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The School Business: Rethinking Educational Reform

by

Nancy Yarnall Urban

B.A. (Bard College) 1991
M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1995

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requirements for the degree of

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Spring 1999

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The School Business: Rethinking Educational Reform

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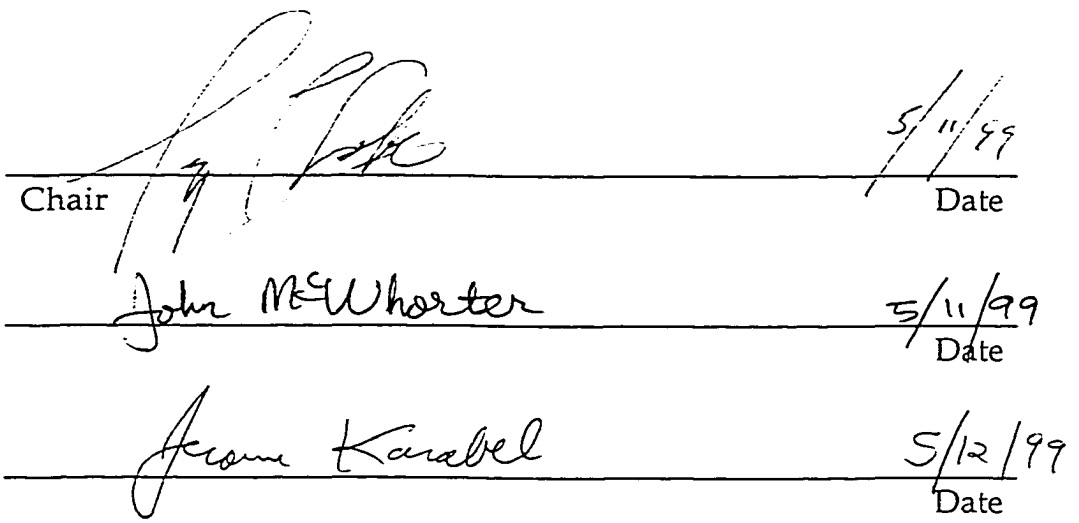

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Spring 1999

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This dissertation is dedicated to my father,
whose curiosity and eagerness to learn have been a constant inspiration.

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> *Man has to accept as certain a whole heap of facts and opinions which he has neither leisure nor power to examine and verify for himself, things which cleverer men than he have discovered and which the crowd accepts. On that foundation he then builds the house of his own thoughts.*
>
> *Tocqueville,* Democracy in America

Introduction

Education in the American Imagination

We do not make for ourselves our ways of understanding the world. We mix experience with inherited wisdom, with traditions, with imposed customs, and follow habit and law in our construction of a world view. Our social institutions are calcified world views: they combine experience with custom, into a blend made tangible to the intellect through metaphor, which is thus incorporated and preserved in the social imagination.

Education, and the state of our schools, have been the subject of countless books, debates, initiatives, and diatribes, especially in recent decades. The storm of controversy swirls around what the purpose of education is, who should be educated, who should pay for it, how it should be accomplished, how to promote efficiency, measure success, and so on. One text after another invokes some image of the university, and declaims the true purpose of education. What none of these has done is get at the underlying differences in how people understand education and the function of schools. What needs to be done is both a synchronic study of what these

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metaphors are now, and how they are understood, and a diachronic study of what historical processes brought them about.

In order to understand the social institutions we have constructed, we must understand what has gone into the construction of the metaphor: the experiences which are abstracted into tools of reason; how these are molded into social currency; and the historical process which takes this currency and casts it into fixed cultural institutions. The subject of this study is higher education in our culture, and the metaphors for education. I will argue that the levels of individual experience and of historical development are crucial to the comprehension of a social institution, and will provide both a historical account of education, and an analysis of those elements and processes underlying its metaphorical structure.

Metaphor is the use of some experientially more basic domain to reason about a more abstract domain. In seeing life as a journey, we are borrowing the images of a path, goal, progression over time, to understand the less concrete domain of our existence and experience as human beings growing, living, dying. Fundamental conceptualizations of time, of causation, of change—all of these arise from our physical experience in the world. The metaphors of time as relative motion, of causes as forces, all arise from an embodied basic experience of the world. These experiential

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metaphors are fundamental to the way we understand everything around us, from physics to political beliefs, from electricity to education.

Lakoff (1996; 1999) has made comprehensive metaphorical analyses of political and philosophical domains in his *Moral Politics* and *Philosophy in the Flesh* (with Mark Johnson). He has shown that systematic metaphorical structures underlie and inform major philosophical theories and political ideologies. Abstract concepts are based in embodied reason.

Sweetser (1990) has discussed the historical development of metaphors over time. She has shown that the development of certain metaphors which recur in Indo-European languages has followed principled, constrained paths which moreover exemplify basic processes of the mapping of perceptual experience to intellection and other more abstract processes.

This dissertation addresses the development from one metaphorical system to another in the description of a single target domain, as motivated by social and economic developments.

My goal in this work is to understand the fundamental conceptual tools used, and the ways in which we arrive at high level metaphorical models through the historical developments of social and economic domains, and how and why these change over time.

My goal is also to arrive at an understanding of the consequences of the metaphors we use. A metaphorical construal is a categorization: time is a kind of resource, and thus can be talked about like money; ideas can be

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construed as objects, and can therefore be 'given' or 'stolen.' These uses of language bring with them certain entailments which influence our behavior —e.g., it becomes always good to save time. The predominant metaphor for the university in our time is as a business in which education is the product. Once education is seen as a product, certain conclusions follow: it must be standardized, maximized, its production must be as efficient as possible; it is impersonal; it must meet the demands of the consumer; it can be guaranteed; and so on.

There are therefore two scales of inquiry in this thesis: the larger historical overview of ideological development in institutional models; and the more immediate, local situation examining the consequences and changes introduced by the predominant business model. The larger historical situation examines the general increase in rationalization of these models over the course of history. As much as a thesis, therefore, this is a synthesis of the larger historical-ideological studies of Marx and Weber. The second scale is an application of the cognitive-sociological studies of Lakoff to the historically contingent domain of ideological institutions. It seeks to be historically aware but to use our most comprehensive modern understanding of how conceptual models are grounded and how they arise.

Metaphors

Lakoff (1999: 47) observes that complex metaphors are made up of primary metaphors, which arise from universal experience. There are two complex metaphors relevant to our study here: the social complex metaphor,

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and the economic complex metaphor. I argue that these two complex metaphors are made up of sets of primaries which both inform them and are understood relative to them.

The social complex metaphor arises from our fundamental social experience, most basically the family and interaction with others. It rests on notions of hierarchy, cooperation among members, nurturance (teaching), growth (including learning), generational replacement. The economic complex metaphor takes together the notions of resources, of possession, exchange, transfer, etc. Each of these notions is understood via primaries. The idea of a social hierarchy, for example, arises through the experientially grounded mapping of More Is Up, by which the older, stronger, more powerful members are seen as higher in the structure.

The analysis of metaphors for the university involves an examination of the complex metaphors involved—the social and economic domains most commonly drawn on to understand higher education—and the primary metaphors which are taken together in these complex metaphors.

The Layout of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three parts, loosely representing the Past, the Present, and the Future, which are markedly different in character as well as content. The first part focuses on the history of education as it has given rise successively to the different metaphors for the university, and is narrative in form, discursive, and not heavily theoretical. The second part is centered on metaphor theory, and on the explicit analysis of the individual

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metaphors, with the particulars of their source domains, mappings, and entailments laid out in detail. Evidence is presented to support these mappings. The third part deals more specifically with the predominant metaphor for education in our time, the business metaphor, its consequences for education, and its use in other domains such as prison management and health care.

Because of the different focus of each of these parts, those with particular interests might wish to read specific sections, and skip others. Those historians of education who are interested in the background of these models of the university and of education could read Parts 1 and 3, and skip or skim Part 2. Those who are more concerned with the details of the mappings, and the comparison of the metaphors, should look more at Part 2.

A Concluding Note

I present two kinds of finding. One regards the application of metaphor theory to historical development, and discovers that primaries indeed form a central part of the models for the university as they have developed over history; that the complex abstract concepts that structure our thoughts about institutions are indeed metaphorical.

The second kind of result is relevant to the history of education, and how that history reflects the larger process in the development of Western culture which Weber identifies as rationalization. This process, the systematic division and organization of thought and action, is seen in the realm of reason with the rise of Western science, and in the realm of

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behavior with the rise of bureaucracy. Weber observed that it was capitalism, with its emphasis on means-ends calculations and the premium it set on efficiency, which brought about the striking increase in rationalization which has characterized Western civilization.

The process of rationalization is evident in the development of the models for education as well: the primaries which are seen in models of the university have tended to shift from those which are understood within the social domain (cooperation, social hierarchy, tradition, generational transition) to those which are understood within the economic domain (production, consumption, markets, the management of resources, competition).

Each of the three sections of the dissertation makes a separate point. In the historical development of education, we see a gradual shift from metaphors which rest on socially understood primary elements, through the historical processes of rationalization discussed by Weber, to metaphors which are based in economic primaries. In Part 2, on the analysis of the metaphors, we see that the models of the university are of a different structure from those of education, and note that this is related to their different historical development we saw in Part 1. Part 3 examines more closely the specific ramifications of the business model in education, and looks at particular issues in which the business model is having a growing influence, including the status of tenure and academic freedom, remedial

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education, and affirmative action. Part 3 also examines the business metaphor's increasing influence in other social domains. To the extent that the domain of education serves as an indicator, we have a more concrete idea of what awaits us in these other institutions, with the further development of the model.

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John Ruskin, on political economy:

Observe, I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusion of the science if its terms are accepted. I am simply uninterested in them, as I should be in those of a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that supposition, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up into pellets, flatten them into cakes, or stretch them into cables; and that when these results were effected, the re-insertion of the skeleton would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitution.
Munera Pulveris, *1862*

Part 1: The Past

Education in History

The history of education is inseparable from social, economic, and political history. The school is a naturally conservative institution: it is slow to change, and tends to reflect other institutions familiar to us from the social and political world. As higher education in the West began as an extension the Church in the Middle Ages, its institutional manners bore (and still bear) many aspects and customs taken from clerical tradition. In an image arising from their association with the isolated and more or less independent model of the monastery, the schools were seen as communities unto themselves, and as citadels or towers. The university came to take the form of a guild after these had become a successful organization serving the need of establishing interior hierarchies of members while protecting their economic and social position in the larger society. Then later, after the rise of the industrial era and the settling in of the factory as a familiar institution, the

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university came to be understood as a factory. With the progressive era, its structuring context changed again, and it came to be seen, along with government, as a means of actively shaping society. After the postwar boom, with the immense energy poured into education to create a competitive basis in scientific advances, the idea of the university as a research institution came to the fore. Still later, the conception of the university shifted again, and it became more and more modeled on that great success of capitalism, the business. One generalization to be made from all this is that the dominant conceptual model is a metaphor with an army and a navy, that is to say it is that model which is selected by an established power to further its interests.

But another, more important, generalization to be drawn from this series of models is the increasing rationalization of education through history. The early models of the university—the community, the guild, and the slightly later parent—are all drawn from a basic social metaphor which is used to capture the importance of hierarchy, of generational tradition and inheritance, of interdependence and cooperation, of nurturance, etc. But the gradual rise of capitalism with the industrial era and the success of institutions which made the division of labor, rationalization of tasks, and the reinvestment of capital their central modus operandi, brought about a large-scale and fundamental shift in the basic metaphorical domains invoked to understand social institutions. Mechanistic, factory-like and corporate models became more and more standard, and the university came to be seen as a factory, as a tool, and, finally, as a business.

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In this section I will describe the course of educational history as it has led through this series of metaphorical models. I will examine the relevant social and economic conditions that provided the backdrop to the development of each model. I will present the historical development of the models for the university, and will also present the history of models for education itself, which is of notably different character from that of the models for the university. All of our ways of understanding what a university is are inextricably bound up with some larger social and political context which has its place in our history; each arose at some traceable time, and most have faded with the loss of the cultural institutions upon which they were based.[1] Each assumes very different central functions of the institution.

But the models of education, in contrast to those of the university, are not splintered in this way. The notion that education is at bottom the optimally guided development of the individual is a universal: it is shared by proponents of all kinds of education, whatever else they may disagree about. As a universal, it recurs throughout the history of educational institutions. The ways in which it recurs will be examined, and the reasons for the different behavior of the models for the university versus those of education will be briefly introduced, to be examined at greater length in Part 2. We will

[1] This will be discussed in greater detail at the end of Part 2.

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trace in this chapter the progress of each of the major conceptualizations of the university in the history of education.[2]

The Origins of the School

Organized schooling first arose in Mesopotamia more than four thousand years ago in the form of the *edubba*, or tablet house, which trained scribes in preparation for administrative work. The existence of schools was a sign of the advanced development and prosperity of the society. The Sumerians had created a common irrigation system, whose significance, maintenance, and productiveness forever changed their world.

Territoriality arises after a group becomes rooted to a location by the implements of its technology (e.g. irrigation) and agricultural practices. Butts observes the importance of this for political development. A political order and authority, independent of and superior to kinship claims, arises along the established territorial lines. Following upon this is the development of a class of people who do not produce their own food, who can live from the surplus produced by the rest. This, Butts points out, is a precondition to the development of schools and writing. He outlines the growth thus of Sumerian culture, ca. 3000 BC.[3]

The Sumerian civilization developed the critical set of preconditions which a culture must have to produce schools: social differentiation into

---

[2] It is not in my aim or in my capacity here to engage in a comprehensive history of western civilization as it pertains to the origin and adaptation of schools, but some exposition of the more significant historical development is in order. For a richer account of educational history, I refer the reader to the work of Butts (1973), Cubberley (1920), Sherman (1984), et al.

[3] Butts (1973): 38ff.

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classes, with divisions of labor, and complex communal agricultural systems requiring common administration. It is this last condition from which arises the first true government, whose function it is to organize the management of resources.

The farmland and its products were considered the property of the gods; the priests controlled that property as the agents of the gods. The religious leaders were the governors of the resources, and directors of the all-important irrigation system which was the source of the society's wealth. The priests developed an internal and external political system to stabilize control and internal power structures; they developed writing systems primarily to keep track of transactions, at first. These writing systems were later employed for more complex and abstract purposes, but they originated in the interests of business.

By 3100 or 3000, the Sumerians had a fully developed writing system. Around this time was the development of *edubbas*, "first established to train scribes necessary to satisfy the economic and administrative needs of the land, primarily, of course, those of the temple and palace." (Butts 1973: 43) Eventually their role was expanded, and adding to the ongoing training function, they came to be the center of culture and learning in Sumer.

There is little dispute that the history of education has been fundamentally shaped by economic and political forces. As Sjoberg (1960) notes,

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> The existence of writing implies a literati, which in turn requires for its propagation some method of formal education, a supporting political apparatus to ensure its hegemony and continued sustenance, and merchants, artisans, and a variety of servants to provide needed goods and services." (Sjoberg 1960; in Butts 1973: 34)

It is a significant but sometimes overlooked fact that the institution of education must be supported by political and economic institutions "because of the very power of leadership that education and an educated class exert in shaping the society itself." (Butts 1973: 34) Butts observes the fundamentally political nature of education:

> The intimate connection between the art of writing and the appearance of formal schools has long been recognized in histories of education, for it can easily be demonstrated that early schools in most societies were writing schools. It has not, however, been so explicitly recognized that organized education was not simply a device for teaching writing, enormously important as that is, but was an integral part of the total civilizational process itself. (Butts 1973: 35)

It is important to note that conceptual models already played a role in our understanding of the role of schools, and that this served a purpose for those who ran the schools. One such conceptual model shaping our understanding of the origins of education holds that schools and writing systems develop first to serve in a religious capacity. While it is true that the first schools and methods of recording were connected with religious institutions, in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and elsewhere, it is also true that these institutions were those primarily responsible for the management of resources in the society, with priest-kings overseeing the organization of the economically critical irrigation systems and agricultural calendars. Those developments considered fundamental to advanced civilization—writing,

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calendrical systems, education—arose out of the need for more organized production and management of economic resources.[4] But as can be seen, the "religious" orientation of education was conflated with an economic and political one, since it was the scribally trained religious leaders, those who commanded writing and the systems of administration, who controlled the political organization.

Schools have been understood to be an arm of authority which is used to extend that authority: the control of indoctrination obviously acts as a powerful force in the preservation and extension of political power. It can be seen, then, that the early development of schools in relation to organized religious groups is a form of this employment of power.

This deployment of education in the struggle for power may have its roots in ancient times, but is by no means a thing of the past. We see today in one issue after another a similar attempt to enlist the institutions of cultural inculcation in one cause or another. Schools have traditionally been tools in the struggles between political entities vying for control. This relation between education as a means of social control, the institutions employing it thus, and the models they use to couch their purpose, will be examined in the course of the history of the university below.

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[4] A recent discovery of clay tablets in southern Egypt estimated to be about 5,300 years old counters a standard theory in the history of writing systems that purely religious functions developed first followed by records of financial transactions. The bulk of the tablets deciphered thus far concern taxes paid in linen and oil to a king named Scorpion. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, December 16, 1998: C5)

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The School as Fundamentally Conservative

We have seen in the origins of education the intimate role of political and economic forces in educational institutions. The development of the metaphors for the university must thus be traced with an eye to social and economic context.

An important aspect of the university to be noted in observing its history is its fundamentally conservative nature. The university is a tool, but it is not one that is forged quickly or adapted easily to new conditions. As happens with all of our institutions, once brought into being schools take on a life of their own, become autonomous, and develop their own vested interests in the preservation of their structure and privileges.

