Introduction: The Progressive Impulse in Education

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There is a tendency in writing about education to describe the present period as the worst of times (or the best), as Dickens's "noisiest authorities" would have it. The same is true of place-based comparisons, including the nationalist rhetoric seen in a famous report:

> Our Nation is at risk. . .the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. . . .If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose …the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983)

However, our own time and place may be one like many others, with the presence of different approaches and visions. In the West, at least from the era of Socrates onward, education has been subject to conflicting demands leading to different goals.

These diverse goals lead to competing accounts of what educational success really means. One such vision is offered by progressive education, or at least, what we call the *progressive impulse* in education. It is defined in different ways, but generally it aims to develop self-actualizing individuals who can take charge of their own lives and participate fully in the creation of a greater public good. In this "Introduction," we trace some of the story of the development of progressive education, and how it meshes with the utilitarian interests that often trump it. We then consider a few of the philosophical

discussions that have informed progressive education. Finally, we review some key examples to indicate the range of experiences that may be included under its rubric. As we argue in the "Preface," progressive education has experienced many failures, but at least it seems to be asking the right questions. We consider here some of the answers and new questions that have emerged.

History

Nasaw (1979) followed conflicts in education for the U.S. through a close look at three historical periods: Firstly, before the Civil War, when common-school supporters allied with business interests to create schools for workers in the emerging industrial sector, expanding access while supplanting other goals for education.

Secondly, around 1900, after massive immigration and upheavals, affluent urban leaders sought to conform students to a changing social order. Former slaves attempted to create an educational system to support their emancipation, but instead were pushed into a system of industrial education that perpetuated their political and economic subordination (Anderson, 1988). Women, American Indians, immigrants, and other groups, typically received differential educational services.

Thirdly, the contested purposes continued after World War II, with no clear resolution. In fact, they were not so much resolved as partitioned, with a small number of privileged students receiving more open-ended, creative, and democratic education, and a large majority experiencing regimented preparation for work (Bowles & Gintis, 2014). Similar conflicts have existed in many other national contexts, especially as societies develop complex social arrangements and class structures.

However, Raymond Williams (1961) warned against treating education as a fixed abstraction, with the issue being simply one of distribution—who receives how much, when, and where. He pointed out that a given distribution actively shapes particular social ends: "the cultural choices involved in the selection of content have an organic relation to the social choices involved in the practical organization" (p. 125). Accordingly, "we cannot separate general social training from specialized training [or from general education]" (p. 126). Thus, both the form and content of education must be understood as part of a larger social fabric, not simply as technical processes.

Progressive education is deeply enmeshed in these conflicts, often blossoming in response to a perceived overemphasis on work preparation or narrowly defined socialization (Cremin, 1964; Graham, 1967b; Reese, 2002). It does not necessarily deny those needs, but emphasizes democratic education as a necessary goal with attendant focus on individual and social growth. In order to understand the evolution of progressive efforts in education, it is not enough to analyze specific pedagogical enterprises and compare them with alternatives. We need instead to consider the *longue durée* (Armitage & Guldi, n.d.; Braudel, 1995), extending both by time span and by taking into account an array of political, social, cultural, and economic forces. In this chapter, we look back to early Greek and Chinese philosophy, as well as to pedagogy in a variety of national contexts in diverse time periods. However, given the strong association of the phrase *progressive education* with the movement by that name in the U.S., it seems appropriate to start with the immediate antecedents of that movement about a century and a half ago.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a remarkable burst of material development in the U.S., comparable to or exceeding that of rapidly developing nations today. Chicago, for instance, doubled its population during the decade from 1880 to 1890. Entire systems of industry were created. For example, between 1870 and 1900, the production of steel increased 140 times and the urban population more than tripled (Hofstadter, 1963).

The astounding growth of the nation led to an overall prosperity, but not one that was shared widely. To the contrary, the urban centers of population and industry became wastelands of vice and poverty, with crowded slums accompanying vast concentrations of corporate power and private wealth, corruption of the systems of governance, and destruction of the environment. Richard Hofstadter (1963) wrote about the response of Progressives to these events:

What had happened…was that in the extraordinary outburst of productive energy…the nation had not developed in any corresponding degree the means of meeting human needs or controlling or reforming the manifold evils that come with any such rapid political change. The Progressive movement, then, may be looked upon as an attempt to develop the moral will, the intellectual insight, and the political and administrative agencies to remedy the accumulated evils and negligences of a period of industrial growth. Since the Progressives were not revolutionists, it was also an attempt to work out a strategy for orderly social change. (p. 2)

There were similar forces operating in other countries at that time, which led to analogus, though country-specific, responses in education. For example, Hein (Ch. 4)

describes post-World-War-I school reform in Austria, which paralleled developments in the U.S. at that time. Some countries adopted and adapted ideas from the U.S. for their own situations, with varying degrees of success (Uygun, Ch. 2; Zulfikar, Ch. 29), while others appear to have progressed on independent paths responding to similar social forces (Thomsen, Ch. 5).

The Progressive Impulse in Education

Progressive educators in the U.S. at that time, like progressives throughout the world in other time periods, sought an educational praxis that would promote "the moral will, the intellectual insight, and the . . . agencies" to build a better society (Hofstadter, 1963, p. 2). It is not surprising that their work was seen as closely allied with that of social reformers such as Jane Addams (Bruce, Ch. 41; Hogan & Connell, Ch. 37; Shields, 2006). They conceived students as active learners with an experimental disposition, in large part because they saw those qualities as necessary for a rapidly expanding economy with dramatic social changes. Thus, engaging with issues as opposed to accumulating facts (Jorgensen, Ch. 8), or learning through carrying out complex projects (Pecore, Ch. 7), seemed a natural response.

Lawrence Cremin (1959; 1988) showed in his history of the U.S. progressive education movement that these educators did not speak with one voice. They framed their projects in different ways and used different terminology. This can be seen even more so in reviews of educators worldwide whose works might be broadly classified as progressive, such as those in Hansen's (2007) collection of essays on ethical visions in education or Kirylo's (2013) collection of biographies of critical pedagogues. Various manifestations of the core ideas can be seen across disciplines and learning settings

today, e.g., language learning (Brown, 2004), agriculture (Bruce, Dowd, Eastburn, & D'Arcy, 2005), the sciences (Edelson, Gordin, & Pea, 1999), university learning (Prince & Felder, 2007), and geography (Spronken-Smith, Bullard, Ray, Roberts, & Keiffer, 2008). See also the section on examples in this chapter.

Nevertheless, an examination of various alternatives to conventional education reveals what we might call a progressive impulse. That impulse guides lifelong struggles against the grain of both the education system and the larger society that shapes and depends upon it. In the area of education, progressives saw that it was not enough for schools to manage the children while the parents went to work in the factories. Nor was it enough to instill the basic skills and obedience appropriate to the emerging industrial society. Instead, schools must become agencies for a democratic society. They needed to foster active participation by *all* citizens in the social, economic, and political decisions affecting their lives. Boedicker (Ch. 19) shows what it means to apply that term "all" in its literal sense, as she examines continuing education for the developmentally disabled. To accomplish the idealistic vision, education needed more progressive methods for developing the individual, which would lead to a more progressive society, thus to enhancing the public or social good.

General agreement on this program did not mean that everyone defined progressive or good in the same way. George Counts, in his 1932 address to the Progressive Education Association, lamented the lack of a shared theory of the social good. In that address he also highlighted the strong connection between individual and societal development:

You may argue that the [Progressive Education] movement does have

orientation, that it is devoted to the development of the good individual. But

there is no good individual apart from some conception of the nature of good

society. . . . The great weakness of Progressive Education lies in the fact that it has

elaborated no theory of social welfare. (p. 257)

In response, some progressive educators at the time, and continuing to today, remained

wary of having an explicit social agenda, especially one that sought to reconstruct the

political order. Instead, they maintained a focus on children in the classroom, helping

their individual development independent of what they saw as larger institutional or

policy concerns. Others, such as Dewey, asserted that Counts' critique implied a

doctrinaire approach that was counter to the democratic process essential for the very

changes that Counts would have wanted in the long term. From that perspective, social

welfare was most definitely a goal, but its precise theory needed to be elaborated by

participants in the process of development, not specified in advance by the Association.

Despite lack of agreement on what constitutes social welfare or how specifically

that needs to be defined, certain principles stand out in educational approaches

commonly described as progressive. These principles recur at other times in U.S.

educational history, and in other regions as well. The education of engaged citizens was

usually characterized as incorporating two essential elements:

(1) *Respect for diversity*, meaning that each individual should be recognized for

his or her own abilities, interests, ideas, needs, and cultural identity, and (2) the

development of *critical, socially engaged intelligence*, which enables individuals

to understand and participate effectively in the affairs of their community in a

collaborative effort to achieve a common good. (John Dewey Project on

Progressive Education, n.d.)

Regardless of the specific formulation, progressive education typically embodies

at least these two elements. The first is often characterized as *child-centered,*

incorporating aspects such as constructivist learning (Easley & Zwoyer, 2006);

experiential learning (Kolb, 1984); inquiry-based teaching (Harste & Leland, 1998);

open classrooms (Barth, 1971; Silberman, 1973); caring (Noddings, 1984); holistic

education (Miller, 1992); multicultural education (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Nieto & Bode,

1992); place-based education (Leslie, Tallmadge, & Wessels, 1999; Sobel, 2013); hands-

on learning (Pestalozzi, 1977; Mark K. Smith, n.d.); learning through discovery (Bruner,

1961); the project method (Kilpatrick, 1918); theme studies that integrate across

disciplines (Gamberg, Kwak, Hutchings, & Altheim, 1988); problem-based approaches

(Neville, 2009); with overall an emphasis on the situated, embodied, emotional, and

creative aspects of human development.

There is a never-ending debate about the educational effectiveness of these

specific approaches—e.g., Dean and Kuhn, 2007; Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark, 2006;

Mayer, 2004; Sweller, Kirschner, and Clark, 2007—in part due to different conceptions

of pedagogical purpose. The very notion of what it means "to work" needs to be

questioned. For example, it seems clear that recall of specific facts or development of

focused skills can be attained more effectively through direct instruction than through

more open-ended or minimally guided approaches. However, long-term impact and

transfer of direct instruction have been more difficult to document, especially on

dimensions such as creativity, social responsibility, and critical thinking. Ethical

development is often judged as highly important, yet it is difficult to assess. Very little

research has been able to assess long-term or comprehensive effects (but see Farrell,

2004). However, the 8-year study (discussed below) is a notable exception, which

demonstrated long-term benefits of progressive schools on multiple dimensions (Aikin,

1942; Ritchie, 1971).

The second element of progressive education is equally important, and often

ignored in contemporary discussions of educational efficacy that focus on individual

achievement on standardized test scores. This element is often called *social*

reconstructionist. It emphasizes the social or public functions of schooling, especially

those extending beyond economic competitiveness. Counts had argued that it requires a

theory of social welfare, that is, to what ends should we reconstruct the social? With a

variety of answers to Counts' challenge, various chapters in this *Handbook* directly

address the goal of developing *critical, socially engaged intelligence*. They employ

terms such as *active citizenship, participation,* and *strong democracy* (Barber, 2003).

A concern with social reconstruction was evident in much of the early-twentieth-

century U.S. work on progressive education. The "Introduction" to the *Social Science*

Pamphlets, a widely used progressive education curriculum support published around

1923, says

> there are signs of . . . a near impasse in citizenship . . . brought about by the
>
> mushroom growth of a fragile and highly specialized mechanism of industry,
>
> transportation, communication, and credit. With these stupendous material
>
> advances, resulting in the artificial inflation of our economic and social standards

of living, there has not been a parallel aesthetic, spiritual, and cultural growth.

