of our students have experienced the systemic effects of marginalization in multiple avenues of their lives and identities. To acknowledge this is important, and to allow students to learn how to be self-advocates is part of the developmental process. Given these realities and themes, I believe there is a powerful connection between the work of developmental and multicultural educators, and that cooperative learning provides a vehicle by which we serve the needs and target the potential of our students.

Applying Cooperative Learning to the Multicultural Classroom

There are some distinct connections between the philosophy of developmental education, cooperative learning theory, and multiculturalism. Each perspective acknowledges the role and needs of the individual, the give and take between student and teacher, and the powerful role of peer relationships in the classroom. Yet, the issue of resistance is one that many of us face in the classroom.

How do we reach a level of honest dialogue and intellectual exchange around multicultural issues when students are deeply fearful about venturing into this dangerous territory? Given this dilemma, the concept of creating a classroom that is a "safe space" is critical and yet difficult to attain. Simply requiring a cooperative spirit does little to create it. Hence, the idea of cooperative learning involves an active process in which students are invited to define the very space they want to inhabit. Allowing students to own and belong to the process of developing trust is one way to begin.

Early advocates of multicultural education argue that "the ideology of multicultural education is one of social change—not simply integrating those who have been left out in society, but changing the fabric of society" (Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 139). With this concept of change comes fear, acted out as active or passive resistance (Chan & Tracy, 1996). This resistance is further aggravated because students in a given classroom are at different levels of their own identity development (Tatum, 1996). Thus, creating a sense of ownership in the classroom process is integral to developing trust and dissolving resistance.

A first step is to let the students define what they understand by the word community. Working in small groups to collectively define the meaning of community allows students to initiate ownership and accountability of the classroom experience. One group in my Multicultural Relations seminar generated the following definition of community: "community is a group of people of different races, colors, cultures and gender who come together to learn, teach, communicate to become stronger, develop friendships and understand one another's problems." Rather than perpetuating individualistic competition, having students articulate what they hope for in terms of peer interaction creates a "personal transaction among students and between faculty and students" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1991, p. 10).

Tied to defining community is the necessity to stipulate rules by which the community can thrive. Although rules are sometimes associated with a teaching paradigm that seeks to control student engagement, rules can also serve as positive guidelines that provide the structure needed for trust and safety in the multicultural classroom. Again, it is the students who

must take responsibility for developing these rules. The reality is that this task may be daunting for first year developmental students. One option is to provide each small group with a template of rules allowing them to add, subtract, and revise the template. Groups can then be invited to share their final result while articulating their reasoning behind each rule. As students begin to develop the rules, it is often their definitions of community that guide the creation of rules. Working in cooperative groups within the first week of the semester, students in my Multicultural Relations seminar created the following stipulations for their classroom community: "Each person has an equal voice. We will create a safe environment and protect one another and our surroundings. We will work together for common goals. Each person will contribute by doing their share."

As the semester moves on, the instructor can model and facilitate appropriate use of the rules established by the students themselves. In addition, the process of developing collective rules gives students an early experience in constructing and articulating their own ideas and addressing the importance of individual accountability within the group.

Embedded in the model of cooperative learning is the use of classroom space. There are two pieces to the concept of classroom space. The first is the actual physical space. Is it accessible? Can students who are required to participate in cooperative groups physically look at each other? "Face to face promotive interaction" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1991, p. 19) is critical to the process of sharing opinions, working on shared tasks, and engaging in creative conflict. If our classroom set-up does not allow students to look at each other, know each others' names and hear each others' stories, then the depth of the interaction is already limited. When students struggle to define their experiences with racism, or to share deep ideological differences around women's roles, their ability to engage in authentic conversation is already reduced if they cannot see each others' faces, emotions, and most importantly each others' humanity.

Although the effective use of physical space is vital, metaphoric space is also important. Parker Palmer (as quoted in Claxton, 1991) discusses the paradoxes that are inherent in creating a safe classroom space. He suggests that although it is important to create a liberating space, this openness must be tempered with some boundaries. For example, as students gain trust and begin to articulate their opinions and prejudices, this can only happen effectively if there is some assurance that the discussion will not turn into an experience resembling daytime television talk shows. It is here that the modeling of classroom rules becomes important for the instructor. In addition, as we push students to examine systemic institutionalized oppression, there must be space to allow students to apply the abstract to the lived experience. For example, when speaking of social construction of race, students can be invited to discuss how this relates to their own identity. One multiracial student in my Multicultural Relations seminar said "I have found that society forces you to be in one box or another, the boxes I am referring to are the Black and White boxes. It is crazy how being just what you are is not good enough." Thus, the classroom space must allow for "the little stories of the individual and the big stories of the disciplines" (Palmer, 1998, p. 76).