Thus when the structures of power outside the institution which brought it into being begin themselves to undergo change, and new pressures are brought to bear upon the university, it resists. It is slow to change, and does not adapt easily to new functions. Over time, however, it will adopt the model imposed on it, and adapt to the new needs and demands (without necessarily abandoning prior models), and when external forces impose a new model, the institution takes refuge in the prior model. Butts has observed the long-standing tendency conservative institutions have of drawing a cloak of prestige and distinction around themselves as a protection against the harsher climate of political change outside:

> The high prestige schools became the citadels of traditional learning, glorifying the purity and the sanctity of the Great Tradition of culture and proclaiming themselves as the defenders of the true knowledge against those who would neglect or corrupt it. (Butts 1973: 49)

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This familiar scenario is not a description of the Ivy League schools by a disgruntled critic of elitism, but an account of the development of Sumerian scribal schools some three thousand years ago. These earliest schools were first in the development of organized education, and first as well in the development of organized institutional conservatism and narrowing specialist interests which would cripple them in the need to adapt to changing social and political conditions.

The common cycle which we see in the history of education, then, is this: the institution has the form given it by one model; it is subjected to outside pressure to change; it resists this pressure; it eventually changes accordingly; a new outside pressure is applied; the institution resists this pressure; eventually partially accommodates that change; assimilates to the new model; and so on. It is always a step or more 'behind' the development of the outside economic forces, and this lag has been fundamental in the social perception of the university as a conservative, old-fashioned organization. We thus expect at least two results from this in our study here: a delay between the development of a social institution such as the guild or the factory and its application as a model to the university; and a set of clashes arising when the old and finally absorbed model comes into conflict with the new.

To inject a brief note on what I mean by 'model:' by placing the appearance of a model at some particular era I am noting when the first significant deliberate description of education is found in terms taken directly

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from that source domain, as for example the language of factories, or of the laboratory. It is of course not the case, for example, that before 1950 institutions of higher education engaged in no research. But before the postwar influx of funds and support for research, the primary aims of the university were still described as educating citizens and workers, or as providing people with a means of improving their lives.[5]

The Development of the Metaphors for the University

I will trace in this section the development of each of the metaphors as it arises in the history of higher education in the West, beginning with the medieval era. With the significant break in ideological background in America in the 1800's, I will move to an examination of the further developments of higher education there.

The Medieval Era

Organized higher education in Europe arose in the Middle Ages in the form of schools which were affiliated with monasteries or cathedrals. These schools prepared a small class of clerics for duties of church administration, and later provided legal and municipal training to clerics who would assist local feudal lords in the administration of districts. In their early form, these schools did not touch the lives of many people directly; they were fairly insular and restricted in scope. The extreme minority of those who could read and write is a measure of the engagement of the school in the ordinary

[5] There is always a 'lag' between the origination of an institution in the society, as the rise of guilds, or business, and its application to the university as a conceptual model. The

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lives of the populace. The literacy rate in the 11th century is unknown, but has been estimated at something less than one percent, and was almost exclusively limited to boys and men in the holy orders.[6]

The role of the university in the early Middle Ages was primarily a conservative one: it was to preserve knowledge, to bequeath doctrinal tradition from one generation of scholars to the next, and to train clerics. Many of the customs of the first universities came from their mother institution, the Catholic church. Butts observes that the scholastic requirements of certain subjects of study, and the convention of granting degrees, came from Church custom:

> The origin of prescription seems to rest in the church's practice of licensing its teachers. Since most teachers in the Middle Ages were minor clerics and since it was felt that all clerics should be trained properly in religious orthodoxy as well as in the tools of scholarship, the church found it expedient to control entrance into the teaching profession. (Butts 1973: 179)

Other customs arising from this origin in the Church which persist to this day include the costumes of academic ceremony, an obvious cousin to clerical robes.[7]

Another academic custom counted among the fundamental methods of teaching (until very recently, anyway) which remains with us from this era is the lecture. "The growth of the lecture method can be attributed to the great scarcity of books at these budding institutions of learning," Brubacher notes. (1966: 181) There were even statutes describing what sort of

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reasons for and nature of this lag will be discussed further in Part 3.

[6] Bowen(1975): 61.

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characteristics the lecture had to conform to: not too fast that the student could not copy down notes, nor yet too slow to take up extra time and earn fees more easily; with the right amount of discussion, and so on.[8]

Two models which persist in some degree today arose during this period of association with the monastery; these are the university as a community, and as an ivory tower; they are discussed below. Slightly later in the medieval era, after the proliferation and success of guilds, and the growth of the university, the primary model of the university came to be the guild.

The Monastery Schools

Two models grew out of the affiliation of schools with monasteries in the early medieval era: the school as a community, and the school as an ivory tower or citadel.

The Community Model

The model of the school as a community is an outgrowth of the association of early schools with monasteries. More basic yet is the simple commonality of shared space and time which is the foundation of many images of community. The model of the university as a community of scholars has quite a long and distinguished history. As Goodman notes,

> With vicissitudes, this medieval community form has persisted for nearly a thousand years because it is [...] a natural organ for the education of youth into universal culture. (Goodman 1962: 4)

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[7] Brubacher (1966): 434-5.
[8] Cubberley (1920): 178

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The university was, in ancient times, a place of very removed scholarship. It was a real community, distinct from its social context, from which we inherit the model. What the community model foregrounded was the interdependence and cooperation of those involved in the endeavor, and, to a lesser degree, their independence from the larger social arena. It can be seen that these are primarily drawn from the basic social compositional metaphor: the ideas of interdependence and cooperation arise directly from the experience of family organization and existence.

With the changes of the later medieval era, as we have seen, the university became more transitional; this trend only increased as time went on. The community model has been a fairly permanent background notion of academia, but since the Middle Ages it has never been predominant.

The Ivory Tower

The vision of the university as an ivory tower, or a citadel, is a medieval construction which is related to the community model. The early association of the medieval university with monasteries, which were often something like strongholds, or citadels, led to the understanding of universities as isolated and independent entities. Butts notes that "from the eleventh century onward, the cathedral school and then the university replaced the monastery as the chief citadel of higher learning." (Butts 1973: 155)

The ivory tower model foregrounds most particularly the independence and isolation of the school from the society outside. As the

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universities came to be more involved in social affairs, as more students were drawn to them, and as their internal structure and outside involvement grew more complex, this metaphor began to give way to a more socially integrated model.

Both the community and the ivory tower were soon overshadowed by the structure of the guild which came to be imposed on the university. The isolation and unworldliness of the university were coming to be replaced by a greater involvement in secular, political, and economic affairs, and this was reflected in the new model, drawn from the domain of labor organization and economic protection.

The Guild Model

Throughout the Middle Ages, the numbers of those who were educated grew, with increasing prosperity from trade and advances in agriculture, including fertilization, that yielded greater harvests. The reputed role of schools was still to continue the clerical tradition, to train scribes for religious orders, to prepare priests, and so on. As Butts notes, however, there was a more businesslike function provided by these schools as well: the cathedral schools "were basically oriented to urban life and to professional competence rather than to purely sacred purposes." (Butts 1973: 171) Bolgar writes, regarding the cathedral schools:

> They all served professional rather than strictly religious aims. Even the education they offered to those whose careers were to lie within the Church was primarily technical in character. [...] And in addition they seem to have drawn into their classrooms an appreciable number of those who intended to spend their lives in definitely lay pursuits, in

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> legal work, medicine, or municipal and feudal business. Their fundamentally non-religious character was long masked, however, by the fact that their students were all supposed to be clerics. (Bolgar 1964: 194-5)

In John of Salisbury's image of the state as a body, the state authority is the head, the chivalric orders the arms, the workers the feet, and the church is the soul, sustaining the whole and giving it form.[9] Bowen observes that in the use of this metaphor, John "sanctioned the existence of social classes, and was able to rationalize a theory of the natural division of labour." (Bowen 1975: 81) The rule of authority and government was to be left to the Church. Universities, as associations of the Church, used and broadened this influence; they extended clerical authority, providing for "the thorough interpenetration of all civil and secular authority by the Church." (Ibid.)

The dominant metaphor of society was thus that of a person; the Church was its soul. The workers, the feet of the state-person, were fixed in this position. These lowest strata of society were not entirely without their social protections, however. The standard organization of workers was by guild, which rose in Europe with the prosperity and prominence brought to artisans in the age of the great cathedrals.[10] The guilds were based on the Roman *collegia*, groups of laborers banded together to gain rights and protections for their crafts.

The overall set of models of the person, of organizations, and of society at the time expressed stability, the preservation of tradition, the continuation

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[9] Bowen (1975): 81.
[10] Bowen (1975): 42.

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of the established social order. The model of society as a person expresses a permanence and fixedness of the relations of the parts: the feet are not going to find themselves playing the role of head, Guilds provided highly prescriptive roles for their members. And the universities considered themselves the conservators of tradition. The predominant model of education in the Middle Ages and up to the 19th century followed Aristotle's view that education should seek to maintain the status quo.[11]

The medieval university took the form of the guild, the organization of laborers, as its model. The guilds were successful organizations, and were well established by the time their clearly defined hierarchical structure and accordances of rank provided a model for the universities to borrow and incorporate.

> The whole system of the medieval university with its hierarchy of degrees had its exact counterpart in the medieval guild system. Just as guilds were the form in which the various crafts organized themselves, so the universities were really guilds of the craft of scholars. The master of arts in the university corresponded directly in status to the master workman in one of the guilds. The bachelor of arts corresponded to the journeyman, and his degree indicated that he was serving an apprenticeship in the arts. (Brubacher 1966: 433)

The conception of the university as a guild arose from the circumstances of the medieval university, which was effectively an enterprise for life for those who became academics. The portion of the population which was educated was very small: those who entered academia tended to stay within it, as a profession.

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[11] For more on this, see below.

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It may be seen that the guild, though a shift from the foregoing models of community and citadel, was still a fundamentally social metaphor, which foregrounded the internal hierarchy of the group and provided the basis of social protection in the familiar model of organized craftsmen. The internal organization was rigidly stratified, but the whole model was still a reflection of the very conservative nature of medieval civilization, as an organism with interacting functional elements.

They served a highly conservative purpose, as well. Schools were centers of learning, and they were the preservers of tradition, knowledge, and doctrinal studies. The curriculum was completely determined by the Church; its contents were the undisputed blend of the Classical canon and medieval theology. It is significant that the principles of elementary education in the early Middle Ages, those originated by Quintilian in the first century A.D., had continued essentially unchanged for a thousand years.[12] Knowledge was fixed in the Middle Ages; university work consisted of studying the writings of Aristotle and of religious doctrinists, in "consolidating the authority of the Catholic Church by incorporating Aristotelian philosophy with Christian revelation."[13] Hugh of St. Victor offered a standard metaphor for knowledge in his time when he advised students that knowledge "is a treasure and your mind a coffer."[14]

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[12] Bowen (1975): 61.

[13] Brubacher (1966): 584-5.

[14] Bowen (1975): 68. The elaborated metaphor is that of storage and retrieval in partitions of the mind. The coffer should have different compartments for gold, silver, and various kinds of precious stones, and the student should consider how to store each of "the

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The medieval world was changing, however, and shifts were underway which would eventually undermine the whole range of conservative structures discussed above, including the guild model of the university, the notion of knowledge as fixed, the assumption of social roles and relations as unchanging, and the preeminence of the Church in educational and state affairs. These changes are of complex nature, but some of those most pertinent to our study here are described below.

The advances in agriculture and increased harvests which had swelled local prosperity also lessened the need for serf workers on the land, and aristocratic profit-seekers discovered a foreign market in wool.[15] Their appropriation and fencing of commons and fields to make sheep-grazing lands began the enclosures movement, which would create a class of landless workers who flocked to cities seeking a means of living. The "feet" of the state were no longer quite as fixed in relation to the rest of society as they had

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priceless treasures of wisdom," and "arrange the facts in such order that, when occasion demands, [he] can find it easily through memory."

[15] Wells notes that the enclosures movement produced enormous advances in agriculture: "There can be little doubt that the methods of cultivation pursued by the peasants, squatters, and small farmers were antiquated, wasteful, and comparatively unproductive, and that the larger private holdings and estates created by the Enclosure Acts were must more productive (one authority says twenty times more productive) than the old ways." (Wells 1920: 684)

There can also be little doubt, however, about the social upheaval created by the enclosures. Lux notes that "the people's distress was ironically and bitterly expressed in a popular rhyme of the day:"

> The law locks up the man or woman
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But leaves the greater villain loose
> Who steals the common from the goose! (Lux 1990: 18)

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been. And along with this burgeoning working class, there was the rise of a merchant class with growing wealth and political power.

The undermining of the model of fixed roles in an ordained social structure by these developments of a more mobile population was compounded by a weakening of the role of the Church in society, with the beginnings of a separation of the Church from the affairs of the state. The union of church and state had continued from Roman times, and the status of the emperor as *pontifex maximus*, and the conversion of Constantine making Christianity the official religion. Increasing political struggles between the German emperor Frederick and Pope Hadrian IV culminated in casting over the Donation of Constantine, the document of dubious origin willing the Roman Empire to the Catholic Church in perpetuity.[16]

The conservative structure of universities and the fixedness of knowledge was crumbling under the onslaught of great shifts in academic methods and subjects of study in the Middle Ages. The result of the rift in Church doctrine about the practice of dialectical discussion in religious studies was an alienation of a number of academics, and thus a weakening of the Church hold on academic practice and educational thought. Abelard's argument for dialectics undermined the conservative authority of Church figures who sought to suppress any discussion which might raise doubt of doctrinal principles in the minds of the faithful. The reactionary attempts of Bernard of Clairvaux to stifle dialectic argument backfired in the long run. It

[16] Bowen writes: GET BIT on Donation of Constantine... (Bowen 1975: 76ff.)

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was Bernard's appeal to the pope in 1145 which began the second crusade. And it was the second crusade which brought European academics in contact with Eastern studies, and fundamentally altered the course of European academic history.[17]

As Bowen notes, the shifts in academic structure once again reflect larger economic and political changes:

> The ferment in learning was an aspect of the overall conditions of Europe in which rapid economic growth had not been accompanied by a corresponding development of appropriate institutions, and conflicts between various secular rulers and between state and church in respect of social and political issues, had to be resolved in terms of a new pattern of relationships. (Bowen 1975: 74)

The model of knowledge as immutable was no longer unassailed, either. Lucas notes that "one of the underlying tenets upon which the concept of liberal education had depended since the days of Plato and Aristotle [was] the idea of knowledge as certain, unchanging, and absolute." (Lucas 1976: 4) But with scientific advances, and advocates of empirical experimentation including Bacon (1214?-1294) and others, the world was coming slowly to a new understanding of knowledge as mutable.

> The rise of scientific modes of inquiry meant, first, that knowledge came to be looked upon as limited in scope, quantitative in its most adequate formulations, and probabilistic rather than immutable in character. (Lucas 1976: 4)

"The rise of science and a consequent expansion of knowledge, beginning at a time when the grand medieval synthesis of the scholastics had already begun to crumble, dealt the first major blow to ... the idea of

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[17] Bowen (1975): 73.

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knowledge as certain, unchanging, and absolute." (Ibid.) This blow was felt as well in the stiffened and aging limbs of academia:

> Mere repetition and imitation were no longer satisfying. Strict limitations confining study solely to those parts of the classical literature that bolstered church doctrine or the training of clerics were no longer so easily acceptable. Secular studies in law, medicine, natural science, mathematics, philosophy ... were to become more attractive than the literature of the Church Fathers. ...Reworking of the knowledge of the past became the new order of the day. (Butts 1973: 155)

The ramifications of scientific advances went to the ground of medieval social and ideological structure. One result of the many brought about by this crucial development was the inevitable effect on the Aristotelian notion of the goal of education which had persisted into the Middle Ages. Aristotle had stated that the educated man should be in command of all of the knowledge of his age; by the 17th century, this "pansophic" aim had become impossible. John Locke espoused this as an ideal but despaired of its possibility, and so advocated instead that the goal of education should be to create a mind prepared to learn whatever would be required of it—to learn the art of learning.[18] The ideal of liberal education was basically the same, to make the best person, but it received a new permutation from the changed background circumstances of knowledge.

This change in the nature of knowledge was the beginning of the larger process of intellectual rationalization. As the sum of knowledge was no longer monolithic, and no longer something within the grasp of individuals, it became something independent of them. A learned man was no longer

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one who was self-contained, in command of his sources; instead he was one who knew his references. Knowledge took on an existence outside the mind of the scholar, in books. The significance of this will be noted in its further development later on.

Among other changes around this time we also find the beginnings of organizations of private teachers into guilds of their own. Overcoming the resistance of the Church, and eventually surmounting the protection of Church interests in education by civil authorities, they "began to organize themselves into guilds in order to protect themselves and to gain the right to teach." (Butts 1973: 164) Though in the late medieval times this change mostly pertained to secondary education, as a break of education from the Church, it was significant for the later developments of secular higher education.

The largest blow to the guild model itself was probably not the disintegration of the Church monopoly on education, or the destruction of the fixed and unchanging model of knowledge, or the increased mobility of society which made the roles of individuals more mutable. It was instead the opening up of education to those with no intention of staying in academia. The rise in the number of those seeking education brought with it more students who sought clerical training for specifically lay purposes, who made their university career a step to a life in administration, government, or legal

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[18] Brubacher (1966): 10-11.

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work. The guild gradually became more and more permeable, and the metaphor's fit was not so snug.