(H. Rugg, Rugg, & Schweppe, 2010)

The social reconstruction aspect of these texts advocated critical thinking, racial understanding, democracy, social justice, and national economic planning. Critics such as Ralph Robey, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Legion attacked Rugg's pamphlets, and, more broadly, the entire progressive education enterprise, as being imbued with creeping collectivism and undermining youths' beliefs in private enterprise (Evans, 2007). As with other progressive education efforts around the world, the progressives' desire for social reconstruction was not shared by all, especially those with a vested interest in the existing social and economic order.

The two elements of progressive education are sometimes separated, yet they are deeply interdependent. Building a better society was seen by progressives as requiring the development of aware, engaged, and responsible actors, who become so through individualized, self-directed learning. At the same time, enabling individuals to "participate effectively in the affairs of their community" establishes the environment for their own learning and the "aesthetic, spiritual, and cultural growth" that Rugg envisioned. Progressive schools thus aspired to become sites in which the education process itself was more democratic, with the assumption that democratic schooling was a necessary precondition for a democratic society (Bode, 1938; Greene, 1978).

A contemporary approach that recognizes the link between individual development and social reconstruction is *service learning* (Roy, Jensen, & Meyers, 2009). In some cases it is oriented to providing direct service to the community, essentially making the schools more useful to society. In others, it emphasizes building a

capacity and motivation for future service among participants. Most progressive educators would see these aims as mutually constitutive, with each being both means and end.

The Progressive Impulse in Education

The integration of the individual and social elements implies that respect for the unique, even ineffable characteristics of each individual is best realized by fostering that individual's engagement with others and their growth through that engagement. Conversely, the health and growth of the social organism is possible only when each individual can develop to the fullest. In order to enact this interdependence, progressive educators relied upon a third element, *inquiry*. This inquiry is not only situated in the lived experience of students and teachers, but also in the life beyond the school walls. It implies continual experimentation, seeking not simple or fixed answers but deeper understanding of phenomena; a recognition that addressing problems, whether they are initially characterized as intellectual, physical, moral, aesthetic, political, linguistic, or practical may require multiple attempts and reconstruction of situation. It often entails moving beyond categories such as those just enumerated, to see how, for example, practical issues require drawing upon cultural and historical resources, or how aesthetics is inseparable from a relevant, socially progressive agenda (Shusterman, 2000). Moreover, inquiry is deeply linked to embodied, situated action in the world, both in that meaningful thought has consequences for doing and in that action generates thought (Crawford, 2009; Joas, 1996).

This suggests the definition (see Figure 1):

The *progressive impulse* is inquiry into the interdependence of the growth of self and others.
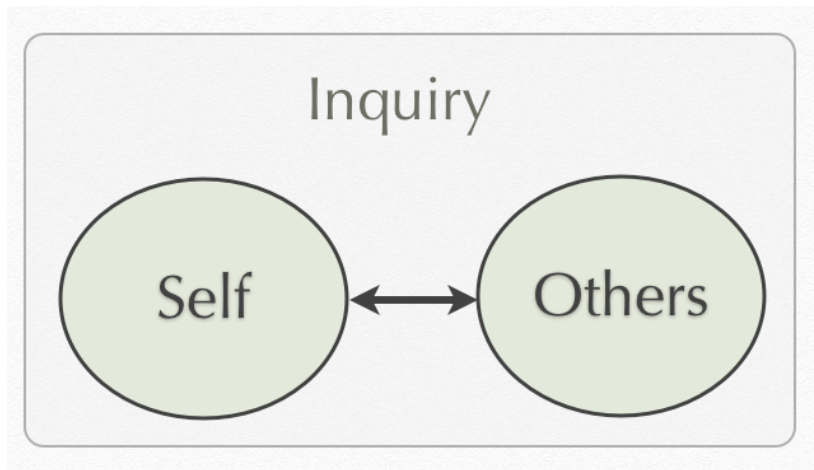

Figure 1. Schematic of the progressive impulse.

Growth is an indication of health and human flourishing of the entire social organism as we discuss below. *Inquiry* is, in Dewey's (2008a) sense, transformation of an indeterminate situation into one whose parts constitute a unified whole. Thus, the progressive impulse not only seeks both individual and social growth, but also sees the two as inseparable. The recognition of that mutual constitution has enabled and engendered progressive efforts across continents and centuries (see especially Nam, Ch. 21; Harnisch & Guetterman, Ch. 24; Ghosh, Ch. 25; and Chow, Ch. 26).

To be clear, this definition does not imply that a progressive educator need be a social psychologist who studies the self-other relation. Consider instead what the progressive impulse implies for an educator interested in science learning: It would lead to a recognition that science involves asking questions about phenomena evident in some way to the individual. At the same time, it would recognize the social embedding of science, seeing it as historically and culturally constituted. Learning how to observe in

an open, yet critical way would require utilizing, yet reaching outward from, one's prior experience, not seeing in a preconceived fashion. Articulating one's developing understanding to others and engaging in dialogue would be as important as mathematical or physical actions (see Lansdown, Blackwood, & Brandwein, 1971 on investigation and colloquium). Cooperative learning would follow, not as an instructional technique, but as a necessary component of the discipline, recognizing the fundamental unity between learning and doing science. The social and political consequences of science would be important objects of study. Community-based science (Bouillion & Gomez, 2001) would be an integral part of the curriculum. Thus, science and society questions would be connected to hands-on learning in an integral way, not as separate subjects to "cover."

In this scenario, the student too would experience the progressive impulse. Science learning would include understanding what constitutes evidence, and what the different types of evidence might be, both for oneself and for others. It would entail working together and engaging in sustained critical cooperative dialogue about states of affairs in the world. Thus, the student would develop meta-knowledge about science and her own learning, which in turn would enable informed critique. She would become a co-developer of the curriculum as she learned the relationship between reflections on her own experiences, those of immediate others, and the larger historical tradition. She would thus develop as an independent, yet socially aware and responsible learner along the path of lifelong learning. Intellectual, moral, and aesthetic development would become facets of a whole, not alternative subjects of study.

Progressive efforts vary greatly, meaning that it is difficult to establish a single definition, model, or even list, of common characteristics that works well across all cases. There are many published and unpublished attempts that provide help, but none can be deemed the final word. Indeed, the experimental and inquiry-based ethos of progressivism mitigates against any such effort. Nor can our definition claim to be the solution; it is neither complete nor universal. Nevertheless, we suggest that the progressive impulse provides a useful perspective on the common core of the progressive education tradition, and underlies many specific presentations that flesh out the idea in fuller and more practical ways. When it beats, this impulse avoids the one extreme of leaving the learner to discover entirely on their own, as well as the other of attempting to prescribe every aspect of learning.

For example, Alfie Kohn (2008) discussed eight values that characterize progressive education: (1) attending to the whole child, (2) community, (3) collaboration, (4) social justice, (5) intrinsic motivation, (6) deep understanding, (7) active learning, and (8) taking kids seriously. His discussion of each of these shows a concern for interdependent growth of students, teachers, parents, and community. Several of the values (#2, #4) point explicitly to the connection between the learning of the individual child and the growth of the community. The emphasis on participation of learners (#5, #7, #8) reminds us that individual/social is mutually constituted and not a one-way interaction. Social dimensions of individual learning are the flip side of developing a healthy society (#2, #3). Taking kids seriously (#8) means that kids own aspects of the curriculum themselves, doing so in a way that meets their self needs while engaging in the social or other dimensions of life. And so on. The key points are that we

need an education process that is generative, not formulaic; and that humans are living, social beings.

A complete analysis of Kohn's (2008) list along this line, or of others, such as the seven principles identified by the Progressive Education Network (n.d.), is beyond the scope of this chapter. In the spirit of progressive education we invite critical examination and dialogue on the claim that our definition underlies key aspects of the more fleshed-out characterizations. It would be interesting to analyze what is potentially omitted, unnecessary, or misrepresented.

The Eight-Year Study

One of the best program evaluation studies ever conducted was the *Eight-Year Study* of progressive education conducted between 1932 and 1940 (Aikin, 1942). Thirty high schools participated. The students from the experimental schools did only slightly better on standardized test scores, but they showed major improvement in other areas, including thinking skills; work habits and study skills; appreciation of music, art, literature and other aesthetic experiences; improved social attitudes and social sensitivity; personal-social adjustment; philosophy of life; and physical fitness. Students from the most progressive schools showed the most improvement, more than those in the somewhat progressive schools, and much more than those in traditional schools. There was evidence of long-term impact as well.

The progressive schools realized that few parents, or citizens, would be satisfied if children could successfully answer multiple-choice questions requiring narrowly focused skills but failed to develop intellectual curiosity, cultural awareness, practical skills, a healthy philosophy of life, a strong moral character, emotional balance, social

fitness, sensitivity to social problems, or physical fitness. Instead of narrowly defined subjects, the curriculum used broad themes of significance to the students, which would start "life as the student saw it" (Benedict, 1947, p. 14). Students would be engaged in inquiry as a way to make sense of themselves and the world around them.

Moreover, the schools were community-based: "The schools believed they belonged to the citizens of the community" (Benedict, 1947, p. 17). Progressive educators spoke of two visions for schools. In one, the old school, there is a fence surrounding the building; activities of the school are separate from those of the world around it, and as a result, schooling is separated from the actual life of the children. In the new school, the building is substantially the same, but it is connected to sites for recreation, housing, jobs, health, government, and, by implication, to all aspects of life. Rather than simply supplementing schools or being a venue for future activity, the community would become the center of learning. The societal view was true not only for *community schools* per se (Clapp, 1939), but also for all schools, urban or rural, large or small, primary or secondary. The view can easily be extended to universities (Benson, Puckett, & Harkavy, 2007) and other sites for learning. Today, many of these ideas have survived under rubrics such as *civic engagement, public engagement, community-based learning*, or *service learning*. But often those ideas are seen as one-way or limited in scope, as they might be applied in a single course (Bishop, Bruce, & Jeong, 2009).

Outcomes of the *Eight-Year Study* included better forms of student assessment, innovative research techniques, new ideas for curriculum, instruction, and teacher education. But above all, it showed that it is possible to help the whole child develop, without losing basic skills. In fact, schooling can be conceived in such a way that

teachers and community members are learners as well. Doing that appears to be the best way to help the individual learner, not working from a deficit model. Moreover, the obsession with testing easily measured skills actually stands in the way of teaching the things almost every parent, teacher, or citizen truly value. No one advocates replicating the schooling of the 1930s in the U.S., much less in diverse contexts around the world, but the lessons of those schools may still be relevant today.

Resistance to Progressivism

The progressive principles have never been predominant. State systems of schooling have emphasized cultural uniformity over diversity and obedience over critical participation. Those systems have rarely tolerated, much less promoted, progressive approaches for long, regardless of whether proponents spoke in the gentle, almost bureaucratic language of the Rugg pamphlets, or more aggressively, such as the call for teaching to be a radical or subversive activity (Postman & Weingartner, 1969). The vilification of Rugg and his pamphlets is a notable example of this intolerance of progressivism (Evans, 2007). During the McCarthy era of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Cold War anxiety and cultural conservatism in the U.S. led to further repudiation of progressive education as a named movement.

There are many examples in the chapters of the *Handbook* of other progressive approaches that encountered societal resistance. See Urban (Ch. 1), Uygun (Ch. 2), Waks (Ch. 3), Thomsen (Ch. 5), Burton (Ch. 10), Mutch (Ch. 11), and Gannon and Sawyer (Ch. 24) in this volume for examples and elaboration. Often there is resistance to change, or the desire to protect powerful interests threatened by critical thinkers. Meanwhile, there has been increasing pressure to enlist students in global education

competition and to prepare them for their roles as both workers and consumers in a competitive, global economy. This pressure is amplified with the privatization of school systems occurring in many countries, which reduces the commitment to goals such as aesthetic and moral development, active citizenship, or understanding the perspectives of others (Ravitch, 2013). In that context, the progressive aspirations appear to many as a luxury, or at best a diversion from the core business of schooling.