With the establishment of trust comes the opportunity for creative conflict. This, too, involves practiced efforts. Inherent in the idea of engaging in constructive controversy is the capacity to listen. Most of our students, and indeed many of us, are so involved in expressing our own ideas that we do not fully hear the ideas of our peers. Group exercises that push students to fully hear and digest the thoughts of their peers are integral to developing their capacity to engage in meaningful dialogue with one another.

Given that the notion of creative conflict is new to many students, there is a necessity to provide them with structured means of engaging in the process of disagreement. By providing students with case studies or mock scenarios around multicultural issues, we give them a vehicle to engage in constructive conflict and create a forum within which they can weave their own voices into the context of theory. This format also provides them with a safe and somewhat structured environment in which to air difference, share perspective, and apply what they have learned to the lived experience. Once trust is established, students are likely to engage in creative conflict without the safety net of case studies or debates. Rather than enhancing tension, constructive controversy has been found to "promote greater liking among participants than either concurrence seeking or individualistic efforts" (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 2000, p. 6).

Although cooperative learning strategies enhance the development of community and constructive conflict, the reality is that resistance is inherent to any type of learning that requires a paradigm shift. Thus, it is quite normal that expressions of student resistance range from dissonance and confusion to frustration and even anger. One way to address this is simply to acknowledge the reality of resistance. If the instructor can bring the idea of resistance into the collective consciousness early in the game, students have the opportunity to engage in self-reflection and can examine the source of their fear. Allowing students to express their feelings in writing via e-mail or in-class responses provides an outlet for this resistance.

As instructors we can bring various issues into the classroom by allowing students time to self-reflect and then summarizing these themes in the classroom. One student in my Multicultural Relations class wrote via e-mail: "This white [sic] privilege thing has thrown me for a loop. A teacher in high school touched on it for a day but wouldn't discuss it. How that it is being thrown in my face to look at and acknowledge, I don't want to. Almost that I don't want to accept it is true."

Given that this was not a lone response, I was able to readdress the issue of White privilege by asking students to describe their feelings around the concept. This resulted in a productive discussion that could not have occurred without engaging students in individual self-reflection.

Finally and most importantly, our own identity as instructors and our level of comfort with the learning paradigm will shape the classroom experience. Parker Palmer (1998) wrote that "good teaching cannot be reduced to technique, good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher" (p. 10). Thus, as we ask our students to develop as change agents, we must continually examine our own ability to take risks and model cooperative learning.

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Constructivist Perspective and Classroom Simulations in Developmental Education

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History

Constructivism and developmental education both conceive of education in the broadest terms, are focused on student needs and abilities, and demand instructor creativity and flexibility. The theoretical foundations for constructivism are very compatible with developmental education, and constructivist methods are effective with developmental students. Simulations provide an effective method for implementing constructivist principles into developmental classrooms. Classroom simulations are versatile, active learning activities, which can be designed to foster cooperation, collaboration, information exchange, consensus building, and individual or group competition. Simulations also stimulate student interest and involvement in the course, and promote long term retention of content material.

This chapter describes the compatibility of constructivist learning theory with classroom simulations as a teaching method in a developmental education context. First, the theoretical basis, principle concepts, and educational implications of utilizing a constructivist approach are explained and examined. Secondly, parallels and correlations are drawn between constructivism and developmental education. Finally, classroom simulations are discussed as an effective teaching method for implementing constructivist learning theory with developmental students. The simulation examples provided were created and designed by the author for use in history classes in the General College at the University of Minnesota. The General College provides developmental education by integrating academic skill development into freshman level content courses.