One effect of the shift away from academia as a way of life, and toward a more transient population of students, was a change in the significance of the degrees granted. In medieval times, the bachelor's degree was a beginning, not an end. But this began to change:

> The bachelor's degree was originally just a permission to become a candidate for an advanced degree. Although at first the degree drew its significance almost entirely from the studies it opened up rather than the ones it concluded, later on the reverse became the case. Thus, the more students attended the university with no intent of doing more than completing their bachelor's studies, the more the bachelor's degree became a terminal one. (Brubacher 1966: 433)

The disintegration of academia as a guild was seeing its beginnings in this transition. And the step by which an education became a stage was the first step toward education becoming an object, and then a product. The university as a producer of educated administrators was the early precursor to the school as factory, and toward a mechanistic interpretation of social roles.

The Renaissance

The period of social and intellectual ferment beginning in the 14th century involved a number of social, economic, and ideological shifts which came to influence the ways in which the university was seen. The era was witness to a range of larger scientific and technological developments:

> Along with the growing urbanization and commercial activities that created a network of trading cities across the face of Europe went a series of technological inventions that further accelerated trade in goods and ideas and even boosted them into global dimensions. The

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> fifteenth and sixteenth centuries refined and enlarged the scope of technology in fortification, farming, mining, manufacturing, and precision instruments. Above all, they perfected two revolutionary inventions created in China that were especially significant for long-distance communication, commerce, and conquest: gunpowder and printing. The one made mass warfare possible, the other mass education. (Butts 1973: 191-2)

The printing press was a development whose repercussions for education and for the larger culture were resounding. The practice of lecturing, as we have seen, had arisen principally as a compensation for the scarcity of books. A typical manuscript required twelve sheep's worth of vellum, obviously an expense placing it beyond the reach of most of the populace. Libraries were of immense value, and many medieval documents are devoted to the careful cataloguing of texts.[19] But the press and the access to the written word which it gave to those who previously could never have afforded books was to change all this.

> With the invention of printing the pedagogical importance of books was established beyond question. [...] The extent and rapidity with which instruction could be propagated were enormously increased. Moreover, the control of thought, which had been relatively easy as long as the multiplication of books was done by hand, was now rendered far more difficult. Indeed, it is probably not too much to say that the astonishing versatility of modern civilization and education is in large part due to the development and spread of printing. (Brubacher 1966: 182)

Developments before the industrial era were preparing the way for the rise of the factory model of the university. One important shift in the view of society was an indirect descendant of the thought of Descartes, who in the early 1600s, following Copernicus (1473-1543) and Galileo (1564-1642),

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[19] Cubberley (1920): 153, 176.

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elaborated the model of society as a mechanism, or as a clock. In what was in some ways an extension of the medieval notion of society as a person, the mechanism view also provided a structural conception of society as a constellation of parts. But the mechanism, unlike the person, had mechanical, functionally determined, and replaceable components. The divisions were smoothly functioning elements, and this view of society aided in the grounding of an understanding of the factory model of the university as one of the components of society which was, like the larger structure, a mechanism, which turned out parts for the use of the whole. This mechanistic view became one of the bases of the more advanced rationalization of social relations which developed later.

The formation of factories, which had occurred before the industrial age, with the collection of workers in one place, replaced the standard form of the cottage industry with a centralized organization of the workforce and a division of labor.[20] This organization was one of the critical developments which prepared the way for the introduction of industrial technology. This "rational organization of formally free labour" was also a critical step toward the development of capitalism.[21]

The ethical mutations of Protestantism also played a crucial role in setting the stage for industrialization and the success of capitalism, as Weber

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[20] Wells notes: "The attentive student of Defoe and of the political pamphlets of Fielding will realize that the idea of herding poor people into establishments to work collectively for their living was already current in Britain before the close of the seventeenth century. There are intimations of it even as early as More's *Utopia* (1516). It was a social and not a mechanical development." (Wells 1920: 764)

[21] Weber (1987): xi.

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has so famously observed. Not only did the Protestant interest in denominational education spur the increasing pace of separation of schools from the influence of the Catholic Church, but the set of values advanced by Protestants, principally those of hard work and austerity, formed the ideological basis of successful capitalism. The reinvestment of capital, a notion profoundly foreign to the Catholic sensibility, was the critical outgrowth of the Protestant doctrines, which, combined with the rationalized organization of labor, provided the basis of the capitalist development.[22] Once it was an acceptable social aim, sanctioned by religious authorities, to put the fruits of one's labor back into one's business, capitalism was launched.

In academia, one of the principal outgrowths of the Renaissance was the development of humanism,[23] which held the study of Latin and Greek to be fundamental to education. This revival of classical learning was associated both with the Church tradition of classical learning, expanded to include newly rediscovered texts, and the extension of education to more and more non-clerical students. By this time the ideal of education as the making of a gentleman had become common.

Butts observes that a common view of humanism as originating outside the universities, and as founding an entire new philosophy, is

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[22] Ibid.: xiii.

[23] The term "humanist" is originally from the Latin, *studia humanitatis*. In the Italian universities of the Renaissance, Kristeller writes, it was apparently the custom to call a professor of the humanities *umanista*, in the manner of *legista, jurista, canonista*, etc. "Humanism" was first coined in the 19th century by a German educator, F.J. Niethammer. (Kristeller, 1961, in Butts 1973, and Butts: 201)

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mistaken. It originated within the schools, as a conservative strain of thought which sought to promote the study of the ancient classics. But the effect of this injection of classical and literary study into the schools was to bring a change to "not only what we would call the humanities but also the social sciences," for there was at the time no distinction among these things. The humanists were the accidental progressives of their day, accusing their colleagues of being "irrelevant old fogies bound to the medieval past but blind to the glories of the ancient past." (Butts 1973: 203) Bound themselves in their conservatism, they did not foresee the changes that would be brought into the Western academic tradition by this influx of classical thought. Brubacher cites Bolgar regarding this:

> Admittedly there was some degree of selection, certain aspects of ancient life received more emphasis than others; but once a student had embarked upon the recommended course, once he had started analysing and memorising, the techniques he employed acquired, like some powerful engine, an impetus of their own and took in everything irrespective of its interest, so that the whole or nearly the whole of the classical heritage passed into the common stock of European thought. (Bolgar 1964: 301)

This was a great change, obviously, from the university as a place for training clerics. Education was becoming available to, and interesting to, a larger proportion of the population, in an early instance of one of the most common forces of change in higher education, the changed demographic profile of the student. With more students who were less interested in pursuing religious training, and more interested in classical learning, the general goals of education were pressed into a different form, and the

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university grew eventually to comply with the interests and educational aims of these new students.

Another ongoing process in this era was the secularization of schools. The movement to remove schools from the influence of the Church began in some areas of Europe as early as the 15th century, but its real momentum was gathered later, with critics like Chalotais in the 18th century. The continuing influence of the Renaissance had brought ever greater numbers of students with secular interests to the schools, and the pressure of their interests eventually combined to create a movement toward the establishment of secular schools. Chalotais criticized the dry and morally shallow nature of religious education, the "absolute lack of instruction on the moral and political virtues." Students of the time, he wrote

> have learned no principle for judging actions, evils, opinions, customs. They have everything to learn on matters that are so important. They are inspired with a devotion which is but an imitation of religion, and with practices which take the place of virtue, and are but the shadow of it. (Chalotais, "On the Basis for French National Education," 1763; in Siceluff 1970: 95)

The primary goal of the Church in education, after all, was not to broaden men's minds but to deepen their subservience to the Catholic authority. The hold of the Church in affairs of state was increasingly slipping, and its attempts to restore its position through a monopoly on education were resisted by a growing set of secular authorities.

This weakening of the Catholic Church was correlated with the increasing spread of Protestantism; this too prepared the moral ground of Europe for the rise of capitalism. As Weber observed, the principle of

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collected, accumulated value, alien to the Catholic order, arose first with Protestantism. "The moral responsibility of the Protestant is cumulative; the cycle of sin, repentance and forgiveness, renewed through the life of the Catholic, is absent in Protestantism." (Giddens, in Weber 1985: xii-xiii)

The School as a Parent

There is a long history of teachers having a parental role, and of a kind of extended parenthood assumed of society at large, responsible for the future of its children. The Greeks had an interest in education to produce model citizens: the state presented itself as parent to the citizens, and its schools were the natural extension, the parental embodiment of the state responsible for educating the children of the polis and making them into good, and dutiful, citizens. The metaphor of parent has often appealed to its employers because it is benevolent, positive, and foregrounds the naturalness of inculcation.

The metaphor of the school as a parent rests within a larger view in which any social institution which provides for citizens is seen as a parent. The parental nurturer is fundamental in the idea of *the fatherland.* The state is seen as a parent in many descriptions of government through time: one such example is Edmund Burke's: "[man] should approach to the faults of the state as to the wounds of the father: with pious awe and trembling solicitude."[24] The parent is nurturer and protector, and also commands respect.

[24] Burke 1790: *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

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Since the prototypical school deals in fact with children and oversees their growth into adults, the parallel is obvious. Kramer observes that the "head of the Sumerian school was the *ummia*, 'expert,' 'professor,' who was also called 'school father,' while the pupil was called 'school son'." (Kramer, in Gillett 1969: 12) Teachers have long been construed as having a parental capacity. The children who are to be educated are the collective children of the group; the group as a whole sees them as their children. Benjamin Franklin wrote, in his proposals on public education, that ideally the members of the community "look on the Students as in some Sort their children." (Franklin, in Gillett: 138) The school per se is the institutional representative of that parental role of the larger community.

This metaphor is primarily social: it reflects, as we see, the basic social relationship of parent to child. It foregrounds other aspects of the way the university was seen as well: like the community metaphor, the parent metaphor represents the university as an independent social entity. The origin of the parental role of colleges reflects an autonomy which was seen as the natural and proper trait of higher education, as Kaplin observes:

> Higher education (particularly private education) was often viewed as a unique enterprise that could regulate itself through reliance on tradition and consensual agreement. It operated best by operating autonomously, and it thrived on the privacy afforded by autonomy. (Kaplin 1985: 4)

The first description of institutions of higher education as having any parental function is from medieval times. Brubacher notes that the original purpose of the colleges, as subsidiary groupings within universities, was to

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oversee the young and occasionally unruly students in their studies and conduct.

> Fifteen was not at all an uncommon age for students at [Paris]. Naturally, there was great danger that youths of this age would be tempted to spend their time in sloth and riotous living rather than in diligent application to their studies. To offset this danger, colleges were founded. At first the college was just a hospice, hall, inn, or hostel under the charge of a master who enforced discipline based on rules not unlike those governing monasteries. Gates were closed at sundown. The industrious were encouraged, and the indolent were sternly reminded of their duties. (Brubacher 1966: 435)

The development of common school education played a large part in the rise of the parent metaphor. Before the work of Huxley and others in the 1870's and after in England, and of Carter and Mann in America,[25] education for the masses was unheard of. Schooling which was intended to expand the intellect was reserved for the few, and occupational training was something that was typically acquired 'on the job.' The great majority of the young had no experience of organized public education. The goal of education, in these times, was perceived as a honing of the intellect:

> The purpose of all education ... was to train the mind; history was particularly important in this regard, because it cultivated the student's powers of judgment. (FitzGerald 1979: 170)

But with the industrial age, there arose a pressing need for a greatly increased number of skilled, and more basically than skilled, domesticated, laborers. As FitzGerald (1979) writes, the great increase in the number of

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[25] Lucas (1976), p. 12, observes this bit of educational history. He notes the work of "Thomas G. Carter and Horace Mann and the struggle to win support for a public common school system. That ideological strain was predicated upon the assumption that all children needed to be educated and that even within so pluralistic and heterogeneous a society as that of

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students being educated was not brought about out of concern for their intellectual development:

> The idea that academic education might be made universal and therefore democratic had very little appeal—and not unnaturally since the high-school teachers would have been incapable of putting it into practice. The ideology of the teachers, however, merely reflected the fact that the community at large had no interest in providing intellectual training for the mass of high-school students; its concern was to train skilled workers for industry. (FitzGerald 1979: 171)

With this industrially spurred interest in education, the numbers of those being educated rose. With the course of industrialization, more young people were going to school: instead of being apprenticed or working in the family tradition, they learned in schools skills that took them to new occupations, in factories, in cities. The school itself, and the result of schooling, tended to lead the student away from the family life. Consequently, these students became more removed from the core of family existence. As this happened, the function of the school changed; one of the most significant changes was in its shift toward the role of rearing the child, previously the domain of the family. Banks (1968) has described this transition:

> The advance of industrialization has had, as one of its most important consequences, the progressive removal from the family of its educational function. Formal educational institutions have taken over from the family not only the teaching of specific skills, but much normative training as well. The school, that is to say, has become the focal socializing agency, at least for those years during which the child is full-time within the educational system. (Banks 1968: 66)

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nineteenth-century America there were some learnings and values which all its members ought to share ...."

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We see in this the historical roots of the development of the metaphor of the school as parent. And the change became fairly entrenched by the middle of this century. FitzGerald cites a 1950's report published by the National Council for the Social Studies reaffirming "the seven cardinal principles of secondary education laid down in 1918":

> There is a growing consensus that the schools should assume a primary responsibility for basic functions which were once almost entirely performed by family and church. These include moral and spiritual education, character education, education for home and family living, and other aspects of personal and social adjustment. (FitzGerald 1979: 176)

It was with the development of colleges in America that the more specifically parental nature of the school was found in higher education. Brubacher observes the communal and parental character of the American college, which was a sort of "large boarding school."

> Responsibility for moral oversight as well as academic instruction devolved upon the officers of the college for all in residence there. Regulations for the control of students' personal lives were prescribed down to such minutiae as misspending time and wearing improper garb. (Brubacher 1966: 436)

By the 19th century, it was accepted doctrine that colleges had a parental responsibility for the welfare of their students. It was commonplace for institutions to control and regulate the behavior of their students through comprehensive sets of rules, and to enact disciplinary measures when students committed infractions of these rules. The independent status of defense of colleges was reflected in legal decisions concerning their right to make such rules and regulations as determined to be in the best interest of the

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students.[26] Kaplin notes that "the judiciary ... was deferential to higher education. In matters concerning students, courts found refuge in the in loco parentis doctrine borrowed from early English common law." In a 1913 lawsuit, the court ruled that

> College authorities stand *in loco parentis* concerning the physical and moral welfare and mental training of the pupils, and we are unable to see why, to that end, they may not make any rule or regulation for the government or betterment of their pupils that a parent could for the same purpose. (*Gott v. Berea College*, 156 Ky. 376, 161 S.W. 204, 206 (1913) in Kaplin 1985: 4)

In more recent history, the institutionalized entrenchment of the model of the university as a parent came about through economic causes. It is noteworthy that colleges have had a legal motive in taking on a parental role: colleges may be liable under the law for injury incurred by students present, and it is in their interest to protect the student from harms which might be attributed to negligence and prosecuted. Latter-day regulations of undergraduate comportment including restrictions on alcoholic consumption/access and curfew rules are intended as much to protect the school from indemnity by preventing situations in which the irresponsible student might hold the school liable for his harm, as to protect the student himself.

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[26] The fact that the first legal ruling of this status of the university is not found until 1913 does not indicate that the model was not present before this time; instead it is an illustration of the delay that is found between the rise of some model and its application within socially more codified realms such as law. This is related to the lag which occurs between changes in the source domain model and their recognition in the target domain. This is discussed further in Part III.

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Colleges increasingly have had an economic motive as well in their parental role. It is expensive for a college to recruit and invest in students only to have them drop out after a year. In order to cut attrition rates, colleges developed more aggressive undergraduate advising procedures. The goal of "intrusive advising," as Wenzlau notes, is to keep the students in touch with what the college wants of them. Liberal-arts colleges

> are taking the initiative and assuming a new level of responsibility in helping students meet the colleges' expectations. (Wenzlau, in Froomkin 1983: 7)

Economic Expansion

Over the two centuries before the Industrial Revolution began its transformation of European society, the movement toward expansionism was already establishing itself in the developments of foreign trade, plunder, and colonizing. The European mercantile economy was thriving; the class of merchants and investors with capital was growing in strength. The development of the corporation was in place in the colonizing companies, instituting the practice of treating a group legally as a single person.[27]

In 1776 Adam Smith published his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. This treatise, set out on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, made the case for the division of labor, the principle of the free market, and the all-important application to the economic sphere of the principle of self-interest. At the time Smith was writing, the organization of

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[27] "The corporate type of colonizing agency was the company, or group of individuals merged into a single 'person' at law by a royal charter." (Beard and Beard 1944: 7)

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factories had not yet been transfused with industrialization: "technology was not yet a significant force in the productive process." (Lux 1990: 23) But commonplace factories were already demonstrating the effectiveness of the division of labor, and mines and other enterprises of collective endeavor were bearing the fruit of the exploitation of human labor for capitalists.

The economic world of the time was in no way a truly free market; there was a good deal of government protectionism to be found in the works, for example in the shielding of farmers from adverse economic conditions.[28] But Smith's views were to become a central driving part of the later ideology of capitalist expansion in Europe, and even more, in America.