In some cases, progressive approaches falter simply because the people involved judge them difficult to implement or counter to their own formal educational experiences. The notion that education should be more than occupational training is more radical than it may appear. Moreover, the structures of schooling are unfriendly to non-graded, mixed-age, integrated-curriculum, open-classroom, and student-centered ideas (Kliebard, 2012). Teachers don't know what they should do, or don't feel empowered to act in more open-ended ways. Administrators are cautious about novel ideas or afraid to lose control. Parents resist because progressive methods appear too different from the way they learned, or thought they had learned. Publishers are too invested in easily packaged curriculum materials. Politicians seek simple fixes with easily measured outcomes. For all, the progressive calls for active engagement with the physical and social world, for critical thinking, for connecting across experiences, seem daunting, especially when others in the system are not supportive.

The Practice of Freedom

The foregoing highlights that we are not simply discussing methods for education, but larger questions of purpose and values. How do we assess social conditions and whether they should be maintained or changed in some way? Can we make our

communities, and the larger society, work (Dionne, 1998)? Cecelia Tichi (2011) showed

how the social conditions of the Progressive era led reformers to social activism in areas

of working conditions, health care, economic opportunity, and shared governance;

educators responded in a similar way. She argued further that in the U.S. today, there is

a pressing need for a renewed progressive response. Throughout the world, similar

challenges prevail. There are many important differences among educational and

societal practices, but social justice is imperative everywhere. Thus, it is important to

foster individual learning, but also to help those individuals participate in building a just

society, not simply conforming to the given. Richard Shaull (1970) posed the decision

starkly:

> There is no such thing as a *neutral* education process. Education either functions
> . . . to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system
> and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the
> means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to
> participate in the transformation of their world. (p. 15)

Progressive educators ask how to foster the practice of freedom for all. Following Shaull,

they understand that such a practice does not issue an unrestricted license or a paean to

individualism, but rather a recognition that individual actualization is achieved through

active participation in the world. Thus, the respect for the distinct value of each

individual is mutually constituted with a critical, socially engaged intelligence.

Philosophy

Progressive education has emerged in a wide variety of times and places. In

China, educators might trace their ideas to Confucius; in Europe, to Socrates; in India,

to Gandhi. It has been rediscovered anew many times, with many different names and characterizations. Nevertheless, most versions of progressive education have responded to some fundamental philosophical questions, such as "what does it mean to be human?" "How should people relate to one another?" "How can democratic living be supported?" and "What is the meaning of complexity and change?"

Human Flourishing

Many progressive educators view pedagogy as more akin to gardening than to transmitting information, or, in other comparisons they have used, more akin to training, molding clay, stacking up bricks, making a product, stuffing a sausage. For example, Friedrich Fröbel (1887) likened education to the trimming of a grapevine, for which the gardener needs to "passively and attentively . . . follow the nature of the plant." He added,

> In the treatment of the things of nature we very often take the right road, whereas in the treatment of man we go astray; and yet the forces that act in both proceed from the same source and obey the same law. (p. 9)

In his dying days he urged care for his garden, ""Take care of my flowers and spare my weeds; I have learned much from them"" (Marenholtz-Bülow, 1892, p. 290). Weeds taught Fröbel that active hindrance or constraints for a learner could hamper their growth, but that in a natural state they reveal their "pure inner life . . . harmonious in all parts and features" (Fröbel, 1887, pp. 8–9). The gardening notion led him to coin the name *kindergarten* (literally children's garden), an approach that greatly influenced early childhood education around the world (Shapiro, 1983).

Others effectively adopt Plutarch's (1992) analogy "the mind is not a vessel that needs filling, but wood that needs igniting" (p. 50). Whether igniting a fire, tending a plant, or bringing to life, a common aspect of the various metaphors is an emphasis on human flourishing as a process that develops naturally, but which can be cultivated with sensitive support.

Human flourishing (reminiscent of gardening) is a common translation for the Greek term *eudaimonia* (εὐδαιμονία). It refers to an objective state characterizing the well-lived life, not simply a transient or subjective feeling of pleasure. According to Aristotle, it is the proper goal of human life. It consists of exercising reason, as the soul's most proper and nourishing activity. *Reason* here should not be confused with the modern notion of rationality, especially as that is often divorced from emotion and aesthetics, and reduced to calculations on a game theory matrix (see chapter and commentaries in Bruce, 2013). To the contrary, Aristotle's *reason* is more closely related to wholeness, with a connection to moral, as much as intellectual, development.

Although there are different conceptions of *eudaimonia* and how it is realized, it is usually defined as a characteristic of how one lives in relation to others, rather than a subjective feeling. It is thus an ethical condition, not just an individual or personal state. For Aristotle, it can be achieved only in the characteristic human community, the polis or city-state. A passage from Viktor Frankl (1984) describing two cases of would-be suicide in the Nazi concentration camps illuminates this connection between self-fulfillment and relational purpose:

Both men . . . [said] they had nothing more to expect from life. In both cases it was a question of getting them to realize that life was still expecting something

from them . . . for the one it was his child whom he adored and who was waiting for him in a foreign country. For the other it was . . . a series of books which still needed to be finished.

This uniqueness and singleness which distinguishes each individual and gives a meaning to his existence has a bearing on creative work as much as it does on human love. When the impossibility of replacing a person is realized, it allows the responsibility which a man has for his existence and its continuance to appear in all its magnitude. A man who becomes conscious of the responsibility he bears toward a human being who affectionately waits for him, or to an unfinished work, will never be able to throw away his life. He knows the "why" for his existence, and will be able to bear almost any "how." (pp. 100–101)

Thus, *eudaimonia* directly links the individual and social aspects of progressivism. It entails an educational praxis that goes beyond individual mastery of skills. But more than that, it connects the "uniqueness and singleness which distinguishes each individual" to consciousness of their responsibility to others, and ultimately to the meaning of existence. Frankl (1984), without intending to do so, provided another formulation of both *eudaimonia* and the progressive impulse. His emphasis on what distinguishes each individual echoes the progressives' respect for diversity. Becoming conscious of one's responsibility to work and to others echoes developing a critical, socially engaged intelligence. Our individuality depends upon that social, including creative, connection, and active citizenship depends upon the flourishing of each individual. In Frankl's therapy, the maintenance of that impulse (or pulse) quite literally meant the prevention of suicide.

In the U.S., aspects of the progressive vision for the good life can be seen in many aspects of the 1960s. President Johnson (1964) stated it this way in his speech inaugurating that Great Society:

> The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich [their] mind and to enlarge [their] talents...leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. . .the city of [humanity] serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

Johnson's failure to end the U.S. war in Vietnam was, of course, a denial of the very good life he invoked. It is all the more striking that his call is so discordant with the dominant education discourse today, which appears to devalue leisure, beauty, and community.

There was a burst of other progressive efforts in that decade, including new laws to ensure voting rights and civil rights. A prominent example in education was the Elementary Science Study (ESS). Led by David Hawkins, educators developed modules to promote open-ended experiences in the areas of life, physical, and earth sciences with math integration. The modules encouraged children to "mess about" with the materials and equipment. Class discussion (*colloquium*) about what was discovered and ideas for follow-up activities ensued (Lansdown et al., 1971). The assumption was that children learn science by doing science, including hands-on interaction with real materials, asking questions, and discussions with others. Research showed that "students in those programs achieved more, liked science more, and improved their skills more than did students in traditional, textbook-based classrooms" (Shymansky, Kyle, & Alport, 1983,

p. 15). However, many teachers felt that inquiry was too unclear to put into practice and found it hard to manage. Use of ESS declined as pressures increased to improve test scores, especially in the areas of reading and mathematical calculation, as opposed to mathematical problem-solving or communication.

Pedagogy

Chris Higgins (2011) extended the *eudaimonia* idea to the life of teachers. He argued that as the professional ethic for teachers implies support for *eudaimonia* for their students, it must also encompass the needs, desires, aspirations, and welfare of practitioners themselves. Good lives for students, for teachers, and for citizens in the society at large are all deeply interdependent. Morales and Samkoff explore related examples in their discussion of the "teacher-artist's creed" (Ch. 13). Adler and Iorio perform similar work in their study of teachers of young children (Ch. 14). Harnisch and Guetterman discuss it in the context of building education and civil society in Georgia (Ch. 24). From this perspective, inquiring teachers must become inquiring learners as well (Fosnot, 1989).

Maxine Greene (1978) linked the similar idea of *wide-awakeness* to morality and imagination for both students and teachers:

Fundamental to the whole process may be the building up of a sense of moral directedness, of oughtness. An imaginativeness, an awareness, and a sense of possibility are required, along with the sense of autonomy and agency, of being present to the self. There must be attentiveness to others and to the circumstances of everyday life. There must be efforts made to discover ways of living together justly and pursuing common ends. As wide-awake teachers work,

making principles available and eliciting moral judgments, they must orient themselves to the concrete, the relevant, and the questionable. They must commit themselves to each person's potentiality for overcoming helplessness and submergence, for looking through his or her own eyes at the shared reality. (p. 51)

In earlier work, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, a leader of progressive education, exemplified wide-awakeness in her commitment to collaboration and inquiry (Antler, 1987). Building upon the contributions of both Jane Addams and John Dewey (Nager & Shapiro, 2007; Mary K. Smith, 2000; Webb & Bohan, Ch. 6), she co-founded what eventually became the Bank Street College of Education. She saw the need for both children and teachers to develop an inquiring attitude towards work and life:

Our aim is to turn out teachers whose attitude toward their work and toward life is scientific. To us, this means an attitude of eager, alert observation; a constant questioning of old procedure in the light of new observations; a use of the world, as well as of books, as source material; an experimental open-mindedness, and an effort to keep as reliable records as the situation permits, in order to base the future upon accurate knowledge of what has been done. Our aim is equally to turn out students whose attitude toward their work and towards life is that of the artist. To us, this means an attitude of relish, of emotional drive, a genuine participation in some creative phase of work, and a sense that joy and beauty are legitimate possessions of all human beings, young and old. If we can produce teachers with an experimental, critical, and ardent approach to their work, we are ready to leave the future of education to them. (Mitchell, 1931, p. 251)

Nager and Shapiro (2007) articulated five principles for conceptualizing and enacting teacher education based on the work of Mitchell and her followers:

- Education is a vehicle for creating and promoting social justice and encouraging participation in democratic processes.

- The teacher has a deep knowledge of subject matter areas and is actively engaged in learning through formal study, direct observation, and participation.

- Understanding children's learning and development in the context of family, community, and culture is needed for teaching.

- The teacher continues to grow as a person and as a professional.

- Teaching requires a philosophy of education—a view of learning and the learner, knowledge and knowing—which informs all elements of teaching. (p. 9)

These principles are interrelated and overlapping, with each enriched by its necessary connection with the others. In this sense, the principles form an integrative whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. Nearly a century later, they seem radical in comparison with the prevalent view of teacher education as a programmable, top-down process. Several chapters in the *Handbook* discuss, more or less directly, the radical implications of thinking of teacher education in this way (e.g., Webb & Bohan, Ch. 6; Morales & Samkoff, Ch. 13; Adler & Iorio, Ch. 14; Wood, Ch. 17; Li & Chen, Ch. 28; Zulfikar, Ch. 29; Gilles, Ch. 38; Kitagawa & Kitagawa, Ch. 39).