Classroom simulations are active learning activities that place students in the role of decision makers assessing the various options available in a particular situation. Students discuss the options, negotiate with others, and ultimately reach consensus or majority decisions concerning the issues under consideration. These activities can generate multiple outcomes providing the opportunity to compare and contrast the various results and reach a deeper understanding of the concepts involved. The emphasis is on understanding *why* something happens and not on memorizing *how* it happens. Short (e.g., 20 to 40 minute) classroom simulations are efficient in the use of class time, adaptable to a variety of teaching objectives, and enjoyable for the students. They can be designed to foster cooperation, collaboration, information exchange, consensus building, individual competition, group competition, or a mixture of these at different levels or stages in the simulation. Activities can have students working individually, in pairs, triads, small groups, medium sized groups, or as a whole class.

Constructivism

Constructivism is founded on scientists' best understanding of the brain's natural cognitive processes and growth: new information or concepts are integrated with old knowledge to derive new insights (Feldman, 1994). The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development has defined constructivism as "an approach to teaching based on research about how people learn. . . . each individual 'constructs' knowledge instead of receiving it from others" (Scherer, 1999, p. 5). According to Caine and Caine (1994), "The brain needs to create its own meanings. Meaningful learning is built on creativity and is the source of much joy that students can experience in education" (p. 105). "Inquisitiveness is what drives…learning, and constructivism is the theory that cognitive scientists have devised to explain how an in-

dividual progresses from inquisitiveness to new knowledge" (Abbott & Ryan, 1999, p. 66).

Student experiences generally run counter to this perception of the learner playing the crucial, determining role in his or her education. The traditional classroom is focused on the teacher as the provider of content knowledge, perspective, and analysis. These components are conveyed by the instructor through a lecture format, in structured activities, or in an exchange of probing questions and student responses. The student role is primarily passive and limited to listening, reading, and working through routine exercises. Evaluation consists of students repeating recently received factual information in the form of papers or responses to test questions (Brooks & Brooks, 1993).

Constructivist theory posits a much more balanced interaction with knowledge passing from teacher to student, from student to student, and from student to teacher. Likewise, students as well as teachers can be the sources of perspective and analysis. Constructivist teachers assist students in processing, transforming, and internalizing new information. Although there are many commonly used evaluation methods for the imitative behavior required in the traditional classroom such as multiple choice tests or essay exams, assessing the deeper individual understanding achieved through constructivist methods is considerably more difficult. Teachers must develop methods and strategies to assess this student-constructed knowledge (Brooks & Brooks, 1993).

Smith (1977) assessed critical thinking in college classrooms, focusing on four activities: instructor encouragement, questioning procedures, cognitive level of participation, and interaction with peers. Active involvement in the class resulted in higher critical thinking scores than for students with minimal involvement. Teachers developing and implementing instruction based on constructivist theory employ methods and activities that promote "active, hands-on learning during which students are encouraged to think and explain their reasoning" (Scherer, 1999, p. 5). Thus, in a constructivist classroom, student experiences and perspectives are valued and teachers specifically develop lessons to elicit and challenge student suppositions.

Theoretical Foundations

Constructivism has a rich theoretical foundation. John Dewey (1936) advocated experiential learning through field studies and immersion activities, arguing that "isolation of subject matter from a social context is the chief obstruction in current practice to securing a general training of the mind" (p. 79). Jean Piaget (1970) believed that mental structures developed gradually as learning was constructed through the organization and integration of new information and experiences. His concept of discovery learning had students manipulating objects and content information, analyzing what they observed, and reaching conclusions based on this evidence. He theorized that, in the process of assimilating this knowledge, students will think differently about a concept as a result of their experience and interaction with other learners. Lev Vygotsky (1978) claimed that individual learning was primarily the result of a social process. He argued that "human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them" (p. 88). Meaningful social interaction allows the student to construct a group meaning of a complex idea and then internalize this idea with a deeper individual understanding.

Human intelligence is much more complex and varied than our traditional narrow definitions of it (Armstrong, 1994; Gardner, 1983, 1993; Lazear, 1993). Gardner (1983) recognized intelligence as the human capability to solve problems and identified multiple intelligences consisting of verbal, logical, spatial, musical, kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalist. This multidimensional concept of intelligence has implications for the ways students learn, the application of effective teaching methods, and the need for a variety of assessment methods. Each student has available a variety of different sensory mechanisms to support integration of new information with existing knowledge. To facilitate this process, the instructor utilizes a wide array of teaching methods that enable the students to construct their own understanding and knowledge of the topic.