The Industrial Revolution

The combined results of social developments in the late medieval era and after were a disintegration of the stable medieval social order, with town and community undermined by the new numbers of disenfranchised poor. The majority of people were no longer closely tied to the land as they had been; the family was no longer the primary social entity. The early cities, the gravitational center of existence for the bulk of the population of the time, were dank and squalid. They "were at first without schools, without churches," notes Wells. He observes too that the advent of machinery combined with the pre-existing division of labor created more entrenched differences in status and wealth. The industrial revolution had cemented

[28] "Government policy was directed to keeping agricultural at a level high enough to make farming profitable." (Ashton 1964: 100)

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socio-economic differences, making the poor man "a worker from the cradle to the grave." (Wells 1920: 686)

The instability of the social situation led to a certain amount of uneasiness among some theorists of the time, and provoked reaction in the form of a new kind of class justification through arguments about the nature of society. The constructions of Darwin, grafting Adam Smith's capitalism onto the natural world, arrived at a vision of it as a place of fierce competition and harsh survival.[29] In the continuation of this spread of the model originating with Smith in the economic sphere, and imported to the understanding of the natural world, Spencer applied Darwinian reasoning to the social arena. By this time the success of capitalism was moving the political-power center of gravity increasingly to economic entities; the models used to understand non-economic domains were as a result increasingly drawn from the realm of economics.

The parallel to a natural system legitimized the arguments of Spencer and other "social Darwinists," who even before the publication of Darwin's seminal work on natural selection had argued that the rigors of modern life were necessary to sort the wheat from the chaff in society.[30] Their model of

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[29] "Since Darwin grafted Adam Smith upon nature to establish his theory of natural selection..." (Gould 1977: 100)

[30] "In all but name 'Social Darwinism' antedated Darwinism," Fleming writes, and that the natural plan of men strengthened or weeded out by hard work in a difficult existence must not be thwarted by maudlin charity-givers

> was the social teaching of Herbert Spencer, set forth almost a decade before publication of the Origin of Species in 1859 and two decades before Darwin discussed The Descent of Man in 1871. But Spencer's social philosophy, however independent of Darwin in origin, would never by itself have taken on the compulsive plausibility, the ineluctable

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society attributes differences in class and status to ability to achieve and succeed, or lack thereof. If an individual does not succeed, it must be because he is not fit to compete in the system; if he is not fit to compete, he does not deserve to succeed. Spencer argued that "the weeding out of inferior specimens would produce a cumulatively better race of men." (Fleming 1970: 123)

The rise of social Darwinism was a significant step in the development of economic conceptions of society as having limited resources which demanded competition among its members and justified survival at all costs. This formed a further element in the foundation of the business model, and this is another reason why it is significant that the ideas of Spencer resonated so strongly, as we shall see, in the American imagination. These developments would come to a crux at the turn of the century, in the Progressive Era, as we shall see below. The social instability would be answered in several ways, some of them following these Spencerian paths of natural harsh necessity and competition, others taking a more reformist view.

Meanwhile in the industrial world, scientific and technological progress was marching on. Agriculture, medicine, transportation were transformed:

> Men learnt so to fertilize the soil as to produce quadruple and quintuple the corporations got from the same area in the seventeenth century. There was a still more extraordinary advance in medical

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relevance to the real world, which Darwinism retrospectively lent to it. (Fleming, in Schlesinger and White 1963: 125)

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> science; the average duration of life rose, the daily efficiency increased, the waste of life through ill-health diminished. (Wells 1920: 763)

The thriving practices of empirical science and the exercise of reason in examining the natural and social world, however, had not necessarily permeated the denser walls of academia. It may be noted that despite the demonstrated usefulness of scientific developments, the general conservative nature of the university continued to offer resistance to change on these fronts. The merits of science as a source of useful development had been more than adequately demonstrated by the 19th century, but schools were slow to recognize scientific studies in the curriculum.[31] Brubacher notes that "it was not till 1853 that the English government made grants to individual schools for the teaching of science." (Brubacher 1966: 586)

During this period, education, which had already been touched by the unceasing progress of rationalization, was beginning to reflect more and more the industrial processes of the economic world.

> The first instance of grading students' papers occurred at Cambridge University in 1792 at the suggestion of a tutor named William Farish. ... His idea that a quantitative value should be assigned to human thoughts was a major step toward constructing a mathematical concept of reality. (Postman 1992: 13)

As we shall see, the rationalization of intellectual activities was just at its beginning at this time; with the rise of the factory model, the application of

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[31] Beck observes that conservatives, in their preference for stability, "have not favored the growing influence of science and technology, industrialization ...; these have all threatened to promote and have promoted change." (Beck 1965: 4) Technology is insidious to governing powers; as Postman noted, "it is not always clear, at least in the early stages of a technology's intrusion into a culture, who will gain most by it and who will lose most." (Postman 1993: 12) The connection between conservatives and the entrenched powers in academia is, as we have seen, often close.

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numerical metrics to the practices and processes of the university was to become a commonplace.

The Situation in the United States

Meanwhile across the Atlantic from Spencer's native soil his ideas were taking much deeper root. The American mind was already predisposed to receive them by a number of indigenous notions, as Fleming notes, cultivated by American Protestantism. "In Spencer no fewer than four lines of early Methodist met to produce a fierce resentment of external restraints." Spencer "invoked the native self-discipline of Protestantism:"

> This was merely one aspect of the deep harmony between Social Darwinism and the cultural residues of Protestantism by which even the most liberated Americans were marked. [...] Where the Protestant ethic taught men to lay up riches to the greater glory of God, Social Darwinism taught them to fulfill themselves to the improvement of the species. Both turned self-concern into a social good. In the economic sphere, Spencer commended precisely the doctrinaire individualism which was being enfolded within the ark of the American covenant between Jackson and Cleveland. (Fleming, in Schlesinger 1963: 127)

It was no accident, as Fleming points out, that a significant influence on Spencer had been Emerson's Self-Reliance, representing a fundamental strain in American thought with which Spencer's work then resonated again. "The self for Spencer was precisely a kind of free-standing essence susceptible of infinite expansion but only from within." (Ibid.: 124) Individualism, the hardy sense of fundamentally prized independence of the individual from all authority, "which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows," arose as the particular outgrowth of the democratic society, as

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Tocqueville observed.[32] It was this individualism which formed the keystone in the development of the competition model we see later underpinning the conception of the business world, and then, through the model of the school as a business, altering the landscape of education.

Weber noted that after capitalism had become entrenched, the original driving factor of Protestant morality had fallen away in importance.[33] This reflected a growing sentiment of independence from authorities both civil and denominational which touched education as well. Weber noted the peculiar twists of development by which the Calvinist doctrine of the elect led to the status of wealth as an indication of probity; this development was reinforced by the arguments of the social Darwinists.

> Spencerian thinking also underlay the Gospel of Wealth. The idea behind this phrase was simple: a man's wealth was prima facie evidence that he had been chosen and aided by God to build a fortune. (Freidel et al. 1972: 20)

The immense popularity of this doctrine, evangelized by Benjamin Franklin in his *Autobiography*, is visible in the practices of preachers like Russell Conwell declaring that it was the "duty" of every person to seek riches.[34] The significance of this development was its ideologically sanctioned accumulation of wealth, which permitted capitalism to take hold

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[32] Tocqueville (1969): 506.

[33] Parsons writes: "But if Puritanism provided that vital spark igniting the sequence of change creating industrial capitalism, the latter order, once established, eradicates the specifically religious elements in the ethic which helped to produce it." (Parsons, introduction to Weber 1985: xviii) As Weber wrote,

> When asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order ... But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer. (Weber 1985: 181-2)

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with the impetus of social acceptability overlaid on the drive of individual ambition. This process was given added impetus in the continued movement away from religious constraints and controls.

Hofstadter observes that one of the most evident developments in American higher education has been "the drift toward secularism." (Hofstadter and Hardy 1952: 3) The causes for the removal of the churches from the direction of education are familiar from the trends of secularization seen in the later Middle Ages: prosperity, trade, and the influence of outside intellectual traditions:

> Puritanism ... had been weakened along the seaboard by comfort and security and had been challenged by a rising class of relatively secular merchants; the intellectual influence of the European Enlightenment, particularly through its English spokesmen, was beginning to be felt among the educated classes; and the American concern with the useful, the practical, and the mundane was growing. (Hofstadter and Hardy 1952: 5)

At the same time, business was thriving in America, and the economic situation between business and government began to change. Schlesinger has pointed out the "conventional interpretation of American economic growth as the result of the motive power of the unfettered individual." Schlesinger notes that the state played a very important role in providing the groundwork for individual industrial effort: "the first stages of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy require a vast expansion of what economists call 'social overhead capital'—roads, canals, bridges, harbors, railroads." This overhead was provided critically by the state. But it came

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[34] Conwell 1915, in Freidel et al. 1972: 21.

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with a price—government involvement in business—and as American business found its footing and began to succeed, the price loomed larger. Eventually, Schlesinger observes, businessmen no longer in need of government protection and aid "began to discern a belated charm in the Jeffersonian proposition that government was best which governed least." (Schlesinger 1963: 115)

Continuing advances in science and technology were having their effect on higher education as well.[35] The dominant liberal arts curriculum came under the criticism of modernists in the 19th century.

> Hardly a quarter of that century had passed ... when a rising demand made itself felt for a more scientific and technological curriculum. This demand reflected a basic shift in popular interest. (Brubacher 1966: 449)

And that shift in popular interest was following the money, so to speak. Tectonic processes in social and economic evolution had brought the heft of political and economic influence far from its medieval roots in the Church and its sanctioned lay rulers, to ever more secular interests culminating in the concentration of power in the hands of the capitalist speculators and industrialists. The path of education has followed this shift of power, as seen in this observation tracing it backward:

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[35] True to the nature of change moving up through the educational system (see note below), the popular interest for a more 'useful' education was seen at the level of secondary education well before it rose to the universities. Butts observes this earlier process:

> The town supported Latin grammar schools in New England and the religiously sponsored grammar schools elsewhwere were not particularly interested in the new commercial life of the seacoast towns in the eighteenth century. [...] Well before the American Revolution a growing demand for more practical and modern education was passing the grammar schools by. (Butts 1973: 414)

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> There was a time in our history when higher education was regarded as an absurdity for the majority, a luxury for those who could afford it, and a necessity only for clergymen. But that time is long since past, and the indispensability of higher education to our whole society is now generally recognized. (Wilson 1965: 263)

The period after the Civil War, Brubacher observes, was when "higher education of a technical nature first began in this country." Morrill's bill supporting public subsidies of agricultural and mechanical institutions, vetoed before the war, gained acceptance after the problems of food supply made legislators aware of a need for agricultural training, and was passed in 1862. The Morrill Act, as the origin of the "land grant" universities of a technical bent, altered the tenor of American education.

The Factory Model

As modern business was beginning to become the primary organization of labor in the 19th century, the factory model was taking hold in the understanding of the university, in a typical instance of the delay seen between the growth of social institutions and their use as conceptual models. The conception of the school as a factory was born with the industrial age; it was eventually modulated into the notion of the school as a business, and melded with our modern conception of education as a service. But the factory was a powerful image in earlier descriptions of education. Lucas observes the image of the factory applied to secondary schools, reporting from Toffler:

> In preindustrial "stagnant societies," Toffler maintained, "the past crept forward into the present and repeated itself in the future." It was sufficient to school the young in the skills, techniques, knowledge, and

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> values of the past in those societies—until the advent of the Industrial Revolution created the need for a new kind of man, one possessed of new skills, new values, and a drastically altered time-sense. Mass education was the device constructed by industrialism to preadapt people for "a new world of repetitive indoor toil, smoke, noise, machines, crowded living conditions, and collective discipline." The new education system simulated this industrial world: it assembled masses of students (raw material) for processing by teachers (workers) in a central school (the factory) run by an administrative bureaucracy modeled after the structure of industrial bureaucracy. Even the organization of knowledge into fixed disciplines was grounded on the assumptions of industrialism. (Lucas 1976: 329)

This vision of the school providing workers to industry led to the understanding of educated workers as a product of the institution-factory. It is important to note that the shift Lucas describes above of viewing schools as factories occurred first in the common lower schools, and only much later in higher education. The model of schools as factories and then as businesses moved upward within the system of education.[36]

Observations of the university employing the factory model were seen and used in *criticism* of the increasingly mechanistic process of higher education before they were used in praise or recommendations of change in

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[36] Many movements in education have arisen as a result of the influx of a greater number of students into the educational system. These include the association of education with social mobility, the importance of credentials of educatedness for basic employability, and the shift of education to a service, among others. Each of these movements has begun in the lower schools, and then slowly, over periods of years or decades, moved upward in the educational system to eventually affect the universities.

The changes in education have been most reflected where the greatest number of students have been added to the system, and where the system is most dependent on public funding and support. This means that public schools have been the most altered under these changes. The trickle-up effect springs partly from the fact that lower levels of education have historically been more universal and more universally public, and partly from the effect of delay in the motion of groups of students through the school system itself. Changes in the system follow students themselves through it, to some degree; the latter end of a rather long boa constrictor did not feel the effects of the increased meal for a number of years. Nasaw, for example, discusses the way in which the movement for common school reform in education followed the students through the school system from primary to secondary education:

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that direction. Upton Sinclair was one vehement critic of the developments in American higher education. He was appalled by the chasm between academia's portrait of itself as intellectual and removed, and its corporate nature, as he saw it. "The great institution was a hollow shell, a body without a soul, a mass of brick and stone held together by red tape." He felt obliged to warn students of what they were getting into: "You are in a great education factory, with the whirr of its machinery all around you." (Sinclair 1923: 15; 42)

Veblen was a trenchant observer of the likeness between university and commercial organization. In his view the university was becoming a business; this was the early growth of the business model which came to maturity in the postwar period.

> Men dilate on the high necessity of a businesslike organization and control of the university, its equipment, personnel and routine. What is had in mind in this insistence on an efficient system is that these corporations of learning shall set their affairs in order after the pattern of a well-conducted business concern. In this view the university is conceived as a business house dealing in merchantable knowledge, placed under a governing hand of a captain of erudition, whose office it is to turn the means in hand to account in the largest feasible output. It is a corporation with large funds, and for men biased by their workday training in business affairs it comes as a matter of course to rate the university in terms of investment and turnover. Hence the insistence on business capacity in the heads of the universities, and hence also the extensive range of businesslike duties and powers that devolve on them. (Veblen 1965: 85)

Veblen noted "that higher education is based on the 'price system;' i.e., the same values and procedures that dominate the business world." (Corwin 1965, in Stub 1975: 11) He observed the factors contributing to this modeling.

The "children of the plain people" were now entering the secondary schools and demanding the education that had traditionally been offered there. (Nasaw 1979: 240)

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The infiltration of corporate interests into the academic world via the board of governors and other legal institutions with a role in determining the directions taken in education was one such factor. The organizational structure or large-scale and complex operations shared by the two was another. The rise in funding from private industry for research was a third. And since the demand for accountability on the part of the universities was growing, the need for means of determining productivity grew more pressing. "There is no simple way of evaluating the teaching product .... On the other hand, the criteria of business success (e.g., profit or volume sales) are more observable and more easily applied; so schools and colleges are forced to justify their activities, their budget requests, and their reputations in terms of the business criteria to which the public is accustomed." (Corwin 1965, in Stub 1975: 12) This parallel provided the basis for the thoroughgoing introduction of rational organization and measures into academe.

The business model and its attendant inclination to numeric measures were, it was more than clear, becoming increasingly dominant throughout American life. As Corwin notes, "the full success of the business ideology was symbolized by the Civil War in which Northern capitalists permanently subjugated the landed aristocracy in the South." (Corwin 1965, in Stub 1975: 10) As Tocqueville noted, the new aristocracy was the capitalists.[37] By the turn of the century, business was of such central concern that immense effort was expended on searching for and discussing means of increasing its

[37] Tocqueville 1969: 555.

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productivity. "The years from 1900 to 1910 saw the publication of two hundred and forty volumes on business management." (Hofstadter and Hardy 1952: 93) This was the era of Taylor and his *Principles of Scientific Management.*

One of the more direct influences of the industrial model on the university was carried with the "cult of efficiency" movement which grew out of this business predominance. This was the first real growth of the factory model not used in criticisms of education, but instead in suggestions for its improvement; the degree to which the model had taken hold is visible in this shift. New metrics of productivity taken from the business domain were imposed on academia. Criticisms of the crude metrics of learning brought into effect after the industrial age took many forms:

> Our system of credits makes the course an end, instead of the means to an end; leads the student to aim at passing a course instead of acquiring knowledge, and the instructing staff to fix their attention upon carrying through a process instead of attaining a result. Passing a course is a very different thing from learning a subject, and measuring knowledge in terms of the courses traversed a very different thing from measuring difference between estimating the amount of gasoline in a tank by computing the number of gallons poured into it when there are holes in the tank, and measuring the actual amount of gasoline there. (President Lowell, Harvard University, 1920; Knight 1940 64-5)[38]

The increasing rationalization of education was becoming apparent to administrators and faculty, who voiced their wariness of this trend. But this

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[38] The central commentary here is on the exigencies of efficiency forcing measurement of whatever may be measured, and that it is much easier to keep track of the amount of gasoline poured into a tank, than it is to open up the tank, and take the measure of what is in it. The implication in this image, that students are getting worse (holes in the tank were presumably not there before) is a somewhat separate claim about another cause in the poor state of affairs at the university.

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was only the beginning. The early instances of these metrics of what is learned was not particularly systematic; with the growth of the business model, its application to the educational domain became more and more regular, with consequently more effects spreading out from it.

The Progressive Era

The progressive era ushered in a series of social movements which were responses to the upheavals of the previous century; these movements had crucial repercussions at all levels of education. This was the era in which the notion of education for vocational purposes first found its advocates. Dewey's aims in this are well known, and resound still in educational treatises.

The growth of the universities in the 19th century had familiarized them to the populace at large as a source of training and preparation for a working life, as well as a place of social conditioning. By the end of that century, education was more and more becoming the means to bettering one's position in life. This new role of education was to branch in two very different directions. The first would be the progressive movement, and its association of education as a means of changing the social and economic status of the individual with a larger-scale plan for social change. Dewey and his followers would attempt to make schools the tools of social equalization, and levers in the creation of a truly democratic society.