Mediating Between Private and Public Needs

Prior to Confucius, education in China was a privilege enjoyed by aristocrats. Confucius was the first one in China to begin education for the general public. He

advocated "providing education for all people without discrimination." Writing about the same time as Socrates in Greece, his methods were similar, including educating according to individual differences and natural ability, heuristic education, and moral education (with some parallels to *eudaimonia*) (Cultural China, n.d.a).

Issues of private and public needs were central in Confucian thought. A key concept was Qin Qin. The first Qin means to act intimately; the second Qin means kin. Confucian love was thus graded according to the proximity of the relationship and enforced by a hierarchical system of proper conduct (Li). Li prescribed different rules or rites for treating one's family members, friends, and members of society. There was a progression from intimate love for one's kin (Qin Qin), to humanity for ordinary people (Ren Min), to the general care for all things (Ai Wu). But Confucianists rejected a universal Christian command such as "You should love your neighbor as yourself." For them, love as an intense emotional feeling and obligatory commitment is necessarily limited to only a few. Qin Qin thus seems similar to Nel Noddings's (1984) idea of *natural caring*.

Later, Mozi tried to replace the Chinese attachment to family and clan with the concept of universal love (Cultural China, n.d.b). He argued directly against Confucians who said that it was natural and correct for people to care about different people in different degrees. It would be disastrous in a large society for everyone to grade care in terms of familial or clan closeness. This is akin to Nel Noddings's (1984) idea of *ethical caring*. But other philosophers found this absurd, as if implying no special amount of care or duty towards one's parents and family.

One Mohist admitted that in carrying out universal love, one must begin with what is near. The basic principle is that benevolence, as well as malevolence, is requited. One will be treated by others as one treats others. For example, Mozi said that one's parents will be treated by others as one treats the parents of others, an idea of enlightened self-interest in social relations. Also, Mozi differentiated between intention and actuality, placing a central importance on the will to love, even though in practice it may very well be impossible to bring benefit to everyone.

These ideas of circles of care or responsibility relate both to education as ethical practice and to contemporary notions of private and public spheres. Any pedagogical approach can be seen as responding to private needs, in the ways that it nurtures individual growth, satisfies an individual's curiosity about a topic, or assures the family that a young person will develop marketable skills. It also responds to public needs, as it builds a productive workforce, inculcates a common religion, or develops a populace that can settle disputes without violence. The relative emphasis differs across educational discourse. However, the discussions among Confucians and Mohists show the interdependence of private and public needs, that it is not a question of choosing between them or simply striking a balance.

Progressive education similarly responds both to the private aspirations of individuals as well as to needs of the public, such as for engaged citizenship (see Hope, Ch. 16 and Wood, Ch. 17). As we define the progressive impulse, these needs are not different goals, but two aspects of one goal. Progressive education thus differs from other systems not in so much as it responds to both public and private concerns, but in terms of the particular concerns and how they are integrated. One important aspect is

that progressive education approaches tend to foreground dichotomies such as public and private, making them objects for inquiry. Rather than operating from implicit assumptions about the nature of knowledge, the relation of knowledge and morality, or how society should operate, progressivism asks that participants assume an active role in questioning given structures.

For example, starting in 1929, Harold Rugg developed a series of junior high school social studies texts, *Man and His Changing Society* (Evans, 2007; H. Rugg et al., 2010). The Rugg curriculum supported both the development of individual knowledge and the preparation of a skilled workforce, thus satisfying conventional private/public needs. However, its critical-thinking approach encouraged students to examine the values behind the facts, not simply to memorize or to apply them. A question such as "What did the Indian think of the coming of the white man to his continent?" (H. Rugg et al., 2010, p. 34) sounds innocuous, but it challenged a prevailing view of an empty frontier that belonged to European colonizers, and called for empathy with oppressed people. Students were thus asked to bring their private concerns and experiences into contact with more public issues and histories. This led naturally to questions about competing values, e.g., capitalist development versus indigenous rights. Rugg's curriculum was attacked by the Advertising Federation of America and the American Legion for its "pro-socialist ideas" because he showed the American society as having strengths and weaknesses.

An approach similar to Rugg's can be found in Howard Zinn's 1980 book, *A People's History of the United States* (Zinn, 2010). Zinn effectively invited students to participate in historical political economy, to interrogate economic doctrines to disclose

their political premises. Economics is not a value-free tool, but a set of ideas and behavior that must themselves be explained (Maier, 1987). That interrogation may lead to critical thinking and more nuanced understanding of issues, but it can also threaten the existing social order, which is one reason that Rugg's and many others curricula were eventually suppressed.

The Public Sphere and Democracy

When asked to write for his own second Festschrift, John Dewey (1976) chose the topic of democracy. Instead of portraying democracy as an alternative to other modes of association (e.g., monarchy, theocracy, feudal hierarchy), Dewey (2008c) argued that democracy "is the idea of community life itself" (p. 148). Furthermore, rather than describing democracy as a fixed structure that can be imposed on others, Dewey saw it as continually recreated by citizens. C*reative democracy* is

> belief in the ability of human experience to generate the aims and methods by
> which further experience will grow in ordered richness . . . faith in democracy is
> all one with faith in experience and education . . . experience in this connection
> [is] that free interaction of individual human beings with surrounding conditions,
> especially the human surroundings, which develops and satisfies need and desire
> by increasing knowledge of things as they are. (Dewey, 1976, p. 229)

This definition implies a never-ending process rather than a fixed mode of sociopolitical organization: "the task of democracy is forever that of creation of a freer and more humane experience in which all share and to which all contribute" (p. 230). In this way, Dewey essentially equated developing democracy with education: "faith in democracy is

all one with faith in experience and education" (p. 229). He saw that occurring in schools, but also in every aspect of the public sphere.

Democracy in this view is also an active process, one that both enacts and creates meaning (Joas, 1996). Recapitulating Freire's practice of freedom, Kenneth Westhues (1982) described the process as follows, "Freedom is not so much a condition people live in as a process they enact, with every new assault they make on the way things are" (p. 444).

For Dewey, schools ought not be seen as instruments of particular social change, decided a priori. However, as seedbeds of enriched experiences, they establish conditions for people to engage in conjoint living without violence and to work toward shared goals. Thus, experience, education, participation, the public sphere, and democracy are inextricably linked. Benjamin Barber (2003) defined this as *strong democracy*, meaning broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems ("the process of authority"), rather than simply responding to government initiatives or being represented distantly by others.

Jürgen Habermas (Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1991) addressed the question of how a public sphere can develop, since it often seems weak or nonexistent. He showed that in 1700s England, new arenas of public life opened up, including the theater, museums, opera houses, meeting rooms, coffeehouses, and taverns. These arenas were linked to the press, publishing ventures, circulating libraries, canals, carriages, and a growing reading public. Of course, not everyone participated—women had a very different role from men, and immigrants, the poor, and others were excluded. But for a sizable segment of the population, these modes of public conversation disregarded

status, and according to Habermas led to trust in reasoned discourse. The public sphere

so created then mediates between society and state. Through it, the public organizes

itself as the bearer of public opinion.

Nancy Fraser (1992) defined the public sphere as a theater in which political

participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is distinct from the state and

from the official economy. Talk in the public sphere can produce and circulate

discourses that inform the state, and in principle be critical of it. She disagreed with

Habermas because he failed to acknowledge that the playing field in the public sphere is

not even. Only certain people are allowed to participate. Habermas assumed some kind

of equal access, which is not so for women and other subaltern groups. In order to

participate they must create counterpublics, or alternative theaters.

The public sphere argument suggests that as the state establishes compulsory

education laws it acquires the right to prepare children for citizenship, however that

may be defined. The schools are then a portal between private and public, sites for

negotiating the relationship between the private needs that gave rise to them and

questions of public good (Allen & Reich, 2013). The way they do that shows youth how

adults understand the relationship between private commitments and the larger public.

However, the issue of who is truly allowed to participate in the dominant public sphere

and the segregation of education by race, class, nationality, and religion complicates any

simple account of the role of education in this process (see especially Sections III and V

on these points).

For progressive educators, these thoughts lead ineluctably to the conclusion that

the schools should themselves become sites for democratic living. Without defining a

preference for specific governmental or societal organization, but seeking to support community life and freedom for individuals to grow in ways that meet their needs, they saw that schooling should not only adopt that as a goal; it must also be an institution that enacts and exhibits what democracy can be and how it can work.

Dewey would apply these ideas throughout, to formal and informal education, but to all public life as well. For example, in March 1937 Dewey led a commission of inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow show trials. The commission cleared Trotsky of all charges and published its findings in the book, *Not Guilty*. But although the Dewey commission might be seen as siding with Trotsky, Dewey (1987) himself challenged Trotsky's view that autocratic means could lead to real democracy. He articulated what has come to be called *radical democracy*: "The fundamental principle of democracy is that the ends of freedom and individuality for all can be attained only by means that accord with those ends" (p. 298). This idea of radical democracy carries over to progressive schooling, at least in the ideal. It is why *democratic education* (seen as the means) and *education for democracy* (seen as the end) are one and the same for progressive educators.

Complexity and Change

Progressive education ideas can be traced back to the earliest writings on education. But they received a renewed interest in the nineteenth century, as the developing sciences portrayed a universe of complexity and change. Pragmatism was a movement with diverse perspectives linked by a view that philosophical discourse needed to accommodate the emerging scientific understanding and should be directly linked to cultural criticism and political engagement.

Among others, Charles Sanders Peirce (1932) was deeply impressed by chance as a way that diversity and complexity develops in the world, especially in the human mind: "I have begun by showing that tychism [Peirce's term for irreducible chance and indeterminism] must give birth to an evolutionary cosmology, in which all the regularities of nature and of mind are regarded as products of growth" (p. 533). These views were consonant with those of the emerging sciences, especially Darwinian theories of evolution and the new physics.

Peirce's (1932) theories were a major influence on William James and other pragmatists, whose work in turn influenced progressive educators. Following Peirce, Dewey (1971) showed that complexity and change meant that education could not be reduced to a formulaic preparation for living. It must allow for messiness and creativity. He argued that we should "[c]ease conceiving of education as mere preparation for later life, and make it the full meaning of the present life" (p. 50).

Progressive educators sought to realize the vision of organic growth through valuing diversity; building on the interests of the learner; organizing learning in larger, more holistic units; connecting school and society; and developing citizenship. They combined an awareness of the past with a recognition of change and future possibilities (Benedict, 1947). The pragmatists and progressive educators in the U.S. had influence around the world, but they were far from the only developers of progressive education ideas. Writings about *progressive education* per se often marginalize it to the U.S. and to a past era, such as the early twentieth century, whereas there are similar, ongoing, efforts throughout the world.

A broader conception of progressive education seems essential if we are to understand its relevance for today. When we issued a call for manuscripts on "Progressive Education: Past, Present and Future" for the *International Journal of Progressive Education* (IJPE), we failed to anticipate the enthusiastic response. Even after selecting only the best submissions, we soon realized the need for a second, and then a third issue. The first issue focuses on the Past (Bruce & Pecore, 2013); the second on the Present (Bruce & Drayton, 2013), and the third on the Future (Hogan & Bruce, 2013). This reflects not only an academic interest in understanding what progressive education has meant and what it can mean, but also a yearning for better ways to think about pedagogy in these times.

The emphasis in progressive education on reflection, on integrating inquiry of the child with that of cultural heritage, and on the forward-looking, growth aspects of learning make it risky to relegate any of the articles into a category of past, present, or future. Progressive educators see learning as occurring throughout the lifespan. Sites for learning include schools, but also work and play. The usual dichotomies, such as theory versus practice, thinking versus action, science versus art, or formal versus informal, were exactly what many progressive educators have sought to counter.