Brooks and Brooks (1993) have identified five central tenets of the constructivist teacher's role in the classroom. First, the students' points of view are valued and sought by the teacher, who then designs and

modifies instruction based on that knowledge. Second, students' suppositions based on their life experience are challenged through class activities or discussion. Students are afforded the opportunity to reassess their suppositions and either confirm, recant, or modify them. Third, constructivist teachers convey the relevance of classroom activities and knowledge to the students' lives. Fourth, lessons address major concepts promoting a deeper understanding of the whole rather than the memorization of small factual data. Fifth, assessment of student knowledge and understanding is conducted in the context of daily classroom activities, not as a scheduled paper-and-pencil test at the end of a unit of study.

In the application of constructivist theory, the broader student role is subdivided into three specific roles: the active learner, the social learner, and the creative learner. Students are cast in an active role where they discuss, organize and analyze information, observe activity, and then hypothesize and reach conclusions. Knowledge and understanding are not constructed individually but in dialogue with others, and facts are only "true" in that social context. Thus, historical truths depend upon the social perspectives of the original observer and the later interpreters, while scientific truths rest upon social assumptions and are determined through a social critical process that belies their supposed objectivity. Constructivists believe that the learner creates or recreates knowledge and understanding, and the teacher's role is to facilitate the student's creativity by providing class activities that allow the student to discover theories and perspectives leading to a deeper understanding of the knowledge (Phillips, 1995).

Creating a constructivist classroom requires imagination, persistence, and dedication. "It is easy to imagine [classrooms] in which ideas are explored rather than answers to teachers' test questions provided and evaluated. . . . Easy to imagine, but not easy to do" (Cazden, 1988, p. 54). Some learners will not welcome the high levels of cognitive reasoning required for constructivist learning, preferring to be told the content information. Some students have developed successful strategies for the traditional classroom and may perceive the constructivist techniques deceptive, manipulative, and time consuming (Perkins, 1992). For the teacher, lecturing, asking questions, and fielding answers is much simpler and more controlled than creating the activities that allow students to construct their own understanding. Testing recall of knowledge provided by the instructor is much easier than assessing the understanding and knowledge constructed by each individual student.

A variety of outside pressures exist that tend to inhibit the use of constructivist theory. At the secondary level, the recent widespread efforts by state governments to increase accountability and establish state wide standards and evaluations emphasize the factual recall tests to the detriment of constructivist teaching methods (Brooks & Brooks, 1999). At the collegiate level, large class sizes, common exams for multiple sections, prerequisite requirements, serial courses, and transfer comparability all tend to place the emphasis on the coverage and delivery of content rather than on the facilitation of individual students to construct their own knowledge and understanding. Unfortunately, the comprehension of learning theory is limited among political leaders and the media, and they tend to utilize those evaluation methods that are the most readily available and easiest to understand. As a result, teachers at all levels may find it safer to use traditional methods because they can clearly document content coverage and focus on the recall knowledge needed for the test.

Constructivism and Developmental Education

The contrast between traditional instruction and constructivist learning is comparable to the shift in terminology and philosophy for the education of at-risk students from remedial education to developmental education. Remedial education focuses on the reiteration of missed content so that past academic failures can be rectified, while developmental education recognizes the student as a work in progress and fosters both cognitive and affective growth. Remedial models seek to "fix" students, while developmental models recognize the array of strengths and weaknesses that each student brings to the class and seeks to develop the whole student (Boylan, 1995; Higbee, 1993). Within this frame of reference, traditional instruction aligns well with remedial education, while constructivist activities are very compatible with developmental education.

Constructivism and developmental education have broad intersections. Both conceive education in the broadest terms, are student-centered, and display ultimate respect for student capabilities and contributions. Both focus on enhancing student skills and potential; fostering creative, flexible, and diverse teaching methods; and elevating the intellectual discussion in the classroom. Constructivism recognizes that the outcome of the constructive process is different for each student, while developmental education recognizes the mixture of strengths and vulnerabilities that each student exhibits.