The second direction in which education as a means of social mobility would be significant was the growing American movement of individual

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independence, which saw education not as a means of creating greater social equality, but instead, exactly opposite to that goal, as a means of "getting ahead." These two very different directions are discussed below.[39]

The University as a Tool for Social Innovation

FitzGerald notes the coming of a new understanding of the university: "Until the twentieth century, few American educators believed that textbooks—or schooling in general—could or should be an instrument for changing the culture." (FitzGerald 1979: 73)

The historical role of the university was many things before this, as we have seen, but it had not been envisioned as a means of social innovation. This shift followed the industrial revolution and the large-scale social changes that this revolution brought with it. A middle class was created, and with it, the imagination of prosperity, of security, but most of all, of the possible improvements to be made in one's social position. As education necessarily played a large part in this possible upward mobility, it came to be directly connected with social change.

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[39] It should be noted that there are two kinds of social equality as a goal of education. The first is equality of opportunity, or as Bell (1973) calls it, of *inputs;* it is concerned with making education available to the disenfranchised and underprivileged in society, with the hope that talent which otherwise would not have seen the light of day will then rise to the top. This goal is much less concerned with the development of the student after admittance to the institution. This first kind of goal is not incompatible, indeed is more than compatible, with the notion of education as a means of improving one's life, of getting ahead.

The second kind of goal is equality of *results;* it is concerned with the creation of a more egalitarian society, and is incompatible with the idea of education as a means of rising to positions of comparative power. Related to the issue of these two goals is the question of varying sources of inequality which have been claimed to lie behind differential achievement in life, including most saliently those which are social versus those which are innate.

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At the end of the 19th century, the social climate was undergoing a change. The wealth that had been brought to European and American society by the spectacular growth of industry was very unequally distributed, with opulence floating the industrial directors and capitalists in every luxury while poverty still pressed on the lives of the great number of factory workers and unemployed. This situation had been predicted by Tocqueville to be an inevitable result of industrial development, and had come to pass:

> As the principle of the division of labor is ever more completely applied, the workman becomes weaker, more limited, and more dependent. The craft improves, the craftsman slips back. [...] At the same time that industrial science constantly lowers the standing of the working class, it raises that of the masters. (Tocqueville 1969: 556)

There were two sources of pressure to reform society, with almost opposing origins but united in their goal. The successful capitalists wanted a docile, unrebellious workforce as a source of ready labor, and which offered no threat to their physical and economic security. The more idealistic social reformers wanted social and economic equality or at least less flagrant inequality. Both of these factions seized on education as a means of achieving their goal.

The idealists were fed by an optimism growing among reform-minded theorists about society and its possibilities for improvement. Developments in medicine, agriculture, and elsewhere in science, technological progress and the conviction it brought that man was increasingly in control of his own destiny, all contributed to a growing certainty in a greater social progress—an idea, it may be noted which would have been entirely alien to the medievals,

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with their certainty in the ordained stability of the natural and social world. That sense of an overarching natural order to the universe had been divided by advances in technology into a sense of the natural and the man-made, the forces of nature and the new and ever more powerful forces of mankind. These changes were both indicative of, and the consequences of, the fundamental social changes which had been brought about in European society since the medieval era. This sense of social potential, which Tocqueville called "the idea of the indefinite perfectibility of man," he observed to have arisen from mutability in social conditions. "When citizens are classified by rank, profession, or birth, and when all are obliged to follow the career which chance has opened before them, everyone thinks that he can see the ultimate limits of human endeavor quite close in front of him, and no one attempts to fight against an inevitable fate."

> But when castes disappear and classes are brought together, when men are jumbled together and habits, customs, and laws are changing, when new facts impinge and new truths are discovered, when old conceptions vanish and new ones take their place, then the human mind imagines the possibility of an ideal but always fugitive perfection. (Tocqueville 1969: 452-3)

Once the notion of social progress existed, institutions could be seen as instruments to forward that progress: government, education, became in the hands of the progressives tools of social change. It was not until after the turn of the century that educators began to use the notion of education as a deliberate mechanism in social engineering. It rests on a model of society as evolving, changing, and as a structure which may be altered for the better by the intervention of man through the use of social institutions, "ever striving

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toward that immense grandeur glimpsed indistinctly at the end of the long track humanity must follow." (Ibid.: 453)

A further background element here is the mechanistic conception of society, in which the components have a functionally determined relation to one another. For the idealists, this functional relationship can be modified by deliberate intervention. In their conception, the university is a tool in the effort to change society, and education is the means for social equalization. For the social Darwinists, the relation holding among social components is determined by forces larger than man, and cannot be modified as a whole; but individuals can make use of education for their own benefit and success within the competitive system.

The original proponent of such a view of education was Plato, in *The Republic*. As Brubacher notes of Plato's thought, if the ideal society "was to be realized through education, the school's duty was not just the simple one of reproducing the age-old traditions with their inherent maladjustments but the more complex one of bringing the ideal society into existence and then preventing any defection from it." But this "was only a scheme," and was never adopted by the Greeks as a real goal of education. Nor was it adopted at any point during the development of education in Europe from the Middle Ages to the 20th century.[40]

It was with Dewey that the movement took on its real momentum. "I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and

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[40] Brubacher 1966: 582-3.

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reform," he declared. (Dewey 1897, in Siceluff 1970: 160) He is seen as the instigator of the progressive movement in education to unite the goals of the individual with those of the larger society through the school as tool in the restructuring of society..[41] Dewey's studies in philosophy had engaged him in the debate between two metaphysical systems of the day. The first was correspondence theory, descended from the thought of Plato and Aristotle, "which assumes that there is an external world of fact and that the more closely our beliefs and ideas correspond to that world, the more they can be said to be true." (Bowen 1981: 417) Its competing alternative was coherence theory, descended from the work of Spinoza, Leibniz and Kant, which "judges the truth of ideas by their ability to be places in an integrated system." (Ibid.) Dewey's educational philosophy was deeply shaped by his exposure to coherence theory; he became an active follower of pragmatism, developed by Pierce and James, and brought it into his pedagogy.

One of the factors behind the growth of coherence theory could be seen as the larger psychological effects of the technological developments of mankind, and the increasingly visible human changes wrought on the environment with the Industrial Revolution. The vast influence of developments in technology, especially agriculture, upon the landscape sank deep into the common consciousness as a sign of man's increasing

[41] As Cremin points out, not all of the progressives were associated with Dewey; the Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education was founded independently from him But their goals were the same. (Cremin 1961; in Siceluff 1970: 203ff.)

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dominion.[42] With this tangible control grew a sense of man as the maker of his world, shaping the landscape and controlling the forces of nature to a greater and greater extent. The pedagogical extension of this sense of control was the view of the student as an active creator of his world rather than passive absorber of correspondences. "If knowledge is relative and truth both contingent and emergent; if there is only the whole child ... in interaction with an environment of continually changing experience; then, surely, it is dishonest and immoral not to say so, and not to educate the child accordingly." (Bowen 1981: 419)

Institutions of education were to be, in Dewey's model, the means by which society was improved. They were tools in social change: society was a structure which could be, and should be, altered; men were perfectible; and education was the means of that perfection. But the Deweyan notion of the school as a tool for social change incorporated another metaphor; that of the school as a laboratory, as a workshop in which students conducted experiments, made discoveries, and in which local intellectual progress was made.

The School as a Laboratory

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[42] Delacroix had observed in 1856, when he "went to see the famous agricultural exposition:" "On entering that expositon of machines designed to plough, to sow and to reap, I thought myself in an arsenal amidst the machines of war: this is how I picture those ballistas and catapults, those coarse instruments bristling with iron points, and those chariots armed with scythes and steel blades...." And with the developments in means of travel, one finds "the same profitless noise in every part of the world, as you find the eternal railroad station, with its cyclops and its savage whistles. One won't be able to go three leagues without that barbarous accompaniment: the fields and the mountains will be furrowed with it...." (Delacroix 1948: 511-3)

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Dewey objected to the inactivity of traditional educational methods. In *The School and Society*, he wrote of his attempts to create an environment in which children were not mere listeners, but active participants. "Because simply studying lessons out of a book is only another kind of listening; it marks the dependency of one mind upon another. The attitude of listening means, comparatively speaking, passivity, absorption...." (Dewey 1899; in Bowen 1981: 419). Students in the progressive school were each to take on the role of the scientist:

> The Progressive School should be a leader in educational movements. It should be a laboratory where new ideas if worthy meet encouragement; where tradition alone does not rule, but the best of the past is leavened with the discoveries of today, and the result is added freely to the sum of educational knowledge. (Cremin 1961, in Siceluff 1970; 207)

The progressives thus used two models of the school, as a tool and as a laboratory. Dewey's experimental school was called the "Laboratory School." (Bowen 1981: 418) The advances in technology, and refinement of tools which structure our environment, are thus behind both the models of the university as laboratory and as tool: in the former, via its influence on coherence theory and the importance of the student's interaction and active participation in his creation of a coherent world(view), , and via the increasing sense of control of the environment that tools gave to men for the latter.

In Dewey's conception the laboratory and tool for social change are a unified goal of the school: the student, creating his world, experiments with new ways of understanding and acting, and through the role of the school in

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society, and the progression of students into citizens, these experiments are extended into the larger social domain. The central goal of the progressives was to reform education, and through education, society.

But even Dewey suspected that the motives of all the supporters of this movement were not perhaps the purest. He was aware, as FitzGerald notes, that "this belief in education and in the future" was "politically ambiguous." FitzGerald advances the argument that the acceptance of the progressive model of education by the governors of the school system was founded on their faith in its failure: they were sure that to put the burden of social change desired by these radicals on the ineffectual schools, with their monstrously slow pace of change and adaptation, was to consign the social "solution" to oblivion. Not only would it be safe, but their apparent support would defuse class hostility and appease the feverish will of the progressives.

> [The progressive shift] could signify a great openness to change and a willingness to promote reform, but it could also signify the reverse. To urge reform through education could be merely a piece of wishful thinking or could be a strategy for avoiding reform, and the social conflict it would entail, by putting it off into the future. To urge reform through the public-school system could be merely to displace responsibility from the adult institutions that could achieve it. (FitzGerald 1979: 216)

The cynical understanding by conservative opponents of change ascertained that schools are the best oubliettes to which to consign problematic programs of social reform, because they would in the long run absorb effort and show no difference. At least, they were without concerns that any great social change would be wrought by the idealists' efforts in

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higher education. But they did understand that there were certain benefits to them in permitting greater numbers of the population to be educated. These benefits included the fostering of regular work habits among the labor force.

It had already been an expressed aim of secondary education to preserve the foundations of social stability through common public education. The proponents of this were quite direct on the uses of education to create a docile workforce, and temperate, law-abiding populace, and a well-mannered citizenry:

> It was [the businessmen] who were most in need of—and best able to profit from—the character-trained and disciplined workforce the common schools intended to provide. [...] The real advantages of schooled over unschooled workers were, as [moral common school reformer Horace] Mann suggested to the manufacturers, the schooled workers' "docility and quickness in applying themselves to work"; their "domestic and social habits"; their "personal cleanliness"; [...] and their "punctuality and fidelity in the performance of duties." (Nasaw 1979: 44)[43]

But this goal was eventually voiced for higher education as well, as the aims of education were generalized to the higher levels.

It was at about this period that community colleges arose in the American educational system. In the first part of the 20th century "the great tidal wave of students that was flowing through the high schools had reached the colleges. Their facilities ... became swamped. A demand arose not only for additional facilities for higher education but for facilities nearer home." (Brubacher 1966: 456) And so the two-year college was born. It was construed by its originator, William Rainey Harper, as "a further upward extension of

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the high school—often called the 'people's college'—which itself had originated as an upward extension of the common school." (Ibid.)

The explicit purpose of these junior colleges was thus to absorb the swell of students seeking higher education which could not be accommodated by existing colleges and universities. The two-year institution provided the university with "a safety valve,"[44] by drawing off the pressure of overpopulation. But the situation of American education led to a complex set of further functions as well. As Clark notes, "a major problem of democratic society is inconsistency between encouragement to achieve and the realities of limited opportunity." (Clark 1960; in Stub 1975: 391) The optimism of opportunity for all which had fueled the progressives could not be matched by the capacities of the system. So junior colleges came to be a safety valve as well for the potential social frustration arising from unfulfilled, and unfulfillable, ambitions. "Democratic societies need not only to motivate achievement but also to mollify those denied it to sustain motivation in the face of disappointment and to deflect resentment." (Ibid.) Clark thus analyzes the principal purpose of these schools to be the "cooling-out" of those with frustrated ambitions. Karabel has observed that community colleges allay the larger ideological pressure of an impossible ideal of equal opportunity by "transforming structurally induced failure into individual failure:"

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[43] Citations in quote are from Horace Mann, *Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, 1842: 83.

[44] Cohen and Brawer, in Change 1972: 164.

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> This serves to legitimate the myth of an equal opportunity structure; it shifts attention to questions of individual mobility rather than distributive justice. Cooling out, then can be seen as conflict between working class students and standards that legitimize the position of the privileged—a veiled class conflict. (Karabel, in Karabel and Halsey 1977: 249)

The two-year schools thus provide a balance between the progressive ideology of opportunity, and the reality of stratification. The myth of education as a means of bettering one's position in life is preserved; the safety valve continues in both its physical and its ideological function.

Education as a means of getting ahead

Underlying the optimism which carried the idealists' expectations of social change was a blithe disregard for the subtler forces that have been observed by some to play out in social status and mobility. These include the role of social connections, access to paths of power, privilege, and forms of alliances and pathways that aid or hinder motion in the age-old patterns of class structure. The idealists relied on a model of society which was without interior constraining connections, the mechanism which recognized no fixed bonds or pressures holding the elements in their positions. This idea of social fluidity had been reinforced by the apparent changeable nature of social positions in America, by the growth of equality and its ramifications.

It was in this age that the ideas of Adam Smith, passed through Darwin and into the thought of Spencer, came to their real fruition. Tocqueville has observed the way in which ideas may arise centuries before they become really implanted in the general sensibility and bear fruit; this was the case

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which these elements of the eventual view of society we find in America.[45] But by the time of the progressive movement, the ground had been prepared, and finally all the preconditions were in place for the rise of this conception of society and of the individual.

The movement toward this model of society had long roots in American and European history, beginning with the Cartesian model, and following through the individualism so critical to the indigenous American mind, as Tocqueville observed. These things coalesced into the model of society as competitive, of the individual as necessarily independent and self-reliant, into the successful and desirable life as that which had wealth and independence as its most prominent features. This was the era in which the immense popularity of the Horatio Alger stories developed, with their rosy view of society in which the possibility of social mobility is there for all, given simple hard work and gumption. The Horatio Alger image of life[46] has held

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[45] "How did it happen that the reformers were shut in so narrowly within the circle of religious ideas? [...] Why did men in the eighteenth century suddenly draw general conclusions from this same method, which Descartes and his forerunners had either not noticed or refused to observe? Finally, why was it at that time that this method suddenly came out of the schools, worked its way into society, and became the common coin of thought? [...] It was possible for this philosophic method to come into the world in the sixteenth century and to defined and generalized in the seventeenth, but it could not be commonly accepted in either of those centuries. The political laws, the state of society, and habits of thought, all deriving from first causes of their own, were opposed to it." (Tocqueville 1969: 431)

[46] By 'the Horatio Alger image of life' I mean the conception of simple work providing boundless social mobility which in the folk model after the fact has been attributed to Horatio Alger's stories. This conception differs in significant parts from Alger's actual tales, as Gawelti (1965) observes. Among the differences Gawelti points out are that contrary to the post-Alger folk model of success in which the hero needs no social connections or luck to get ahead, Alger's actual subjects often recognized the benefit they derived from well-placed friends or acquaintances and from the disposition of simple good luck.

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a central place in the American imagination for more than a century.[47] We have sustained a deep and fierce belief in the ability of the individual to better himself, economically, socially, and intellectually. This has been in contrast to the models of society in Europe and elsewhere.

> In most other countries, a man's place was largely determined by his birth; no matter how hard he might work, he could not and did not expect to rise far economically and socially. In the United States, the Puritan heritage and the ethic of self-help emphasized quite the opposite. Here the belief was widespread that hard work paid off. With diligent and persistent effort a man could rise to a higher level than his parents. Many modern studies have shown statistically that few men really did move very far above the status they possessed at birth, but that is not the point. Expectation and possibility, not reality, excited the imagination. ("Dreams of Success"; in Freidel, Pollack and Crunden, eds., Builders of American Institutions, 1972: 1-2)

It is education which was seen as providing one of the most critical, effective, and accessible sources of upward social movement in the American imagination. As Karabel points out,

> America, according to the ideology, is the land of opportunity, and the capstone of its open opportunity structure is its system of public education. (Karabel 1972; in Karabel and Halsey, 233)

Education, as the factor which opens the way to betterment of one's social position, therefore takes on a particular significance in this model of culture in which one directs one's own social and financial destiny. The differences in application of this model which assumes that education can be

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[47] The Horatio Alger myth of social mobility predates Alger himself by decades. Gawelti notes, among other things, that "Alger had considerable precedent for his dramatization of the street boy's rise to social respectability. Nor was he the only writer of his time to employ this subject." (1965: 7)

Alger's distinction from these others was the strong attraction of his stories for young readers; this lies behind his entrance into the American imagination, and his eponymy in our national dreams of social success.

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the tool of social change are however significant. The Deweyan notion of education's role in social change, as noted above, rests on an set of background assumptions incompatible with those of the view that education is a tool for the individual to become wealthy; yet both of these rest on an understanding of education as a significant factor in social developments.