Studies of evolution (Calvin, 2003; Shultz & Maslin, 2013) show that key adaptations evolved in response to environmental instability. Natural selection meant survival of those most adaptable to changing surroundings. In particular, human brain size evolved most rapidly during times of dramatic climate change. Larger, more complex brains enabled early humans to interact with their environment, including each other, in new ways that ensured that the species would thrive.

Education in its manifestations in formal schooling, cultural institutions, publications, public discourse, or informal learning, evolves in a similar way. It responds to times of instability, especially when those changes are seen as threatening. Thus the social systems for human development are reshaped to meet new conditions, just as the elements of our basic biology are. Learning is a means for dealing with turbulence, and educational systems adapt to facilitate that. Eric Hoffer (1982) put it this way: "In times of profound change, the learners inherit the earth, while the learned find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists" (p. 146).

Some might argue that instability is always with us. Plato (1921) cited Heraclitus, "that all things move and nothing remains still," and that the universe is like the current of a river…"you cannot step twice into the same stream" (p. 402a). Nevertheless, it is tempting to see our present moment as one of unprecedented instability, with rapid globalization, immigration, language changes, a growing divide between rich and poor, ubiquitous automation, weapons spread, demographic changes, reduction in biodiversity, climate change, social and cultural transformations, new learning technologies, etc. Education is critical to building a humanized world in these conditions. Several chapters in the *Handbook* explicitly address the changing demands on education in these uncertain times (e.g., Greenwalt & Edwards, Ch. 27; Gross & Shapiro, Ch. 31; Read, Ch. 32; Fassbinder, Ch. 42).

Experimental Knowing

The methods that progressive educators employ to promote democratic education have varied widely. As John Pecore discusses in his introduction to Section I, some focus on developing individual creative potential, some on community-based

schools, some on directed political reform or curricula. A common theme is an experimental attitude coupled with belief in the possibilities of both individual and social growth.

For example, Dewey conceived his own Laboratory School, not as a model for how to perform education, but as a place for educational experiments, to try things out:

> Theories and practices were developed, tested, criticized, refined, and tried again. Experimentalism became increasingly important as Dewey's philosophy matured. For him, not only were these experiments falsifiable, but in a contingent evolving world, their generalizability was always subject to revision. There is no end of inquiry for Dewey; nonetheless, he believed it the best way to render human experience intelligent. (Garrison, 1999)

A useful summary of the approach comes not from education, per se, but from a psychiatrist, David Brendel (2006). He noted that psychiatry experiences "pulls towards a science that studies brain functioning and a humanism that studies the mind in its broad social and cultural context" (p. 7). He saw the divide between science and humanism as a sickness of psychiatry, one that makes it difficult to heal the emotional conflicts and wounds of patients. To address the divide, he turned to the pragmatism of Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey. He presented pragmatism in a simple formula (the four Ps) that could apply to many other domains (e.g., Shields, 2010). There are four key elements, all of which start with the letter "P," at least in English:

- the *practical* dimensions of all scientific inquiry;

- the *pluralistic* nature of the phenomena studied by science and the tools that are used to study those phenomena;

- the *participatory* role of many individuals with different perspectives in the necessarily interpersonal process of scientific inquiry;

- and the *provisional* and flexible character of scientific explanation. (Brendel, 2006, p. 29)

Any such formula has its limitations, but this one seems effective at capturing some salient aspects of pragmatism, as does this *Handbook*. The first P*, practical,* emphasizes pragmatism's insistence on considering the consequences of any concept, to steer away from abstractions and idealizations that have no conceivable effects in our ordinary experience. This is a direct consequence of the experimental attitude towards knowledge. Our judgment of the validity of any idea cannot be separated from its consequences for our lived reality. The chapters included here seek that link between abstract ideals and practical action.

The second P, *pluralistic*, reflects the fact that pragmatism is not so much one method or theory, but rather, an approach that considers any tools that may increase understanding, thereby achieving better practical consequences. It also reflects the assumption that interesting phenomena are unlikely to be captured within a simple category or single way of viewing. This *Handbook* demonstrates that pluralism, but so would any individual teacher. Célestin Freinet's emphasis on teacher responsibility followed from the idea that an experimental approach to teaching could and should lead to different models in different situations (Acker, 2000).

The third P, *participatory*, follows from the second in that multiple perspectives are needed to accommodate a pluralistic understanding. For Charles Sander Peirce (1868), reality depends on the ultimate decision of the community. One thought sets the stage for future thoughts. In that sense, a thought today "has only a potential existence, dependent on the future thought of the community." This implies the need for a community of inquiry to develop knowledge. That community becomes a means for learning in the school, but also an end, since the goal for progressive education is less to ensure retention of specific bits of knowledge identified in advance, and more to develop minds that can participate in continuing inquiry and lifelong learning (Peirce, 1932; 1877).

The idea of participation (Casey, Ch. 20) also reminds us of the embodied aspects of learning. F. Mathias Alexander (1946, 1969, 1990) demonstrated this essential interdependence of cognitive and bodily learning and was recognized as a great educator for this reason by Dewey. Dewey (1984) had earlier argued that

> the question of the integration of mind-body in action is the most practical of all questions we can ask of our civilization. . . .Until this integration is effected in the only place where it can be carried out, in action itself, we shall continue to live in a society in which a soulless and heartless materialism is compensated for by soulful but futile and unnatural idealism and spiritualism. (p. 30)

Participation, then, means engagement with others and with the physical world. Again, the *Handbook* chapters manifest participation in the educational inquiries they describe, often in deeply personal ways.

And the fourth P, *provisional* (cf. *fallibilism*), acknowledges that in a complex and ever-changing world, any understanding is subject to change as we learn more, or as events occur. The notion of the fallibility or provisional quality of our knowledge pulls us away from the accumulation-of-facts approach of much of formal education and returns us to the experimental, inquiry-based approach of progressive education. The realizations of progressive education itself are provisional, and subject to inquiry by all the participants (e.g., Zulfikar, Ch. 29; Kushner, Ch. 40). The *Handbook* chapters are offered as provisional snapshots of ongoing inquiry into progressive education.

Inquiry-Based Learning

If an important goal is to develop "teachers [and students] with an experimental, critical, and ardent approach to their work" (Mitchell, 1931, p. 251), then pedagogy cannot be a simple rule-driven procedure. All participants must have the opportunity to ask questions; to investigate through reading, observation, and participation; to create, to collaborate and learn from others; and to reflect on experiences.

Figure 2 shows an *inquiry cycle* as one representation of this inquiry process (Bruce, 2009; Bruce & Bishop, 2002; Bruce, Bishop, Heidorn, & Lunsford, 2003). There are many ways to use or describe this cycle. For example, *Ask* begins with students' curiosity about the world, ideally with their own questions. A teacher or peer can stimulate that curiosity through dialogue. *Ask* naturally leads to *Investigate,* which exploits initial curiosity and leads to creation of information and tangible products. Students, or groups of students, collect information; study, collect, and exploit resources; experiment, look, interview, or draw. They may clarify or redefine the question. With *Create,* collected information begins to merge. Students start making

links. Here, ability to synthesize meaning is the spark that creates new knowledge.

Students may generate new thoughts, ideas, and theories that are not directly inspired

by their own experience. For *Discuss*, students share their ideas with each other, and ask

others about their own experiences and investigations. Such knowledge-sharing is a

community process of construction and they begin to understand the meaning of their

investigation. *Reflect* consists of taking time to look back, thinking again about the

initial question, the path taken, and the actual conclusions. Thus, the cycle is more of a

non-linear spiral, which is difficult to capture in a simple diagram.
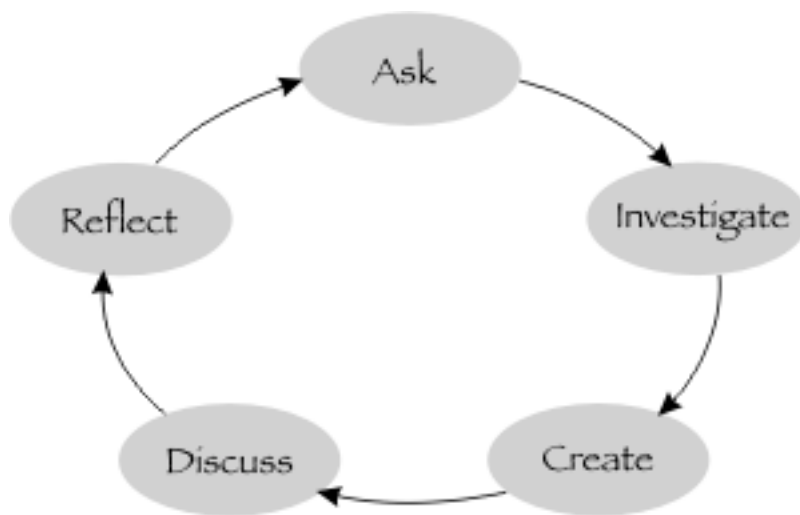

Figure 2. Inquiry cycle.

The expression of these ideas in the formal systems of modern education is

limited, but they have a continuing presence. They exist in calls for science education

reform, in the promotion of arts education, in the best of technology-enhanced learning,

and in the idea of integrative learning (Huber & Hutchings, 2005). The Boyer

Commission on Educating Undergraduates in the Research University (1998) has called

for their incorporation into tertiary education. They become an imperative in

community-based learning and in meeting the needs of underserved students.

Responsive to societal problems and hopeful for a better future, the progressive impulse has led to a wide variety of innovative ideas and practices for both formal and informal learning at all levels, for teacher education, for community-based approaches, for libraries, and, more recently, for new information and communication technologies. See, for example, the discussions of museum education (Hein, Ch. 12) and the Barnes museum (Feinberg & Connell, Ch. 9) in this volume.

It should be clear by now that inquiry-based learning and progressive education apply beyond formal classrooms in schools and universities. Learning occurs in every setting: nature, libraries, museums, homes, workplaces, farms, playgrounds, health centers, summer camps, daycare centers, houses of worship, retirement homes, clubs, and online. These *learning spaces* each offer affordances for different kinds of learning. When viewed in terms of the holistic, interconnected, and inquiry-based approaches of progressive education they are more easily conceived as sites for learning, rather than simply as places to apply learning or as alternative ways to learn.

Moreover, learning is enhanced by the relations between learning spaces. For example, when learning is viewed as a lifelong activity that is not limited to the school, that same school can become a place to reflect upon and extend experiences from work or play. Museums and libraries can become bridges between ordinary experiences and more formalized learning in classrooms. Comparing experiences across spaces is an opportunity for critique; for example, experiencing a museum exhibit that provides a different perspective on another culture than one has garnered on the playground.

Going further, we can see that learning develops most fully, not only in binary relations between learning spaces, but also in a richly connected network of learning

spaces. In a recent study of transcontextual writing by young men, Anna Smith (2014) showed how important this can be for writing and personal development. Similarly, a study of media ecologies in university teaching (D'Arcy, Eastburn, & Bruce, 2009) found that students responded to different media in individual ways, but that all learned more from a combination of media. As distinct from many other pedagogical approaches, progressive education seeks to understand the full range of learning opportunities in the ecology of learning spaces and how to enhance them.

Examples of constructed learning spaces can be seen in the *parques bibliotecas* (library parks) of Medellín, Colombia, started around 2009. These are urban complexes in marginalized communities. Libraries with computers and broadband access are situated in the center of imaginative modern complexes, with large surrounds including green, pedestrian, and decorative components. The parks are cultural centers designed to promote fun, relaxation, social interaction, educational activities, and cultural services. Thus, they combine digital and print media, natural and cultural learning, recreation and scholarship, local and extended community building.