Developmental students have had limited success with traditional forms of instruction and evaluation and should not only benefit from constructivist methods, but should welcome the change. "Rather than focus on intense, encyclopedic recall, constructivist learning leads to deep understanding, sense-making, and the potential for creativity and enterprise" (Abbott & Ryan, 1999, p. 68). Many developmental students bring life experiences or cultural perspectives that would not be expressed in a traditional class but could be elicited by a constructivist instructor for the benefit of the entire class. Developmental students have affective needs as well as cognitive needs, and some measures of those affective needs are more accurate in predicting success in college than achievement tests or high school grades (Higbee & Dwinell, 1990; Higbee, Dwinell, McAdams, GoldbergBelle, & Tardola, 1991). The most successful programs for poorly prepared students "also deal with the affective side of being a student: poor self-concept, passivity, lack of confidence, fear of failure, lack of interest in subject matter, and so forth" (Astin, 1984, p. 11).

Historical Simulations in the Classroom

In a historical simulation, students are given the role of historical decision makers, provided with sufficient background information to evaluate the various decision options, and then asked to render a decision in the historical situation. Simulation design and student groupings vary depending on the historical material and the desired learning outcomes.

Simulations are effective in stimulating lively class discussion and promoting critical thinking. They can prompt students to reconsider prevailing assumptions and adopt new perspectives as well as serve as a stimulus for a number of individual student or group research projects. These research projects could include investigating the historical background of the situation, identifying the factors that promote or inhibit a resolution, contrasting the simulation with actual decisions, or assessing the influence of particular individuals or groups in the final outcome.

A series of research studies into the educational effectiveness of classroom simulations and games has determined three general benefits when compared to traditional instruction. First, the use of simulations in instruction greatly enhances the retention of content information over longer periods. Second, simulations promote student interest in the particular topic of the simulation and in related class content and assignments. Moreover, students assume a more favorable attitude toward the subject area, in general, and are more motivated to do well in the course. Third, simulations prompt increased student interaction and a greater willingness of students to communicate and contribute in small group discussions. All of these attributes would be very beneficial to developmental students and enhance educational outcomes (Bredemeier & Greenblat, 1981; Druckerman, 1995; Randel, Morris, Welzel, & Whitehall, 1992).

Simulations involve some level of role playing by the students, but these roles can be very specific, as an historical individual; more general, as a representative of a country, region, or state; or very generic, as in a decision maker assessing the historical options. An example of a generic role playing simulation would be Recent World Crises in which groups of four or five students simulate a United Nations commission seeking a political resolution to one of the following world crises: Northern Ireland, West Bank, Bosnia, or Kosovo. Students receive ethnic and religious data for the region in dispute and the two countries contending for the region, but all labels and names are fictitious so the students cannot determine which crisis they are considering. Subsequent discussion can contrast the decisions of the student groups, compare aspects of the four crises, or focus on any discomfort or shift in position when the identities in the crisis are revealed.

Maps may be employed in some simulations to convey information to the students, to designate various territorial options, and to ultimately visually display

student decisions. Map simulations are particularly appropriate when focusing on diplomatic conventions, trade agreements, explorations, and colonization. An example of a map simulation would be the Treaty of Versailles that requires student triads to determine the boundaries of the new countries in Eastern Europe following World War I. Each triad receives one map depicting the location of ethnic groups, a second map indicating the areas that contained religious majorities, and a transparency map to superimpose over the others. In the process of determining boundaries, students discuss various aspects of nationalism and the relative importance of religious and ethnic identities as well as recognize a variety of boundary disputes that have plagued the region throughout the twentieth century.

A reward system may be incorporated in the simulation that creates a competitive situation between groups while fostering cooperation within each group. These game simulations are particularly useful when simulating political disputes where groups of students seek their own rewards, but must also negotiate and compromise to reach a consensus or political bargain that achieves their goals. An example of a game simulation would be Sectional Politics, in which students consider six political issues and negotiate resolutions acting as the U. S. Senate between 1830 and 1850. Each six-student senate has one pair of students representing the Northeast, one pair the Southeast, and one pair the West. Each pair argues for their region's positions and receives points for decisions favorable to their region.

The competition inherent in the game simulations promotes learning because long-term memory is enhanced by activities or ideas that elicit emotion. One of Caine and Caine's (1994) twelve principles of brain-based learning states that "emotions and cognition cannot be separated and the conjunction of the two is at the heart of learning" (p. 104). The game points achieved in the simulation have no effect on student grades or evaluation and are meaningless outside of the simulation. Yet, winning and losing in the simulation generates emotions in the students. In the Sectionalism simulation, the negotiations sometimes result in one region consistently being left out of the political bargaining, resulting in student frustration and even anger. This provides a teaching moment because the students can consider the emotion of northerners who feared that "Slave Power" controlled the government, or of southerners who perceived that the other regions of the country were "ganging up on them."