The spread of the basicness of competition into education was not long in coming, and had its evangelistic proponents:

> Education in depth stresses the value and importance of competition in schools. Such competition should not be excessive or unreasonable, but it should exist. Life itself is competition, and the sooner the child learns to compete, the better for him and his country. [Graded report cards] are a must. ... [These] constitute ... a summing up of assets and liabilities that is invaluable training for later life. (Rafferty 1964, in Siceluff 1970: 163)

The instantiation of the university as a means of getting ahead, cousin to the university as a tool in social change, provided a more explicit arena for allaying the pressures of economic inequality. If such opportunity was laid out for all to partake in, then who was to blame if some failed to move ahead, except the failures themselves?

> Other myths serve to enhance stability within a society by reinforcing the manner in which classes become stratified and work becomes organized and divided. Among these is the singularly most pervasive myth in American life—that if one works hard one can make it and that if one fails it is one's own fault. (Murphy, in Froomkin 1983: 19)

The progressive era thus saw the rise of two very different models of education, the first as a means of providing social equality for the masses, the second as a means of social and economic betterment for the individual. The explicit aim of the idealists was social equality; the implicit aim of the wealthy

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supporters of the reform, and the economic motivation behind it, was to allay inter-class hostility and defuse the economic frustration arising from the inequity of income distribution. In more recent times, the unification of progressive aims was found in the development of affirmative action, which represents the concrete, reified goals of education as a tool for changing social structure and for providing individuals with the means to achieve better lives.[48]

For those in industrial or vocational sectors, an education was an asset which made a more valuable worker. The university was on the one hand a tool in social change, on the other, a means of individual advancement. The developments after World War II would cement this second model of the university into a stepping-stone in social mobility, and the provider of a service.

The end of the progressive era meanwhile was seeing a constant increase in the general esteem granted to those in the business world. Flexner in 1927 observed the disparity between the respect granted to scholars, who are after all those upon whose shoulders the intellectual endeavor rests, and administrators.

> The executive is valued because the American loves administration and organization and esteems highly those charged with responsibility for it, whereas he gives less recognition to superior intellectual achievement. (Flexner 1927: 15)

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[48] More will be said about the origins, development, and decline of affirmative action in Part 3.

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This illuminates a part of that ongoing development we see of the model of the rationalized organization.

The Postwar Boom

In the years after the Second World War, production was booming. Industrial and technological advances had created goods and supplies which surpassed the needs of developed countries, and the economy was threatened by oversupply. The collapse of the economy in the Great Depression from just this cause had shown already the dangers of overproduction, and the free market ideology of a regulation-free economy was too entrenched to permit government intervention to control the situation. As Galbraith observes, the economic press of capitalism to feed its need for growth in a saturated marked required a concerted effort to increase demand and to create new markets.

> To create the demand for new automobiles, we must contrive elaborate and functionless changes each year and then subject the consumer to ruthless psychological pressures to persuade him of their importance. Were this process to falter or break down, the consequences would be disturbing. In the meantime, there are large ready-made needs for schools, hospitals, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, sanitation, parks, playgrounds, police and a thousand other things. Of these needs, almost no one must be persuaded. They exist because, as public officials of all kinds and ranks explain each day with practiced skill, the money to provide for them is unavailable. So it has come about that we get growth and increased employment along the dimension of private goods only at the price of increasingly frantic persuasion. (Galbraith 1958: 221)

The development of "planned obsolescence" in the late 1920s was a means of raising the saturation level of the market.[49] It is an illustration of

[49] Alfred P. Sloan, working for GM, developed the idea of style changes every year and of making products less durable, after he became head of GM around 1927.

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the subtle and extensive relations between background social conditions and their far-reaching ramifications in ideological models that the same conditions of social change which Tocqueville observed to provide the basis for the American sense of "the indefinite perfectibility of man" also underlie, as he observes, the sense of constant progress and development which made planned obsolescence take such firm root in the American economy and mind. The unceasing social change, the appearance of progress, the rootless mobility of people and the replaceability of objects all came together to suggest that impermanence was the way of things, that anyone can become anything, and that anything may soon be replaced.[50]

Planned obsolescence was first developed in the thriving, market-hungry domain of automobile manufacture, in its demand for greater markets, but the automobile industry was not the only one to have developed proportions requiring it to seek constant expansion. It was among the formative industries of the 20th century, but came to be surpassed later by the growth of information and education in national economic importance. Beck wrote in 1965 that

> Public education is the "growth industry" of the nation today. Next to defense, education is the single largest enterprise in our political economy and, unlike even defense, it is the one American activity that

[50] Tocqueville writes: "It is hard to realize how much follows naturally from this philosophic theory of the indefinite prefectibility of man and what a prodigious influence it has even on those who ... act according to this theory of which they know nothing. I once met an American sailor and asked him why his country's ships are made so that they will not last long. He answered offhand that the art of navigation was making such quick progress that even the best of boats would be almost useless if it lasted more than a few years." (Tocqueville 1969: 453)

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institutions some way or at some time directly involves every single citizen. (Beck 1965: i)

Galbraith observed in 1979 that the two thousand or so largest corporations in the United States "comprise about half of the economy as measured by their share of total product. [...] Theirs is the part of the economy where the great organizational and technological change occurs. It is the part that shapes our beliefs and values." (Galbraith 1979: xv) The conception of education as an industry was an increasingly basic part of these beliefs and values.

The introduction of the GI bill after the war was one major source of change in American higher education. It brought an influx of students and opened up a vast increase in educational capacity. This was a first step in setting the stage for later problems, as it opened the way for the unchallenged entry of the business model, by making the university a finally truly public institution with direct involvement in the lives of most Americans. It was the involvement of education as an institution with a much greater number of citizens, and a much larger portion of the national economy, that introduced an accountability previously unknown in higher education. The government support created an eventual dependence on public funds.

A second major postwar impetus in education was the challenge from abroad, and the onset of the cold war. The Soviet launch of the Sputnik,

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"months ahead of any American capacity to duplicate the effort" galvanized the government into educational reform.[51]

The major economic shift in education has been from private endowments and public support of universities to a heavier dependence on tuition charges and corporate contributions. Frankel addresses the changing nature of the economic foundations of education from private endowments and public support to corporate contributions, and the corporate influence that these latter have borne into the realm of education. "There have been four main sources of financial support for American higher education in the past," he notes. These include endowments for private institutions, taxes for public institutions, tuition fees, and grants from philanthropic foundations. "Finally, a new and significant form of financial support for universities has recently emerged. This is the income derived from special contracts for research which the university may make with private or public agencies." He notes that the government is the most important source of this kind of funding. But:

> A large part of the present story of American university economics is told when the fact is reported that income from endowment is now playing a steadily declining role. The increasingly corporate structure of American business, the steeply graduated income tax, and the rise in the tendency to establish private philanthropic foundations have all affected the funds available to universities for new endowment; and inflation has cut into the value of the endowments they already possess. As a result, it has become increasingly necessary for endowed universities to lean more heavily on other sources of income, not the least of which is tuition fees paid by students. (Frankel 1959: 165)

[51] Brubacher 1966: 455.

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The overall shifts in education—the publicization and extension of education as a service and as a generally expected stage of life; the development of public and research funding replacing private independent support—increased the accountability of the university as a public and social institution, which increasingly opened the domain to the more explicit application of the business model.

Nonetheless, two other major models of the university arose during this period, related to but separate from that model. The government's new reliance on universities to provide scientific brainpower and aid in cold war advances brought about a conception of the university as a public resource. And the products of that resource, the advances in knowledge, in technology, in science, invoked the first real understanding of the university as a research institution.

The dramatic shift in the American economy which is behind the development of both of these models was the prodigious growth in the importance of knowledge in both public and private research interests. Clark Kerr wrote in 1963 that "the production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge' in all its forms is said to account for 29 percent of gross national product:"

> Knowledge has certainly never in history been so central to the conduct of an entire society. What the railroads did for the second half of the last century and the automobile did for the first half of this century may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry: that is, to serve as the focal point for national growth. (Kerr 1963: 88)

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Killian writes, "in almost every aspect of life, the nation relies more and more on knowledge-seeking, problem-solving techniques. Almost every activity, not just technology, is invigorated by research—law, management, economics and the other social sciences, the political process, and even the arts." (Killian, in Connery 1970: 38) And, as Kerr notes, "the university is at the center of the knowledge process." The rationalization of knowledge was fully developed: research was an industry, knowledge was a product, researchers were producers, and government and industrial agencies were consumers.

The School as a Public Resource

A public resource is one that collects social goods, oversees them, and returns value to society. It is also a facility made available to those it serves. As one elaboration on the resource metaphor, the university is a kind of cooperative bank, "a mutual benefit society yielding dividends in efficiency and character." (President Poteat, Wake Forest College, 1905, in Knight 1940: 118) The model of the university as a resource grew out of two major postwar developments: the striking increase in the social and economic needs for knowledge, and the education benefits of the GI bill, offering higher education to those returning from the war.

The metaphor of the resource is closely related to that of the university as a preserver of knowledge and of culture. In this combined form, the metaphor is not young:

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> The "classic" case for the university as a place of instruction and as a repository of liberal learning and culture, of course, was that first advanced a century and a half ago by Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801-1890). (Lucas 1996: 73)

And the notion of the university as offering something to its society is older than the postwar era as well. "The university contributes endlessly to the prosperity and welfare of society; it is right that society should contribute something in return." (Farrand 1922: in Knight 1940: 36)

But the more evident references to the university as a social resource are found in the postwar era, when education was made available to returning veterans, and more significantly when the university became the center of the development of knowledge for the use of the larger society. Kerr noted one of the aims of the university to be "the improvement of service wherever truth and knowledge of high order may serve the needs of man." (Kerr 1963: 38) This knowledge was developed and held for the interests of the larger society. Killian notes that the university "is called upon to perform a great array of public services where expertise is required and to provide consultants or advisers to government and to business and industry." (Killian, in Connery 1970: 38)

The model reflects the growing interaction between the university and the society, and the increased accountability of the university arising from its greater dependence on public support and its larger involvement in the lives of citizens. The involvement is part of the express function of the model; the accountability, an implicit development.

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Insofar as this model grew out of the university and higher education having been made available to returning servicemen for their use, we find once again a gap between the explicit models of education and the university expressed by educational theorists, and the actual socio-economic role of higher education. The government was motivated to support the education of returning soldiers as a way of giving a boost to the general level of training in the population, and providing the foundation for furthering scientific development to speed advances in technology. But the move was also warranted as a way of removing a potentially disastrous surplus of labor from the workforce to prevent economic collapse.

The School as a Research Institution

The challenge of Soviet development which was epitomized in the Sputnik's launch, and which spurred American investment in education and concern with competitiveness, gave birth to a new model of the university, the research institution. Kerr's observation of a central aim of the university being "the creation of new knowledge" springs from this time in history. (Kerr 1963: 38) In this model, the important goal was discovery, the production of new knowledge, the advancement of science.

> With the coming of the modern university ... the entire situation was transformed within the life span of a single generation. The university, not the college, became the model institution. [...] The emergence of the university was nothing less than an educational revolution in the United States. Research took a place along with teaching as a major function. (Hofstadter 1955: xiii)

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The view of the university as a "knowledge factory" arose first in the more heavily research-oriented schools like MIT, and gradually spread from these to other schools.[52] A significant model revived by the "space race" was the image of the age of exploration, and of the university as a pioneer in exploration and discovery. A 1957 publication of the Educational Policies Commission notes that "to enrich the culture by pushing back the frontiers of knowledge is also a part of the function of higher education. Library and laboratory are essential equipment for centers of higher education:"

> In the United States emphasis often falls on "practical research," but "pure research" which is a particularly appropriate field for higher education is not ignored. Much of the development of the social and behavioral sciences and most of the achievements in exploration of the natural sciences have emanated from the universities. As the frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, the complexity and cost of continued research have mounted, but the value of research to society continues to be demonstrated on a wide scale. No community, no industry, no cultural organization in America has failed to profit from the research achievements of twentieth-century institutions of higher education. (Commission 1957: 9)

Not every estimate of this role of the university was a glowing account. Some criticized the "knowledge factory" as serving corporate masters rather than society:

> The source of the problem in our universities is that they are controlled by and serve the interests of the giant monopolies and corporations. [This] has led toward computerized education in the 'knowledge factory' to serve society as it is, instead of academic

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[52] The land-grant schools were the obvious precedent for government support of practical research in higher education, but at that time the "product" was the acquisition of agricultural techniques to be applied mostly in regional farming efforts. With the space race, the government had a more specific and explicit interest in developing and using the findings of university research in its federal defense programs. This more concretely product-like nature of the results of research paved the way for the knowledge-factory metaphor.

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> institutions dedicated to the improvement and progress of society as a whole. (Aptheker 1966: 5)

The development of knowledge increasingly as a product was spurred by the growing influence of business on education, an influence whose further ramifications will be explored below.

The Modern Era

There are two major factors to consider regarding the conditions of education in the modern era. The first arises from the great increase in the education level of the general population, and the way that education has come to be an expected stage of life for most people. The second is the immense changes in socio-economic structure that have followed from the particular developments of American capitalism, and the intricate involvement of corporations and business interests in all aspects of social life.

The flood of baby-boomers into the schools swelled university and college capacity, creating enormous increases in entrenched institutional sectors including faculty, administration, etc. This process engendered changes that became crystallized in the administrative and educational structures. The increase in enrollments has been remarkable:

> America's more than three thousand colleges and universities hold a preeminent position in the world. In spite of sometimes dire predictions of decline, the overall industry of higher education has succeeded. [...] Higher education has prospered since World War II. Total enrollment increased more than fourfold between the 1949-50 and 1979-80 school years, while total enrollment per institution almost tripled during the same period. In spite of a demographic downturn in the college-age population, America's colleges and universities increased in numbers and in total enrollment during the last decade. (Bok, in Hanson and Meyerson 1990: 1)

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By the modern era, the opportunities of social mobility afforded by education had ceased to be a novelty, and came to be built into the notion of what education was for. The by-product had become the central purpose. As London notes, "[i]n the "new age" the possibility of economic mobility through a university education has been converted into the right to a university education as part of equal opportunity."[53]

Frankel has observed the particularly mixed blessing carried in these changes. He sees its positive implications: "Any society will be richer if it can give greater opportunities to the intelligent, wherever they are found. And one of the considerable moral achievements of the twentieth century is the growth of the simple conviction that every individual ought to have as much schooling as his talents permit." But he is fully aware that these come with a burden, and notes that this conviction has carried complications into education, "but it is difficult to believe that the world would be better without such problems."

> Yet this is obviously only part of the issue. For it is either innocence or demogoguery to assert that we can continue to give the same kind of education that we have given in the past to this great number of students unless strict safeguards are erected. The obvious danger is that more and more Americans will be the holders of college degrees that mean less and less. And the danger is all the greater because American education has always been troubled by the tendency to practicalism and vocationalism, and by the temptations to simplify, to survey superficially, to cheapen, that arise in the process of translating the ancient culture of the liberal arts into terms that will be meaningful to a restless and impatient people. (Frankel 1959:

[53] London, in Barzun 1993: xii.

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The second important development in this time is the rise of corporations, and their influence extending throughout American culture, and affecting American behavior, life, and education. The new demands and markets which Galbraith observed were created by the constant expansion of corporate structure, were filtering to all corners of the economic system, and as mass culture was increasingly determined by economic interests, the shape of American culture shifted in suit. Galbraith notes the involvement of corporate interest in higher education, an interest demonstrated by the expansion in enrollment figures in a world increasingly controlled by the "planning system." "Had the economic system need only for millions of unlettered proletarians, these, very plausibly, are what would be provided." (Galbraith 1979: 3) We see here again the role of large-scale economic interests in changes in higher education.