The basic idea is to transform disadvantaged communities, improving both the physical and cultural environment. The parks stimulate renewal, while promoting civic pride and citizenship development, all under the slogan "the best for the most needy." In these settings, the public library becomes an educational environment emphasizing the social function of education. Participants of all ages develop new forms of reading and writing as political practices that enhance their exercise of citizenship, leading to counterpublics for marginalized minorities (Giraldo, Betancur, & Posada, 2009).

Examples of Progressive Education in Action

Despite external pressures and even hostility toward progressive education, and, in many cases, even more so internal squabbles, loss of commitment, and diluted vision, various educators continue to reinvent the essential progressive ideas and to address the changing needs of schools, children, and society. They have implicitly sought to counter Dewey's (1980) lament that "Each generation is inclined to educate its young so as to get along in the present world instead of with a view to the proper end of education: the promotion of the best possible realization of humanity as humanity" (p. 101).

Progressive educators have seen that if the curriculum is based on life as we know it in the neighborhood, region, or world, learning automatically becomes relevant. Students can see the connection between their individual lives and larger social concerns such as care for the environment, cross-cultural understanding, or understanding world heritage. When learning grows out of concrete lived experience, learning activities start out being integrated. When it derives from real community needs those activities are automatically purposeful. They highlight independent and critical thinking, responsibility, communication, collaboration, and problem-solving, not because someone decided they should be taught, but because they are needed to achieve a common purpose. These ideas have assumed a stronger salience with the widespread availability of new digital media (Lin, Milbrandt, Hutzel, & Blidy, Ch. 18; Bruce, Bishop, & Budhathoki, 2014).

Chapters in the *Handbook* offer fuller descriptions and critiques of these efforts to promote "the best possible realization of humanity," but it is useful to consider a few examples here to make the foregoing ideas more tangible and to set the stage for those

more detailed accounts. These examples grow out of specific community concerns, yet offer generalizable insights.

Pédagogie Freinet, 1920–Present

In France, Célestin Freinet initiated a movement that is now worldwide, *Pédagogie Freineti*, or the *Mouvement de l'École moderne* (Acker, 2000; Divanna, 2008; Sivell, 1994; Thomsen, Ch. 5). The movement grew out of Freinet's own experiences as a teacher. During World War I, he had been wounded in the lung, leading, in part, to his becoming a pacifist. After the war, he became an elementary schoolteacher in Le Bar-sur-Loup, France. Unable to project his voice for long periods because of the war injury, he abandoned the traditional lecture approach. He turned the teacher's large lecture platform into a work table for the students, at which he could guide collaborative learning projects. He then purchased a printing press to produce free texts and class newspapers for his students.

Soon, the children began to compose their own works, discuss and edit them, and present them as a team effort. Their texts were based on learning walks, regular, open-ended field trips into the community to examine the work and social life (see Masschelein, 2010, for a contemporary version of this idea). Their compositions became newspapers and magazines that could be sent to other schools, such as those in Brittany, in a far corner of France, for example. These interscholastic exchanges became a means to learn about other cultures and languages. Freinet saw that the children's own texts were more engaging, and ultimately more educative for the students than textbooks, which held little meaning for their lives.

As the children were experiencing new modes of learning, Freinet worked to support teacher unions, not only for better conditions, but also for exchange of pedagogical ideas. Teachers would change public education from the inside. He believed that teachers should be intellectuals, social critics, and responsible agents of curriculum and instruction. These theories, added to his socialism, meant that his ideas were rejected in the U.S., which emphasized teacher-proof curricula at the time.

For Freinet, needs originated and organized experience. Our experience through work enables us to research and construct our knowledge of reality (see Crawford, 2009, for more on the formative qualities of manual work). Freinet referred to the activity of his classroom as either the Modern School, meaning that it bridges the gap between life and school, or *pédagogie du travail*, or learning through work (Otero, 1993). Students learn by making products or providing services. He added to this *tâtonnement expérimental*, or inquiry-based learning, and *travail coopératif*, cooperative learning in teams. These activities built upon the *méthode naturelle*, authentic learning based on real experiences, with children's interests as the starting point. Both the means and the ends include democratic education: Children, and also teachers, take responsibility for their work and for the whole community, through self-government.

Freinet's ideas resonate with those of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Fröbel before him, and, of course, Dewey, contemporaneously. But Freinet's actual work extends Dewey's ideas of democratic education by showing in practical ways how schools can become sites for democratic living and engagement with the community.

Educating Teachers, Turkey, 1923–Present

The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed on October 29, 1923. As its first President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk sought to establish the modern Turkey as a "vital, free, independent, and lay republic in full membership of the circle of civilized states." He recognized the need for "public culture," which would enable citizens to participate fully in public life, and saw the unification and modernization of education as the key. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to invite John Dewey, who arrived in Turkey just 9 months after the proclamation. Dewey's report (2008b; Uygun, 2008; Vexliard & Aytac, 2010; Wolf-Gazo, 1996; Uygun, Ch. 2) reverberates in Turkish education even today.

In this endeavor, the ideas of Atatürk and Dewey were consonant. Dewey's words above ("vital, free,...") could have been written by Atatürk, just as Dewey might have talked about "public culture." Both recognized the need to institute compulsory primary education for both girls and boys, to promote literacy, to establish libraries and translate foreign literature into Turkish, and to connect formal schooling, the workplace, and government.

Dewey's 3-month-long study in Turkey was an ambitious project. He addressed issues of the overall educational program, the organization of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the training and treatment of teachers, the school system itself, health and hygiene, and school discipline. Within those broad topics, he studied and wrote about orphanages, libraries, museums, playgrounds, finances and land grants for education, and what we might call service learning, or public engagement, today.

He laid out specific ideas, such as how students in a malarial region might locate the breeding grounds of mosquitoes and drain pools of water or cover them with oil. In

addition to learning science they would improve community health and teach community members about disease and health. Workplaces should offer day care centers and job training for youth. Libraries were to be more than places to collect books, but active agents in the community promoting literacy and distributing books. In these ways, every institution in society would foster learning and be connected to actual community life. As Dewey (1987) argued,

> The great weakness of almost all schools...is the separation of school studies from the actual life of children...The school comes to be isolated and what is done there does not seem to the pupils to have anything to do with the real life around them, but to form a separate and artificial world. (p. 293)

Atatürk saw the need to unify Turkey into a nation state, despite its great diversity. Dewey (1987) supported that, but also emphasized that unity cannot come through top-down enforcement of sameness:

> While Turkey needs unity in its educational system, it must be remembered that there is a great difference between unity and uniformity, and that a mechanical system of uniformity may be harmful to real unity. The central Ministry should stand for unity, but against uniformity and in favor of diversity. Only by diversification of materials can schools be adapted to local conditions and needs and the interest of different localities be enlisted. Unity is primarily an intellectual matter, rather than an administrative and clerical one. It is to be attained by so equipping and staffing the central Ministry of Public Instruction that it will be the inspiration and leader, rather than dictator, of education in Turkey. (p. 281)

This was realized in many ways. For example, the central ministry should require nature study, so that all children have the opportunity to learn about, and from, their natural environment, but it should insist upon diversity in the topics, materials, and methods. Those would be adapted to local conditions, so that those in a coastal village might study fish and fishing while those in an urban center or a cotton-raising area would study their own particular conditions.

Many of Dewey's ideas were implemented, and can be seen in Turkey today (Keskin, n.d.). In other settings we also see that pedagogical problems can be traced not only to the "separation of school studies from the actual life of children and the conditions and opportunities of the environment," but also to the separation of work from learning, of health from community, of libraries from literacy development, or of universities from the public. Dewey would be the first to argue that we need to re-create solutions in new contexts, but his report from long ago and far away still provides insights for a way forward today.

Some years after Dewey's visit and report, the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) were created to address serious educational needs and to help realize that progressive vision. In 1928 (the year of the introduction of the Latin script in Turkey), 82.5% of men and 95.2% of women were illiterate. For 13.6 million people, there were only 4,894 elementary schools, and most of those were in the towns, not the villages where most of the people lived (Ata, 2000; Bilgi & Özsoy, 2005; Stirling, 1994; Vexliard & Aytac, 2010; Yılmaz, 1977).

Between 1939 and 1946, 21 co-educational boarding schools were built to prepare primary school teachers. Much of the construction work was done by pupils and

teachers. Youth of both sexes, aged 12 to 16, who had completed a 5-year village primary school, qualified for admission. Their education was free following a pledge to teach in an assigned village for 20 years after graduation. The duties of the new teachers included primary education; adult education; cultural enhancement through the distribution of books, educational programs, radio, and music; promoting progressive agricultural techniques, the raising of livestock, and rural handicrafts; and the creation and development of rural cooperatives (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Music education in the Village Institutes, mandolin student.

The graduates of the Institutes were to return to their villages as leaders and reformers. Teachers, students, and villagers in general were to learn practical

skills—mostly related to their agricultural economy—new tools for life, and general education. The Institute approach embodied ideas of Ataturk, Dewey, and others, such as integrating theory and practice, focusing on the underserved, working across institutions, and a systemic approach to building a stronger society. Classical education was to be combined with practical abilities and applied to local needs.

The Institutes had a major impact, and many people regret that they were shut down. But there was resistance against this secular and mixed education. Some feared that it would educate "the communists of tomorrow," a damning statement during the Cold War. Traditionalists questioned the coeducational and secular aspects. Powerful landlords did not appreciate the goal of educating children who could ask "Why?" questions. There were also questions about the organization and preparation of the teachers. By 1953 the Village Institutes had been completely shut down. An artist who had been born during the Institute period said "They killed the Turkish children! They murdered Turkey's future!" Others were more reserved, but still felt that a crucial opportunity had been lost.

The Village Institutes demonstrated a successful model for education that could be applied anywhere after suitable adjustment for local needs. But there are many questions. For example, the photos from the period show mostly young men, even though the Institutes were coeducational. How did the young men and women get along? How did they each experience the Institutes? (Eğrikavuk, 2010; Stone, 2010). How did they work with ethnic minorities, or pluralistic communities? It is likely that the progressive impulse was relative to the then-current cultural systems of values, as it would be anywhere.

Jena Plan Schools, 1924–Present

Jena Plan schools employ progressive ideas worldwide. They derive from the ideas of Peter Petersen at the demonstration school for preservice teacher education of the University of Jena, Germany (Gläser-Zikuda, Ziegelbauer, Rohde, & Limprecht, 2012). In the Netherlands, the Jena plan school concept was influenced by the nongraded schools in the U.S. (Goodlad & Anderson, 1987), the British Infant Schools, and Freinet education, and further developed by Susan Freudenthal-Lutter (Röhrs & Lenhart, 1995). The Jena Plan schools are mostly primary level, but include kindergarten and sometimes adolescents. The general idea is the school as a place of living, each with differences corresponding to their local situation and specific history. The schools generally emphasize support for individual differences, multiage grouping, a world orientation to the curriculum, social responsibility, dialogue circles, a rhythmic weekly work schedule (as opposed to traditional timetabled lessons), and ideas of community and verbal assessment instead of formal exams and academic competition.

Literacy For All: Misiones Pedagógicas, Spain, 1931–1936

A report written and published by the Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas (Patricia, 2009), which is now available online, tells the story of the *Misiones* through text, photos, and a map. The photos of uplifted, smiling faces may seem overly idealistic; still, it is undeniable that something important was happening for both the villagers and the missionaries (see also Jorrin Abellán, Sobrino, & Sastre, Ch. 30).

The *Misiones Pedagógicas* were a project of cultural solidarity sponsored by the government of the Second Spanish Republic, created in 1931 and dismantled by Franco at the end of the civil war. Led by Manuel Bartolomé Cossio, the Misiones included over

500 volunteers from diverse backgrounds: teachers, artists, students, and intellectuals. A former educational missionary, Carmen Caamaño, said in an interview in 2007:

> We were so far removed from their world that it was as if we came from another galaxy, from places that they could not even imagine existed, not to mention how we dressed or what we ate, or how we talked. We were different. (Roith, 2011)

She added, "something unbelievable arrived" [but] "it lasted for such a short time."