Johnson and Johnson (1979), renowned for their work in cooperative learning, claim that conflict in the classroom can be positive or negative depending on its management. Conflicts provide "valuable opportunities to increase student motivation, creative insight, cognitive development, and learning" (p. 51). Disagreements within the group result in increased interest and creativity, a reassessment of assumptions leading to conceptual conflicts, and higher levels of reasoning and problem solving. Creating controversy in the classroom promotes learning and intellectual development because the purpose of controversy "within a cooperative group is to arrive at the highest quality solution or decision that is possible" (p. 56).

Constructivism and Classroom Simulations

Classroom simulations provide a method for implementing constructivist principles into developmental classrooms. "The central problem that constructivist educators face is not a guiding theory, but concrete strategies and tools for institutionalizing these theoretical and practical understandings into more inclusive classrooms" (Hyerle, 1996, p. 15). The simulation experience provides a variety of possible interactions, sequences of events, and alternate resolutions. Students construct meaning based on their interpretation of the simulation experience and the knowledge acquired in the process.

Simulations seem well suited for a constructivist approach to developmental education. They promote student interest in the simulation topic and related subject matter while encouraging participation in a social learning process that exposes students to new concepts and ideas (Druckman, 1995). Lack of motivation is a characteristic often attributed to developmental students and often suggested as the explanation for their previous lack of success in traditional classrooms (Lowery & Young, 1992). Also, "for decades, developmental educators have argued informally that many of their students bring to the classroom a certain, often indefinable, savvy about the world and how it works that escapes detection on standard diagnostic and placement tests" (Payne & Lyman, 1996, p. 14).

Simulations provide students with a variety of opportunities to display their array of talents and abilities.

In their article, "Constructing knowledge, reconstructing schooling," Abbot and Ryan (1999) write,

> In constructivist learning, each individual structures his or her own knowledge of the world into a unique pattern, connecting each new fact, experience, or understanding in a subjective way that binds the individual into rational and meaningful relationships to the wider world. (p. 67)

Classroom simulations provide an experience that each student can interpret, analyze, and place into his or her own context. Role playing activities involve preparing students to participate in active learning situations that teach both content and specific skills (Glenn, Gregg, & Tipple, 1982). This experiential learning of social or political interactions may be more important to the developmental student than the factual knowledge conveyed by the simulation.

The social learning process of students is promoted by their interactions in these activities. Simulations "expose students to teamwork activities" and are "effective as vehicles for team-building" (Druckman, 1995, p. 184). Sharan (1980) found that team learning methods fostered relationships with group members, enhanced individual student involvement, and improved attitudes toward learning, while increasing cognitive learning and promoting the construction of meaning. The student who would score well on paper-and-pencil tests due to an extensive factual knowledge, might also have an advantage in simulation negotiations. However, success in the simulation would also require the exchange of information, negotiations, and bargaining over positions, and ultimately, the determination of group decisions.

Instructors employ a variety of small group activities and techniques in the conduct of classroom simulations as well as in the assignments that are associated with the simulations. Helen McMillon (1994) conducted a study to evaluate the effects of small group methods on the academic performance of underprepared minority college students. She found that "they developed a strong cohesive and collaborative system for working together as a group, enhancing their individual cognitive and affective skills: analytical thinking, comprehension, decision making, problem solving, communication, assertiveness and motivation" (p. 76).

Conclusion

The theoretical foundations and basic concepts of constructivism are very compatible with the goals of developmental education. Both are student-centered, showing respect for student capabilities and contributions while focusing on enhancing student skills and potential. Both require diverse, creative teaching methods and innovative systems of evaluation that elevate the intellectual discussion in the classroom. Simulations provide very versatile active learning situations for implementing constructivist principles into developmental classrooms. Utilizing a variety of formats, they can be designed to foster cooperation, collaboration, information exchange, consensus building, and individual or group competition. Simulations provide alternate decision options and a variety of possible results, allowing students to construct meaning based on their interpretation of the simulation experience and the knowledge acquired in the process. These activities increase student interaction, foster class discussion and provide various opportunities for related assignments in the course. Simulations also stimulate student interest in the subject and promote long term retention of content material.

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