Part of the background to this shift is the ever more intimate relationship between private industry and higher education through their shared interest in the production of knowledge. With knowledge already as a product, and as knowledge-producers as targets of industry investment, the increased inclination to employ economic metaphors led to the image of knowledge as capital. As Noble points out, this development forms the first of two important shifts in the background of education: "The major change to befall the universities over the last two decades has been the identification of the campus as a significant site of capital accumulation, a change in social perception which has resulted in the systematic conversion of intellectual

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activity into intellectual capital and, hence, intellectual property." This, together with the corresponding commodification of education itself, is a major influence in the changes in higher education:

> There have been two general phases of this transformation. The first, which began 20 years ago and is still underway, entailed the commoditization of the research function of the university, transforming scientific and engineering knowledge into commercially viable proprietary products that could be owned and bought and sold in the market. The second, which we are now witnessing, entails the commoditization of the educational function of the university, transforming courses into courseware, the activity of instruction itself into commercially viable proprietary products that can be owned and bought and sold in the market. (Noble 1998)

Development of the Business Model

This view of knowledge as capital forms part of the integral background to the business model of the university. A further background element was the view of society as a natural system, giving rise to the assumption that competition is basic to the system. As we saw above, the idea of competition as fundamental, and the conviction that schools must reflect this, was already firmly entrenched. The growth of the notion of education as a market was visible already in the early part of the 20th century. Brubacher for example notes that Charles Eliot's introduction of an elective system at Harvard "will be seen to be an instance of the operation of the laissez-faire liberalism of middle-class capitalism." (Brubacher 1966: 93)

All of these factors came together to construct the model of the university as a business. This model was employed in recommendations of reform in common school education as early as 1912. Callahan (1962) quotes

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one James Phinney Munroe, from his book *New Demands in Education*, criticizing the inefficiency of education in American schools:

> What is to be done? What every other business does when it finds itself confronted with possible bankruptcy through preventable waste, losses, and inferiority of output. It calls in engineering and commercial experts to locate causes and to suggest reforms. We need 'educational engineers' to study this huge business of preparing youth for life... .
>
> Such engineers would make a thorough study of (1) the pupils who constitute the raw material of the business of education; (2) the building and other facilities for teaching, which make up the plant; (3) the school boards and the teaching staff, who correspond to the directorate and the working force; (4) the means and methods of instruction and development; (5) the demands of society in general and of industry in particular upon boys and girls—this corresponds to the problem of markets; and (6) the question of cost, which is almost purely a business problem. (Callahan 1962: 62)

For the reasons of delay noted above, and for other reasons including the entrenchedness of other models for education which gave some resistance to the application of the business model, we do not see the business model used to suggest principles of higher education for a good few decades after this statement was made. As late as 1937, one college president floundered for an image to capture a lowering of student numbers when few today hesitate to use the metaphor of a decline in productivity:

> The president of a small college recently said, "We know that we are accepting students who cannot do our work. We know that we are carrying these students forward to graduation. In our present situation we are under such pressure that we feel we have no other choice. Our campus morale is affected by numbers and a reduction in attendance is looked upon as a slump—as though the institution were losing ground." (President Jessup, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1937, in Knight 1940: 105)

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This shift from terminology of factories to business thus is visible in the first half of this century. It was rather later, however, that there occurred the perhaps more significant shift within the business model, from the student as the product delivered to society, to education as the product delivered to the student-consumer. In 1972 a casual reference to the factory model introduces the notion of aspects of being educated as a kind of product:

> Most pupils know that schools and universities are primarily factories, whose end products are the passing of examinations, social status and economic security. (Wilson 1972; in Sherman 1984: 114)

But it is still not quite education itself that is the product. This came slightly later, but by our time is fully entrenched. The college rating system, which has become a common standard tool in college selection for students, is little more than the publication of consumer reports about the college's level of "service." And colleges have introduced explicit marketing as a regular aspect of recruitment.

> Demographic changes and cuts in important sources of student financial aid brought significant enrollment declines to higher education in the 1980s. Colleges responded by engaging in market oriented activities intended to attract students while *students became more like academic shoppers* [...]. Understanding individual enrollment behavior *can help enrollment managers tailor and target their college's marketing mix of programs, prices, and places.* (ERIC Digest)

By the 70s and 80s, the American economy had undergone a change of balance in the primary types of labor. Advances in agricultural and manufacturing productivity reduced demand for labor in those areas, and the

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bulk of employment shifted to services.[54] The model of the service-industry and of service companies gradually rose in prominence over this time, and eventually came to be reflected in education. The particular mapping of education as a service has become common in our time:

> A survey [of non-full-time on-campus students] has found that "they wanted the kind of relationship with a college that they had with their bank, their supermarket, and their gas company. They say, 'I want terrific service, I want convenience, I want quality control.'" (Traub, 1997)

An even greater pressure for accountability and the application of business domain tactics has been brought to bear on the university because of its current straits, most specifically the significantly reduced number of students. The demand for education is falling with the decline in the college-age population, and the great increase in capacity created by the postwar boom is becoming a yawning gap, even as funding is getting more difficult to come by. The situation has invited comparisons to corporate conditions in which "downsizing" is the usual solution, and this practice has become increasingly common in academia. The new demand for students has created education as a market, and given rise to the view of the student as a consumer.

> A shift from a seller's to a buyer's market has spurred competition among institutions in the search for students and introduced marketing techniques and attitudes into postsecondary education. These developments ... have helped turn institutional attentions

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[54] Castells provides the following figures:

	1920	1960	1991
Industry	48%	38.2%	24.9%
Services	52%	61.8%	75.1%

(Castells 1996: 296)

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> outward—to competitor institutions, to the world of business, to government agencies concerned with regulating the education "marketplace." (Kaplin 1985: 7)

This situation creates "a new emphasis on students as consumers of education with attendant rights, to whom institutions owe corresponding responsibilities." (Ibid.)

A Summary of this History

Over the course of educational history, then, we see the source domains used to structure the university shifting to follow the center of gravity of social and political heft. As the Church gave way to early trade and craft, the metaphors followed; as business rose, the model of a competitive world with self-interested elements struggling within it for survival was increasingly applied to domains outside business. At the same time, there was a shift from conceptual structures relying on relations which were mainly understood with reference to fundamentally social systems—the community, the guild—toward those resting on economically framed bases—the resource, the factory, the business.

In the stable social structure with fixed roles in which the goal of education was to pass on received teachings, the purpose of the university was to preserve tradition and to serve as a repository for knowledge. This reproduction of the social order corresponded to the powerful role of the Church, the close connection between Church and state, and to the role of the

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cathedral schools as providers of educated clerics for religious duties and administrative work.

The influence brought indirectly by the Crusades of the Arab intellectual tradition on the inflexible Catholic institutions of scholasticism, began to undermine the closed and socially conservative nature of the universities. The developments of science, meanwhile, were surpassing and overturning the inherited wisdom. Not only was the advance of science to lead to an amassing of more than any individual could learn, and thus to collapse the classical ideal of the man with a command of all human knowledge, but the nature of knowledge was inevitably altered: it was no longer given, fixed, inherited unchanged from one generation to the next, but was a mutable thing which might be completely reformed in the course of time and further scientific development.

The Renaissance began the removal of knowledge from the province of the Church. The classical notion of a liberal education was revived in humanism, and the numbers of students grew greatly, bringing more and more secular influence and aim into education.

Then in the developments of overseas trade, the social upheaval caused by the enclosures, and the large numbers of newly rootless struggling workers, the fixed social order began to crumble. With the increasing successes of trade, the class of merchants grew more powerful, and the models of society and of its institutions reflected this gradual relocation of power. Eventually, with the growth of industry and the role of education in

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providing individuals with a livelihood, the university came to be significant to a much larger proportion of the population as a means of advancement and preparation for a working life. Education was no longer restricted to the few, and the university was increasingly secular. This was to be the beginning in an enormous expansion in the influence of the university upon the lives of the general population. The eventual outgrowth of this expansion would be that education would change from something only a few people received, to an expected part of life for many more.

One result of this generalization of education was the eventual correlation of adolescence with education, and the view of the university as having a parental role in the life of the student—a role which was codified in law. A perhaps more resounding effect of this increase in the number of those educated was the growing perception of the university as a factory churning out workers for society, a model borrowed from the familiar institutions of the now entrenched industrial age.

At the turn of the century, with the social order again in upheaval, the notion of education as a means of social mobility was modified and expanded into the notion that education, and the institutions involved in education, should be used as a larger tool for the advancement of society toward an egalitarian ideal.

At the same time, though, another and opposite view of education was taking hold in the American imagination. The notion of education as a means of social and economic mobility was coming to be seen in the popular

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view not as a means of redressing social injustice, but as a way for individuals to succeed. This view was allied to the increasingly popular view of competition as a fundamental part of American life, and the Horatio Alger image of success following upon hard work and independence.

The war brought with it alliances between the universities and military interests in the development of technology, leading to a view of the university as a social resource, and as a producer of knowledge, or research institution. Both of these models reflected the increasingly rationalized view of knowledge and of its function in society as a tool, as a resource, and finally as a form of capital. With the postwar developments of industrial involvement with higher education, and the growing financial support of businesses seeking investment in knowledge capital, universities became more and more businesslike. With the developments in patent laws in the 1980s, the universities became not only patent-holding, but gave greater incentive to corporations to form direct research arrangements.[55] The radically increased dependence of research institutions on such corporate funding has made them much more market-conscious, inclining toward research projects more likely to produce profitable results.

Meanwhile the rationalization which had proved so successful in forwarding individual business interests was filtering into higher education through the explicit application of models; the domain of education was

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[55] Soley notes that the 1980 University and Small Business Patent Procedures Act and later executive orders "allowed universities to sell patent rights derived from research to corporations, even if the federal government was the primary funder of the research that led to

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sliced into much more distinct segments of product, consumer, producer, cost, and profits.

The History of Models of Education

We can see thus that while the overall trend has been from socially to economically based construals, each of the models for the university arose within a specific historical context, and was understood and motivated by reference to other social institutions and developments of its time. Some of the models of education are like this; others have recurred in the history of Western education independent of socio-historical context.

This section will present a general history of the development of models for education, tracing each of the historically situated ones, and following the recurrences of those which have been overarching in the course of our history.

It has been observed that "in the beginning" the goals of education were fairly restricted:

> In the informal education of primitive times there was probably little if any separate awareness of educational aims. Such aims, if they existed, were most probably identical with the aims of life itself. The young aimed to learn what they were expected to do as adults. Furthermore, what they expected to as adults was exactly the same as what the current generation of adults was doing. The aim of education, therefore, was definitely conservative: it was to conserve and perpetuate the funded capital of social experience. (Brubacher 1966: 2)

Probably the oldest function of education, then, is the preservation of knowledge. The goal of education for the individual in our oldest case of the

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the patents." (Soley 1995: 10) David Noble has also been a vocal critic of the patent-holding

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school, the Sumerian *edubba*, was the well-trained scribe and cleric. In the Middle Ages, this goal recurs. It was tempered by the addition in the 12th century, by John of Salisbury, of the ideal cleric as one with *civilitas*, a species of gentility and contemplative piety.[56] But the preservation of knowledge is central. In the early medieval era, of course, the knowledge which is to be preserved by education is that which is of interest to the Church: the classical heritage joined with medieval learning. More practical learning was only a general goal of education after the Middle Ages, with the development of cities, and when more and more scientific developments required an academic conservation. Up to then, most of what was learned was taught outside the formal school, from parent to child, and from master to apprentice.[57]

Brubacher has noted that the differentiation of the individual's educational aims in Western history was an outgrowth of increased social prosperity, which allowed individuals to follow interests unrelated to the immediate good and survival of the larger society. He notes that in Athens, there arose educational aims that were not merely conservative but progressive,

> because after their successful wars with Persia they had the economic and political security to suffer the individual to pursue educational aims of his own. [...] This recognition of the importance of individual variation from the norm was not only a step forward in educational

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and selling trend in universities.

[56] Bowen 1975: 81.

[57] In the early Middle Ages, as in most preindustrial societies, the most common methods of occupational education had been direct imitation and handing down of skills form father to son. (Butts 1973: 165)

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> aims; it was itself the very seed principle from which Western educational progress was to issue. (Brubacher 1966: 3)

In the regrowth of Western civilization after the dark ages, as phylogeny recapitulated phylogeny, this process was repeated: the medieval conservative goals of education came with increases in social wealth and advances in science and technology to divide. The once unified social-individual goal of conservation split into separate goals of individual interests and social or institutional aims.

The first, and fundamental, outgrowth of this split which gave birth to the individual interest in education was the ideal of education to create the fully developed person. We see this with the Greeks, and later in the Middle Ages, and recurring in form after form since then in the history of our society. But this ideal is an underspecified one; the notion of what is "fully developed" is not at all the same across different times and places. So the ideal of education as the path to the fully developed person takes its more specific shape from its context.

For the Greeks, the ideal man was the virtuous man. But even the notion of virtue changed with the changes in Greek culture that were brought about as a result of wars and increased trade. The same historical shifts which brought the Sophists among the Greeks altered their fundamental notion of *arete*. In Homeric times, virtue or goodness was associated with class, more or less: only a full citizen could even be perceived as good, and social stature was a kind of precondition to one's consideration for the class of good men.

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In Aristotle's time, virtue was no longer class-limited, but was a function of someone's "specific excellence, which meant that which makes a human, a good citizen, a fully developed or optimal person. Then later, the notion of good or virtue shifted from a connection to the performance of specific social duties, and came instead to be associated with one's behavior toward others.[58]

We can see that this is a change relating to and springing from a larger shift of the background economic structure toward greater mobility. Butts observes that the first explicit educational theory arose in this period, as Athenians considered the relation between the education of the citizen and the form of the state. In the 5th century B.C.,

> thoughtful men of different political, economic and intellectual persuasions tried to formulate what mental and moral habits should be developed by citizens of the polis to enable them to cope with the rapidly changing social and cultural conditions of the florescent period. In this process educational theory was born. For the first time in history men began to give special thought and attention to the role of education in building and maintaining their civilization. (Butts 1973: 91)

There was perhaps a sense of reaction to this changing social order in Aristotle's formulation of the idea of liberal education, the education befitting the freeman citizen. "The freeman had two dimensions, one political, the other economic." (Brubacher 1966: 4) The freeman was to have no connections to coarse labor; he was free (Latin *liber*) from rude attachments to the life of a brute or laborer. "The distinguishing aim of liberal education was the cultivation of the intellect since intelligence or reason was the peculiar excellence of man that marked him off from the brute." (Ibid.) Aristotle

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[58] MacIntyre 1966: 14ff.

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argued that the cultivation of virtue or goodness could only be accomplished through the study of purely intellectual subjects.[59] His insistence on an education which touches nothing practical is directly related to his expressed conservative aims for education. The goal of liberal education is to reproduce a conservative social order with strict class awareness.

Dewey was among the critics of this fundamentally conservative aim of traditional liberal education; he had noted the indefensible economic bases of the Aristotelian ideal, rooted as it was in a society of morally repugnant stratification. Brubacher notes that Dewey "never tired of pointing out how the distinction between 'liberal' and 'servile,' cultural or vocational or professional education grew historically out of the presuppositions of Greek society, which was a two-class society composed of freemen and slaves." (Brubacher 1966: 453)

And so we see the development here of a mode of thought about the cultivation of the individual which is elaborated according to larger background notions of society and class structure. A number of thinkers have followed Aristotle in holding that the liberal education should have nothing to do with the practical matters of life. Newman was an ardent opponent of any vocational tinges in higher education, decrying the introduction into curricula of anything smacking of "bodily labor [or] mechanical employment, and the like, in which the mind has little or no part." (Brubacher 1966: 450)

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[59] Brubacher 1966: 445-6. Brubacher cites Aristotle's *Politics*: "There is a distinction between the liberal and illiberal subjects, and it is clear that only such knowledge as does not make the learner mechanical should enter into education."

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The opposing strain of thought to the conservative, class-reproducing Aristotelian one is that which has seen "no contradiction between manual activities and knowledge." (Beck 1965: 78) Rousseau was among those of this persuasion: his ideal of education, as expressed in *Émile* (1762), was the humanitarian and practical training of all students in mechanical and agricultural crafts. Pestalozzi was a great admirer of Rousseau, and set up his school with the empirical and humanitarian ideal in mind. (Ibid.)

This inclination to include the mechanical arts in the bases of a broad education could be seen as making a virtue of necessity: the advances of science, and their dispersion throughout social and physical life, meant that some familiarity with technological and mechanical affairs was of more than intellectual value. In Pestalozzi's case, the connection is evident: "because he had to finance his schools with the produce grown on his farm, he endeavored to show that children of the poor could learn—could cultivate their intellectual and moral natures—through the same activities as earned their bread and made their clothes." (Ibid.) Huxley argued that the discipline of the sciences would augment liberal education and create a more ready and flexible body and mind in the student. (Brubacher 1966: 452)

External forces impinging upon the education were more often the source of change; as Brubacher notes, "nothing helped ... utilitarianism infiltrate the genteel notion of liberal education so greatly as did the mounting numbers of students who were applying for admission in the twentieth century." (Ibid.) The changes in society demand that education, in

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the end fundamentally determined by practical matters, change to follow; those theorists who do not wish to be left hopelessly behind must adapt their goals to suit the inexorable facts. The models sometimes appear as a kind of epiphenomenon overlaid on the grid of necessity, as a form of something almost like rationalization in the Freudian sense.[60]

The splitting off of individual interests from social conservation in the Middle Ages brought about the notion of the ideal education as that which produces a gentleman. This goal, it can be seen, is related to a classical ideal of education, that which seeks the fully developed individual. This is one of the recurrent models of education which shows up in several forms: education to produce an informed citizen, education for "the well-rounded man," and so on. Many general statements of education can be found which express this central model:

> Education is the progressive development of the individual in all his faculties, physical and intellectual, aesthetic and moral. (The Massey Commission, 1951; in Gillett 1969: 24)

Some educational theorists have held their goal specifically to be the uniting of the individual and the social goals of education. Dewey is notable among these, as he wrote:

> I believe that this educational process has two sides—one psychological and one sociological; and that neither can be subordinated to the other

[60] We are reminded of the instance in which an explanation or cause is provided for something which has been predetermined. Freud gives an account of Bernheim commanding a subject under hypnosis to open an umbrella after coming round; upon waking, the man does as commanded, and when asked why, at first at a loss, then states that he is "testing" the umbrella.

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or neglected without evil results following. (Dewey 1897; in Siceluff 1970: 155)

But most of the goals of education stated in European history focus on one or the other of the individual and society. They usually imply a social order, but it is not made explicit.

Once a historical divide between social and individual goals is in effect, the goals of education tend to fall into three kinds: those which are aims for society (such as the promotion of the best and brightest individuals into positions of leadership); those which are aims for the individual (such as the creation of a docile worker); and those which are aims *of* the individual (such as social mobility). These are not exclusive divisions, of course, but they are distinct tendencies.

The history of each of the aims in these three kinds is presented here.

Social Goals of Education

The goals of education as it pertains to society all reflect the basic understanding that education is a fundamental tool in shaping social structure, whether for stability or for change, whether through the conservative transmission of knowledge or the use of technology and science to advance social progress.