The *Misiones* eventually reached about 7,000 towns and villages. They established 5,522 libraries comprising more than 600,000 books. There were hundreds of performances of theatre and choir (see Figure 4) and exhibitions of paintings through the traveling village museum:

> We are a traveling school that wants to go from town to town. But a school where there are no books of registry, where you do not learn in tears, where there will be no one on his knees as formerly. Because the government of the Republic sent to us, we have been told we come first and foremost to the villages, the poorest, the most hidden and abandoned, and we come to show you something, something you do not know for always being so alone and so far from where others learn, and because no one has yet come to show it to you, but we come also, and first, to have fun.—Manuel Bartolomé Cossio, December 1931 ("Misiones Pedagógicas," n.d.)

Figure 4. Theater, film, and choir activities of the *Misiones Pedagógicas.*

In her study of Spanish visual culture from 1929 to 1939, Jordana Mendelson (2005) examined documentary films and other *re-mediations* of materials from the *Misiones* experience. Her archival research offers a fascinating contemporary perspective on the cultural politics of that turbulent decade, including the intersections between avant-garde artists and government institutions, rural and urban, fine art and mass culture, politics and art. Spain today is more literate, more urban, more "modern." But although the economic stresses are different, they have not disappeared. There are still challenges, in some ways greater, for achieving economic and educational justice.

In July 1936 a coup sparked a civil war in Spain. Some of the teaching missionaries were killed; many others were imprisoned or exiled. Teachers were accused of instilling a "Republican virus." After the war, the government engaged in "purification" to remove pedagogical innovation, secularism, and coeducation promoted by the missions. In 1935, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío asked:

No comprendo por qué odian de esa manera a las Misiones. Las Misiones no hacen más que educar. Y a España la salvación ha de venirle por la educación. (I don't understand why they hate the Misiones so. The Misiones wish only to educate. The salvation of Spain will come through education.) ("Francisco Giner de los Ríos," n.d.)

When people learn and develop, and especially as they become critical, socially engaged citizens, they inevitably transform their world. The changes they engender may challenge existing social relationships, conventional practices, hierarchies, and power structures. That can be challenging for all involved, yet the alternative of life without growth is worse.

Community Schools, 1934–1936

"Community" has many meanings, of course. In general, the examples to follow see community as something dynamically constructed by participants. Consistent with Anthony Cohen (2013), community is not defined in structural terms, but rather as a cultural field with symbols whose meanings vary among its members: "people construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity" (p. 118). Thus communities are where we live our lives, but also communities are created by our lived experiences.

For Elsie Ripley Clapp, curriculum based on life meant designing explicit community schools. From 1934–1936 she served as administrator of a school in Arthurdale, West Virginia. Students learned through hands-on activities in projects related to agriculture and construction. They also learned about their Appalachian culture. When the school opened, no school buildings had been built and there were no

books and supplies. The teachers improvised and put their progressive teaching plans to work. The second grade learned about construction by watching the workers building homes, and put their knowledge to practical use by building their own homestead community. The fourth grade studied pioneer life in an old cabin. High school students combined disciplines and created surveying equipment through their math, science, and shop classes. They surveyed a nearby highway for their final project.

Clapp (1993) described the school as an experiment in democratic living. It belonged to its people, who shared its ideas and ideals and its work. This meant, for example, that social studies had to be re-envisioned as not only learning about social life, but also participating in it and developing knowledge that could make a difference in that life (Montgomery, 2014; Stack, 2004):

> A socially-functioning school has, therefore, not only to claim as its problems the conditions in the community affecting residents and therefore children, not only to participate in these, and itself to supply where lacking health, social, and recreational agencies or to foster and use in connection with these, but also to interpret its teaching job as the learning of socially functioning subject matter. (Clapp, 1933, pp. 286–287)

Escuela Nueva, 1970s–Present

Escuela Nueva is an educational model in Colombia designed by Vicky Colbert, Beryl Levinger, and Óscar Mogollón, in the mid 1970s (Fundación Escuela Nueva, n.d.). It was initially aimed at rural multi-grade schools where one or two teachers simultaneously teach all grades. It has become a globally recognized innovation that benefits children, teachers, administrators, families, and the community. Students learn

actively, participate, and collaborate, working at their own pace. There is also a focus on the relationship between the school and the community, recapitulating many of Clapp's ideas.

The model was recognized by UNESCO's international comparative study, showing that, excepting Cuba, Colombia provided the best rural primary education in all of Latin America. Colombia became the only country in which rural schools performed better than schools in urban areas. The World Bank designated it as one of the three most successful innovations that had impacted public policy around the world, and the Human Development Report by the United Nations selected the model as one of the three greatest achievements in the country.

Linking Formal Education and Community Projects, 2005–Present

In the examples above, we see how education can be brought to the community and the community brought to education. The work of Camara shows how an established educational organization can come together with an established community organization. Camara is an international project based in Dublin, Ireland, dedicated to using technology to improve education and livelihood skills in disadvantaged communities around the world. It has provided eLearning Centers to over 2,500 schools in Africa, Ireland, and the Caribbean, installed over 50,000 computers, and trained over 12,000 teachers on how to use the technology for learning purposes. Camara collects donated computers, tests and repairs them, loads software, ships the packages to low-resource communities, sets up school or community technology centers, and trains local residents. It also develops multimedia presentations and educational software, databases, networking, and a variety of software applications and system components.

It turns out that enacting these processes addresses the learning objectives of the third-year work experience requirement at institutions such as the National College of Ireland. Moreover, the Camara work realizes major parts of courses in hardware, multimedia, networks, management technology, marketing, and other areas. Many students and staff are interested as volunteers as well. At the same time, National College of Ireland students can address the special needs of Camara in terms of hardware and other skills. College students help with the store of computers waiting for treatment in the Camara "Computer Hospital." Students participate through coursework and independent study. All of the participants, whether in the College, the Camara facility, or a village in Africa, become both learners and contributors.

Helping Citizens Participate, 2008−Present

For Clapp's Arthurdale School, a focus on meaningful learning would come only after she found ways to engage students in the "conditions in the community." A contrasting example is one in which engagement with conditions in the community leads to a focus on learning. In Bucharest, the Resource Centre for Public Participation (CeRe) said,

> to have a better Romania, the governance must be closer to the citizens and their needs. And because "all politics is local", we need empowered citizens and strong NGOs to get involved, to get mobilized, to write petitions, to participate at public meetings, to contribute to the policy making or even to protest in the streets. (2006)

CeRe employs an interesting and highly effective community organizing methodology. Although it is based on the specific situations of Bucharest today, its work

is a model for community action anywhere. A relatively small project, but one that makes a big difference in people's lives, illustrates the process. Portions of a neighborhood were separated by a dangerous alleyway, with broken pavement, trash, poor lighting, and unpredictable traffic. Children had to traverse this to get to school.

In an initial phase, community organizers from CeRe went door to door in the neighborhood. Some citizens identified one or more problems in addition to the alley, others none at all. A consensus emerged that repair of the alley was a high priority that appeared amenable to solution. Citizens organized to specify the problem, to propose concrete solutions, and to pressure city officials for action. CeRe advised and facilitated, but was deliberately not the primary actor. The goal was to address the immediate problem, but, more importantly, to nurture long-term participation in civic processes. Eventually, the alley was cleaned and paved. Bollards were installed to restrict traffic, lighting was added, and what turned out to be a final obstacle, two trash bins, were added. It is now a safe place to play or to traverse between sections of the neighborhood. Other civic renewal projects facilitated by CeRe include turning vacant land into a park (Figure 5) and renovating an old movie theater to become a community center.

Figure 5. Citizens in Bucharest enjoying a new park enabled by a democratic civic

renewal process.

CeRe operates on the assumption that democratic living requires far more than a

parliamentary government:

Democracy means free and fair elections, but also a political environment where

citizens actively participate in the decision making process. . . .CeRe's mission is

to act so that public decisions meet the needs and desires of social actors. . . .

NGOs, citizens and public institutions assume responsibility for public

participation and use their rights associated to this participation. (Resource

Centre for Public Participation, 2006)

CeRe has come to recognize that this active participation cannot occur without learning;

teaching has become a central aspect of what it does. The process isn't linear, and often

entails stepping back, moving sideways, or redirecting energies to achieve the goals.

Along the way, citizens learn not only about the specific problem, but also about working

together, listening to each other, making decisions together, being a team,

compromising, negotiating, discussing issues productively, and understanding the laws

and municipal government. They work to achieve democratic ends by democratic

means, all involving progressive education methodology.

New Media

Young people today experience the world in new ways through digital media

(Alvermann, 2010; Coiro, Knobel, Lankshear, & Leu, 2014; Jenkins, 2009). These

experiences are often liberating and integral to the development of identity and social

relations, but they can also be excessively individualized, aimless, and isolating.

However, there are many examples of how new social media can be used to foster

concerted political change and other positive social action (Earl & Kimport, 2011;

Kahne, Middaugh, & Allen, 2014; Loader & Mercea, 2012).

In education, the new media have long held the potential for radical new modes

of learning as well as reifying existing practices (Besley & Peters, 2013; Waks, 2013).

Some see the approaches, such as *open educational resources* (OER), as a way to realize

the dreams of progressive education worldwide and for people regardless of economic

circumstances. OER are teaching, learning, and research resources that can be used

freely and repurposed by others. They include various tools, materials, and techniques

to support access to knowledge, such as course materials, textbooks, videos, tests, and

simulation software (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.). Massive open

online courses (MOOCs) are a means to extend those ideas to distance education for

thousands of students. But whether these approaches achieve their often conflicting

goals, and the extent to which they fulfill progressive aspirations, is still unclear.

In some cases, technology use is embedded in a community-focused context (Warschauer, 2004). Computer clubhouses, museum and library programs, science camps, and other forms of informal learning play an increasing role in supporting inquiry and community learning (Kafai, Peppler, & Chapman, 2009). The use of new media for active citizenship, beyond protest, per se, is also receiving increasing attention (Benson & Christian, 2002; boyd, Palfrey, & Sacco, 2012; National Writing Project (U.S.), 2006; Ross, 2012). Diverse use of new media and digital tools affords new opportunities for the progressive impulse.

Projects such as *Youth Community Inquiry* (Bruce et al., 2014) show how youth energy and facility with new media can address community needs in a concerted way. This is supported by a collaboration among diverse learning spaces, including urban and rural communities, schools, public libraries, community centers, a public media station, 4-H, and universities. The use of new technology goes beyond social media, per se, to include building geographic information systems, designing community technology centers, and hosting Internet radio. It brings in the perspective of community members in the selection of problems, design of activities, and the interpretation of results.

A broad range of practices, from mapping community assets to writing community history, have the potential to bring the facility with, and attraction to, diverse digital media, together with the drive for social change. Young people can build upon their actual or latent abilities with digital photography, audio and video production and editing, Internet search, GPS, databases, Internet radio, and more. This means that they use their facility with new information tools in a way that helps connect and build community, rather than leading to further isolation. Digital literacy then

becomes not just another skill to acquire, but a part of one's repertoire for meaningful action in the world.

Using technology in this way means that learners become active, critical users, rather than passive recipients of technology. They adopt a sociotechnical systems approach, which critiques ways in which technological objects are socially constructed, with cultural, political, and economic values embedded in their design, production, distribution, and use:

> Critical awareness of the relationship between the social and the technical opens up selection of technical systems that more closely align with personal and community epistemology and ethics. Further, as we gain a greater awareness of technologies as innovations-in-use as opposed to fixed, one-size-fits-all implementations that are best left to "experts" to develop and modify, we gain agency to adapt technical systems as co-creators to more effectively achieve our personal and community goals. (Wolske, 2014)

And More

The diversity of progressive education efforts is both fascinating and daunting: fascinating because it reveals the many ways that communities have learned to work in positive ways to promote individual and social growth; daunting, because it feels impossible to identify the common themes or to know what conclusions to draw from an examination of the approaches. The experimental, diversity-oriented, situation-sensitive nature of progressive education naturally leads to a wide array of methods, descriptions, and theories.

We argue that the idea of the *progressive impulse* as defined above, "inquiry into the interdependence of the growth of self and others," offers a useful heuristic for analyzing particular programs as well as a way to distinguish them from more conventional educational approaches. For the latter, it is not that anyone sets out opposing individual and social growth, it is that all too often education becomes mired in its other functions, such as narrowly defined job preparation, sorting people in terms of who will receive societal goods, offering an arena for economic competition, or promoting conformity and obedience to the social order. The banking metaphor of depositing facts into empty minds then asserts itself against the promotion of critical consciousness. Or, in less dire terms, many educational practices are simply ossified vestiges of activities that had a greater use in the past, but no longer serve current needs. Without continuing participation and critical examination these practices live on, absent of any evidence of their value and even without living advocates.

The *Handbook* chapters provide a more in-depth look at various programs and ideas. In addition to those, and to the ones described above, we suggest below an incomplete survey in order to consider the scope and variety of progressive education organizations and efforts. The list also includes some notable individuals who influenced progressive education efforts, beyond those discussed more fully in the text.

Several organizations have been established to promote progressive pedagogy. The Progressive Education Association (Brown & Finn, 1988), founded in the U.S. in 1919, defined its philosophy in seven principles, probably written by Eugene Randolph Smith, its first president: the freedom to develop naturally; interest as the motive of all work; the teacher as a guide, not a task-master; the scientific study of development;

attention to the child's physical development; cooperation between school and home; and progressive schools as leaders (Cremin, 1964; Graham, 1967a). Though never the dominant form of education, progressive approaches endorsed by the PEA and the association itself lasted until the 1950s, but came to an end in the context of the Cold War, and right-wing attacks.

More recently, the Progressive Education Network (U.S.), which "exists to herald and promote the vision of progressive education on a national basis, while providing opportunities for educators to connect, support, and learn from one another" (Progressive Education Network, n.d.), has emerged as effectively a renaissance of the PEA. Many other collaboratives, such as the Grassroots Community & Youth Organizing (GCYO) for Education Reform group (2007) of the American Educational Research Association have similar goals. The GCYO aims to advance research on community and youth organizing, particularly in low-income communities and communities of color. The National Writing Project (U.S.) (n.d.) and a variety of approaches to teaching writing have been natural allies for progressive education, since writing is a fundamental means to "take kids seriously." Meanwhile, activist educators in inner cities have advocated greater equity, social justice, diversity, and other democratic values through the publications of *Rethinking Schools* (Rethinking Schools, n.d.) and the National Coalition of Education Activists. Other examples can be seen in the list of partner schools of the Progressive Education Network (n.d.) and the programs connected with critical pedagogy (Kirylo, 2013).

In nearly every country it is possible to identify figures or projects that manifest the progressive impulse to varying degrees and in different ways. For example, Eugenio

María de Hostos (1839–1903), known as "El Gran Ciudadano de las Américas," was a Puerto Rican educator, philosopher, intellectual, lawyer, sociologist, and independence advocate. He went to the Dominican Republic, where he founded in Santo Domingo the first teachers college and introduced advanced teaching methods. He opposed religious instruction in the educational process and promoted women's rights.

In France, Jean Zay (1904–1944) was a politician, resistor, and humanist, who was Minister of National Education and Fine Arts under the Front Populaire in the 1930s. His work had many progressive aspects, including promoting the democratization of education and culture, compulsory education up to 14 years, physical education, and what in France at that time served progressive ends, the ban on the wearing of political and religious insignia in schools. He also proposed the creation of the Cannes Film Festival.

Based on school reform in France from the 1920s, but expanding after World War II, the Modern School Movement (*Mouvement de l'École Moderne*) is the community of teachers who follow the educational and social practices of Célestin Freinet, his wife Élise, and their successors. The Freinet practices are similar to the progressive education in the U.S., but Modern School Movement has perhaps had a larger international impact. It has related organizations in many other countries and affinities with Nueva Escuela and *La educación popular*.

Nongraded schools, introduced in the late 1950s in the U.S. and elsewhere, emphasize respect for individual differences and challenging, cooperative learning. The curriculum is integrated and flexible, emphasizing mastery of concepts and inquiry; assessment is holistic and individualized (Anderson & Pavan, 1993). During the 1960s

and early 1970s the free school movement, also known as the new schools or alternative

schools movement, sought to change the aims of formal schooling or offer alternatives

through independent community schools (Miller, 2002). There were many influences,

including A. S. Neill and the Summerhill school in England. In the late 1960s in the U.S.,

Eliot Wigginton (2011) and his students created *Foxfire* magazine to record and

preserve the traditional folk culture of the Southern Appalachians. The effort

demonstrated how contemporary learning could connect with community and

traditional culture.

In the 1960s and continuing to the present, Popular Education (*La educación

popular*) bases learning on everyday practices, experiences, and social context. The

individual learns from the surrounding environment, not necessarily in formal settings.

Paulo Freire's thoughts and work have provided its greatest impetus. It has been used in

many countries and has roots in Rousseau, Gramsci, and other writers. The approach is

widely used in social justice efforts, including, for example, immigrant rights groups.

Starting in Germany around 1920, and soon after in the U.K., Waldorf schools

were set up to follow the teachings and philosophy of Rudolf Steiner. They incorporate

many progressive aspects along with Steiner's own unique philosophy. Children are

taught to express thought and emotion through art and music. They learn not only how

to play various instruments but also how to write music. As the child matures, the

process of scientific inquiry and discovery becomes the focus. The Steiner method

expects the child to create her own toys and other objects; student work is not graded

(Nicol & Taplin, 2012).

Fortunately for the sake of education, but unfortunately for any effort at comprehensiveness, there are many other interesting and important ideas, too many to even mention: the Highlander Folk School, which saw education as a key to change for labor rights, civil rights, and antiwar efforts (Horton, 1998); the work of Francis W. Parker in Chicago; Black Mountain College's Deweyan program infused with the arts, open classrooms, and schools without walls; ecopedagogy (Fassbinder, Ch. 42); many methods to promote cooperative learning; whole language (Gilles, Ch. 38); the writing process approach; experiential education; Theodore Sizer's network of "essential" schools; Deborah Meier's student-centered Central Park East schools; Kathmandu Living Labs (Soden, Budhathoki, & Palen, 2014); the New Lincoln School; the Maravillas, Mexico rural education program built on learning communities and mentoring networks (Lucas, n.d.); the school at Weedpatch Camp in California (Stanley, 1992); the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago (Flores-Gonzalez, 2010); the Reggio Emilia Approach; Montessori and the Montessori schools; R. F. Mackenzie, an innovator in Scottish education at Braehead Secondary School (Mackenzie, 1980); and Gandhi's conception of education (Burke, 2000).

The *Handbook* further explores contemporary *progressive pedagogy* that puts political and practical issues of selfhood and human agency at center stage, and describes teaching practice as a political, ideological, gendered, sexual, racial, transformative, social, discursive, engaged, indigenous, lived, or performed praxis. (Eryaman & Riedler, 2009, p. 217).

P*rogressive pedagogy* considers the relation of progressive education to power and progressive politics (Eryaman & Riedler, 2009), employing lenses of postcolonial

theory, postmodern education, political economy, cultural studies, critical race theory,

Marxism, critical pedagogy, feminism, and queer studies (Eryaman, 2007). The

Handbook further offers a critique of limited conceptions of progressive education and

the role of pedagogy in the formation of class, gender, and ethnic identity. Through the

analysis of two domains—those of education and power, and of education and

subjectivity—the progressive pedagogies argue that traditional accounts do not offer

satisfactory approaches to the contemporary problems of today's society (Eryaman,

2006, 2008). See especially the framing offered by the chapters from Giroux (Ch. 33),

Scatamburlo-D'Annibale (Ch. 35), Monzó &McLaren (Ch. 34), and Suoranta (Ch. 36).

Progressive pedagogy maintains the focus on questions that are intrinsic to the

progressive impulse. Why do progressive approaches that engage oppressed peoples

face such opposition from the dominant elements in society and even from mainstream

educators? Some opposition is expected: That Tennessee revoked the Highlander

school's charter for violating segregation laws or that Franco shut down the *Misiones*

Pedagógicas could even be considered as signs of success. But why does an approach

that values social justice and education for all so often appear limited to the elites? Why

are children of the wealthy the most likely to partake of experiential education and open

classrooms, whereas the children of the poor are left to wonder whether they can have

any schooling at all (J. D. Anderson, 1988; Bowles & Gintis, 2014; Wells, 1972)? To what

extent do progressive educators nurture democracy within their own classrooms, but

remain insulated from and silent about larger injustices? Do methods labeled as

progressive always meet the needs of marginalized students, or do they merely reinforce

existing power relations (Delpit, 2012)? Similar questions apply to the distribution of

any educational goods, but progressive educators have a special responsibility to address them.

Conclusion

In this discursive journey, and throughout the *Handbook*, we consider many examples of the progressive impulse in action. It assumes a variety of forms, with different languages and assumptions, but each example exhibits that drive to make something better for ourselves, our students, and our fellow citizens (where "citizen" means everyone engaged in the human journey, not simply those with specific documents in hand). There is an inherent critique of education, and, implicitly, of contemporary society, as those manifest themselves in the particular historical moment.

The issues are complex, implying discordant, even contradictory positions. However, taking kids, or, for that matter, every person, seriously seems to be an essential ingredient. That includes both accepting each person for who they are, for their experiences and perspectives on life, as well as a striving for growth, to help every person develop a critical, socially engaged intelligence. This is a large challenge in the current political climate, even for those few places where progressive education appears to thrive.

The goal is not perfection, but creating conditions to enhance growth. There must be sustained effort with humility about current abilities, coupled to a vision of greater potential. Progressive educators know that their efforts are far from perfect. Moreover, their goal is not to create an easily reproducible, precisely defined procedure that works every time. Instead, as Lucy Sprague Mitchell said, it is to fully engage with education, as with life, more broadly, with "an attitude of relish, of emotional drive, a genuine

participation" and with "constant questioning of old procedure in the light of new observations." There is an in-built critical perspective, experimentalism, and a process of inquiry, which guarantees that progressive education can never be exactly the same as it once was, but that it likewise never becomes irrelevant or passé.

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Style Guide

√   Page 12 - Harnish is cited as the author of Ch. 27, but it is Kyle Arvid Greenwalt & Laura A. Edwards.

√   Page 17 - Gannon and Sawyer are cited as the author of Ch. 24, but it is Delwyn L. Harnisch & Timothy C. Guetterman

√   Page 24- Harnish is mentioned here, but should Guetterman also be cited?

"Harnisch discusses it in the context of building education and civil society in Georgia (Ch. 24)."

√ Page 28 - Where does this quote come from?

One Mohist admitted that in carrying out universal love, "We begin with what is near."

√ Page 91 - It's not clear if the following Reference entry is a PhD dissertation, or who G. Hull is. Is it the editor? This entry needs a little more clarification.

Smith, A. M. (2014, January 1). *Transcontextual writing development among young men*. (G. Hull). New York University, New York.