Education as cultural transmission

The notion of education as a means of preserving culture, as we have seen, is one of the oldest ideals of education. Education which makes its

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principal goal the preservation of traditions and of a way of life is implicit in the earliest forms of schooling, and explicit with the Greeks, and with medieval scholars. It is recurrent in the history of Western education, and is still recognized in our time as a fundamental educational goal.

In this view of education, culture is a kind of object which must be passed unbroken from generation to generation, via the conduit of successive One of the purposes in the transmission of culture is the promotion of social and cultural stability. If a society's wealth is its heritage, and we do speak of *rich* heritages, then to lose or change that heritage is to become impoverished; the negative connotations and consequences of such a change are clear. Traditions must be preserved unchanged, and passed on intact, for a culture to remain strong. generations.

> Another purpose of higher education is the preservation and enrichment of the cultural heritage. Society rests upon a vast body of knowledge and insight and cherishes a heritage of beauty in all its forms. Institutions of higher education have particular responsibility for nurturing this heritage and "transmitting it, enriched" from generation to generation. [...] Liberal culture is not an inert body of knowledge, but a vibrant and constructive force in all aspects of life. The accumulated insights which liberal and humane learning provide are among humanity's finest possessions, and to them higher education has a long and worthy allegiance. (Commission 1957)

The move to standardize education, discussed in the section below on cycles in education, exhibited one such recurrence of this ideal. It was predicated upon the assumption that there were some values and aspects of cultural heritage which all American children should share. As Lucas notes,

> Educational conservativism, by which is meant loosely a viewpoint stressing the conserving function of education and the need for school

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> curricula organized around an irreducible core of basic academic disciplines, subsequently evolved in the twentieth century as the expression of a concern to safeguard the intellectual rigor of schooling, to defend the concept of a common prescribed scheme of studies, and to buttress the role of education in the transmission of the Western cultural heritage. (Lucas 1976: 12)

One iteration of the cycle in which this aim of education was revived, as Lucas notes, occurred in reaction to Dewey's pragmatic educational philosophy, arising from the fear that it was "anti-intellectual." This movement was associated with Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, who advocated the study of the "great books."[61]

Education to promote social stability

One of the purposes in the transmission of culture is the promotion of social and cultural stability. If a society's wealth is its heritage, and we do speak of *rich* heritages, then to lose or change that heritage is to become impoverished; the negative connotations and consequences of such a change are clear. Traditions must be preserved unchanged, and passed on intact, for a culture to remain strong.

This is an age-old goal of education, employed by the Sumerians, expressed by Aristotle, and seen regularly in the views of many theorists since. Brubacher quotes from Aristotle's *Politics:*

> A given constitution demands an education in conformity with it; for the maintenance of any constitution, like its first establishment, is due, as a rule, to the presence of the spirit or character proper to that constitution." (Brubacher 1966: 583)

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[61] Brubacher 1966: 454.

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Adam Smith wrote of this function of education in his Wealth of Nations, noting that "an instructed and intelligent people ... are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves, each individually, more respectable, and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are therefore more dispose to respect those superiors." (Smith 1776; in Siceluff 1970: 119) The obvious proponents and beneficiaries of this view are those in power who seek to use institutions of education to preserve and extend their power. In some cases, those who advocate education for stability seek it through the creation of a national culture, of shared understanding. George Washington, in his "Proposal for National Schools" wrote that "the more homogeneous our citizens can be made in [the] particulars [of common education], the greater will be our prospect of permanent union." (Washington 1796; in Siceluff 1970: 129)

Education to create cultural cohesion

The model of education as the source of cultural cohesion is related to the model by which education is the preservation and transmission of culture, in that it is the common culture that is transmitted which creates cultural cohesion, but the models are not exactly the same.

> [The purpose of higher education] was the molding of a common sensibility and a common coherence .... (Oppenheimer, in Frankel 1959: 48)

This model is seen in the following statement, made in response to a time at which "the aims of higher education seemed to have become more and more vague."

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> College presidents begin to ask ... did not college students need acquaintance with "a common intellectual world"...? (Knight 1940: 351)

Education creates the common cultural basis for a sense of national identity. The common cultural basis structured by common education is a kind of social glue. It creates commonality of experience; commonality of experience makes people more alike; and similarity is proximity. This allows for more closely united social structure.

Education to serve as a tool in social change

This one of the two of the most polar models of the goal of education arose at about the same time as its contrary, Aristotle's notion of education as primarily conservative. This was Plato's ideal expressed in *The Republic* that education should be the primary means of bringing about the desired social order, set against Aristotle's notion that education should preserve the *status quo*. This model is noted in slightly more detail above.

Education for social leveling

The notion of education to create equality is an elaboration of Plato's ideal above. This was Dewey's great ideal for education: it would reform society, correct past injustices, and train the young democrats of the future to preserve the new tradition. It was noted above that this notion of education grew out of the mobility education provided in the later industrial era. With the great social upheaval of that age, and the creation of a middle class, came the understanding of education as a means of achieving upward mobility in society. It was the role of public schools to provide education to all, with the

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hope that all might therefore be given the opportunity of bettering themselves and their lives:

> We all know that higher education as conceived in the United States calls for both tax-supported and privately endowed universities and colleges. One of the great functions of the tax-supported institutions is, of course, to preserve the democratic ideal in higher education. (President Dodds, Princeton University, 1937, in Knight 1940: 102)

This model of education is related to the model of society as a nurturant parent: the parent wants to provide equally for all children, and equal provision of education for all, and the opportunity for all to have access to the same privileges, is part of this.

The notion of education as providing everyone with the opportunity to have a good life is not, it is to be noted, combined with the competition model here: that combination produces the understanding that education is a means to getting ahead. In this case, there is an ideal union of the individual's desires for a full life, and society's need for fully developed individuals.

Education as the pursuit of excellence

The desire for education to draw the best and the brightest to positions of leadership is what is meant by "the pursuit of excellence;" this is an ideal expressed by political and educational theorists from Jefferson through Conant to many today. As Conant writes,

> When Thomas Jefferson wrote of his desire to cull "the natural aristocracy of talents and virtue" and educate it "at the public expense, for the care of the public concerns," he was expressing what has become a premise of all democratic nations: namely, that the taxpayer has a

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> duty to supply the talented with the education necessary for the development of the talent. (Conant 1953: 32)

The launching of the Sputnik spurred a revival of this aim of education:

> For many this was proof of a dangerous deterioration of higher education brought on by the democratization of the college. [...] A new emphasis was put on the "pursuit of excellence" in colleges and universities to accelerate the intellectual advancement of the superior. (Brubacher 1966: 455)

Education to create a docile workforce

This goal was one that arose principally after the industrial revolution and the need it brought about for a workforce to fill the factories. There were two groups interested in this model of education.

The humanist interest in universal education

The humanist reformers wanted universal standardized moral education to create a populace of well-behaved, properly socialized youngsters.

> A common school education would be a moral education. By making the population more moral, the common schools would also make it more docile, more tractable, less given to social discord, disruption and disobedience. The young would be taught to vote right and to pray right, to distinguish the responsible citizen from the demagogue, the false from the true, in matters of state and church. (Nasaw 1979: 40)

But it is interesting to note that this desire for a universal conformity was not the only one that spurred interest in common and universal education; on the other end of the scale, the humanists wanted each individual to have the opportunity to reach the fullest intellectual maturity,

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etc. The humanists were driven by a fundamental belief in democratic education, and a conviction

> that every individual, irrespective of birth, class, and wealth, has the right and duty to develop the humanly desirable potentialities in his personality as fully as possible, to strive for truth and to reject untruth, to assert the demands of his conscience, even against the power of earthly and ecclesiastical governments, and to achieve under sympathetic guidance an ever-deepening understanding of himself, his relation to his fellow men, and to the great universe of which he is a part. (Ulich; in Frankel 1959: 43-4)

The underlying assumptions of the capacity of the individual illustrate the difference, in a sense, between the Jeffersonians and the Madisonians, the former optimistic for the capacity of each individual to be the most informed, active, politically able citizen; the latter concerned for the fate of the republic left to a horde of ignorant and unschooled farmers.

The business interest in common schools

The 19th-century movement to reform common school education was a "concerted effort, located most visibly in the Northeast."[62] It was believed by the reformers that common schools were ill-run, morally unsound, that the teachers were either radicals or unqualified or both. Similar political aims had made bedfellows of two very different groups, as Nasaw points out: the

[62] There was an echo of this reform in the Midwest, Nasaw notes; especially in the efforts of Caleb Mills in the late 1840's; but almost no resonance for the reformers' efforts in the South. The economically and politically powerful figures in the South were plantation owners, and while they were interested in bettering the available Southern education for their children, the prospect of common schooling held no attraction for them. The unskilled nature of plantation work meant that an educated local workforce would only pose the threat of upsetting the stability of a system exploiting ignorance to their profit. Nasaw cites Berthoff (1971): "The northern reformer's economic arguments for educating lower-class children bore no relevance to Negro slaves and poor whites, whom no amount of schooling would have made more useful to the plantation economy or less menacing to the stability of southern society."

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moral reformers, on the one hand, who sought a standardization of education in all common schools to a model of moral education from Protestant values; and the businessmen, with their interest in education as preparation for factory work.[63]

Using moral arguments alone, the reformers were trying to shift a system rooted in the economy, and the movement would flounder without more impetus. What they needed was the more persuasive force of economic incentive. The reformers solicited the political and especially the financial support of the businessmen, and received it. As Nasaw notes, "without the direct and continual assistance of their friends, allies, and supporters from the business world, the reformers would have accomplished very little indeed." (Nasaw 1979: 44) As we saw above, this revision was in the interest of the businessmen, who wanted docile and trained workers.

Goals for the Individual in Education

The goal of individual fulfillment splits into goals of the individual and goals for the individual in its different instantiations. The goals for the individual are generally affiliated with an implicit goal for the larger social order as well, e.g. the education of the citizenry, or the preparation of governors, or the moral instruction of the populace.

The education of "gentlemen"

Among the oldest of those goals which unified social assumptions of education with the goals for the individual was the notion that the ideal

[63] Nasaw (1979): 44.

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education created a "gentleman." In the days when education was reserved for the few, its implicit goal was the preservation of social, cultural, and thereby political structure. This could be expressed as the education of gentlemen, as those who are to govern. This view of the purpose of education existed in the Middle Ages as a modified version of Aristotle's ideal, and has persisted to more modern times. The president of Columbia College expressed such a vision in his 1849 inaugural address: "Here in college is to be fashioned, in the highest attainable perfection, the scholar, the citizen, the good man, the Christian gentleman." (King 1849; in Knight 1940) This view of education is based in a conservative understanding of cultural goals: the best, the "ruling class," are to be properly prepared for their role as the governors of the masses.

Education to create a "well-rounded man"

This was a standard goal derived from the Renaissance ideal of an education which would put the student in command of the knowledge of the day, and of the skills of rhetoric and logic. A derivative view of this was the idea that education should "cultivate the intellect."

Education as exercise of mental faculties

This is linked to, but not directly coupled with, the goal of education to prepare a good citizen. The good citizen is assumed to be, in the Hellenic model, one who has the flexibility of intellect to approach and solve

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problems. But the goal of producing a student of flexible intellect is not necessarily geared toward the larger citizenship model.

This understanding of education is based on the metaphor of the mind as a muscle which needs to be exercised. The mind is a muscle; thought is exercise. With muscles, the more discipline and effort are required, the more effective the exercise. The central entailment of this mapping therefore is that with more rigorous intellectual demands, the mind will become stronger.

> The curricula [of traditional colleges and universities] were classical, that is, they consisted of languages, mathematics, history, literature, and some science. It was assumed that these subjects established mental discipline within the individual and developed his mind through the exercise of the intellect, just as repeated and prescribed use developed a muscle. (Ashworth 1979: 25-6)

Note the use of the images of "discipline" and development: these connect to the school-as-parent metaphor. Furthermore, we note the model of knowledge which is implied in this passage, of society as benefiting from individual development, of the necessary acquisition of the abilities to reason and act accordingly, and so on. The image of the school as a responsible parent, concerned with advancing the maturity and intellectual development of a society's citizens, is the fundamental element of the liberal arts education. It is not linked in the humanistic view to the notion of education as providing concrete skills to future workers.

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Education for citizenship

This is a very common construal of the purpose of education. The educated person is a better citizen; the object of the university and of education is to provide the necessary education to the state's citizens, and the necessary educated citizens to the state.

> ...It is not the ultimate aim of the college to develop men who are only spectators of life.... At this hour of constructive need the college could not more greatly sin against itself and the State than by training men who should hold themselves aloof from the work-a-day life of the world, from participation and leadership in every fine and worthy human cause. The University believes with her whole heart that it is the function of the college to train for citizenship and for service.... (President Chase, University of North Carolina, 1920, in Knight 1940: 120)

The preparation for full participation in society involves diverse elements. As Lucas notes:

> Liberal learning is a basic preparation for all the nonvocational aspects of life such as intellectual endeavor, intelligent exercise of the prerogatives of citizenship in a free society, aesthetic enjoyment, personal adjustment, and effective participation in the common social life of society. [...] Among the hoped-for results of a liberal education must be counted a well-developed mind, a certain discernment of judgment, sensitivity toward others, breadth of intellectual and social vision, ethical and moral probity, refinement of taste, and intimate conversance with the cultural heritage. (Lucas 1976: 11)

Chambers expressed the hope that the educated student "will have his curiosity whetted, some of his prejudices undermined, and his humility increased, so that ever after he will be a wiser and more thoughtful and more socially useful citizen." (Chambers 1965: 111)

We see thus the goal of education as the perfection of each man as citizen, by acquired familiarity with the history and culture of mankind. The

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product of a good education is knowledge which is a tool for living a considered life.

Education as moral training

The model of education as moral and spiritual training is related to the maturation model which includes the making of a citizen. It is the job of the parent to instill proper moral and cultural values in the child; in latter days, this function has been taken up by the school. Conant notes that "A great and continuing purpose of education has been the development of moral and spiritual values." (Conant 1953: 153)

Goals of the Individual in Education

This set included goals expressed by the individual for his own interests, not necessarily as a direct correlation to some larger social aim.

Education for social mobility

A development from the association of education with access to better jobs and better quality of life was that many people began to conceive of education as a means more than an end, as a rung in the ladder up to social and financial success. Educators early in the century noticed this trend in their schools:

> This is the position of higher learning in America. The universities are dependent on the people. The people love money and think that education is a way of getting it. They think too that democracy means that every child should be permitted to acquire the educational insignia that will be helpful in making money. (President Hutchins, University of Chicago, 1936, in Knight 1940: 73-74)

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Behind this assumption of education is a model of society with levels, and paths between these levels. The levels are represented in part by the terms, rooted in this same metaphor of society, of 'upper class,' 'middle class,' and 'lower class.' The wealthy, privileged, and powerful are at the top, the poor are at the bottom, and upward motion is desirable. Education is one means of access to upward mobility. In class terms, it could be said that "education is the promise of the laboring class for a transition to the better life of the ownership class."[64] Education provides people with skills they can use to work, to succeed, and to move up in the world. Even disassociated from the acquisition of skills, the credentials of education become important.[65] "Just as the high school diploma appeared to be the ticket to the lower-level white-collar jobs, a college degree was perceived as the admission ticket to the upper levels of the corporate bureaucracy." (Nasaw 1979: 165) It is still the case today that one must have the 'right' education to enter into the 'right' social circles, as Lapham points out:

> A Yale education was a means of acquiring a cash value. ...What was important was the diploma, the ticket of admission to Wall Street, the professions, the safe havens of big money. (Lapham 1988: 19)

The notion of education as an aid to upward mobility in society is compatible with the service-industry metaphor of the university. Education

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[64] The citation is from a Chronicle of Higher Education on the Web Colloquy: Richard Adams, University of Baltimore, posted 5/28/97.

[65] There is an interesting correlation between the role of credentials in hiring and upward mobility, and in its signal of class achievement. Nasaw observes that "The college diploma did not necessarily prove that one had learned much; what it did demonstrate was that one had enough money to delay entrance into the work world." (Nasaw 1979: 165-6)

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for social mobility is built into American ideology. The Department of Education still promotes this model:

> The common school has made quality public education and hard work the open door to American success and good citizenship and the American way to achievement and freedom. (U.S. Department of Education, Web Page, 1997)

But many modern educational theorists have noted that the original ideal of education as an aid to social equalization, as a social leveler, is slipping away:

> Liberal optimism has disappeared from the public discourse on education since only a few unreconstructed historians ... retain their faith in the old leveling model of the relation between schools and society. (Aronowitz and Giroux 1985: x)

Education for vocational training

Vocations were not touched by the university in the middle ages; any training for work other than clerical was passed from parent to child, or from master to apprentice. Only after technological change led to advances in industrialization, such that newly developing knowledge surpassed that of the older generation, and more technical training was required for work, was there a need for schools, as centers of developing knowledge, to train people. This could as well only happen after the stiffer medieval social order, with roles and professions passed from parent to child, had been dissolved by the demographic and economic shifts of the enclosure movement. But the eventual effect of industrialism was to shift the perceived goal of education from the making of gentlemen, to the creation of a docile labor source, to the training of workers. This shift met with no little resistance along the way.

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Proponents of common school education often cited technical education as part of their goal. Benjamin Rush, proposing public education in Pennsylvania in 1786, noted that this education promotes agriculture, manufacture, and the sciences. (Rush 1786, in Siceluff 1970: 127)

Before the industrial age, statements about the purposes of higher education are unambiguous in their adherence to the ideal of individual and social development in the larger search for truth. Then, in the beginning of this movement toward industrially oriented education, we find carefully couched statements acknowledging the need for vocational training, which still cling to the ideal of the "well-rounded man:"

> Columbia College believes that even for this technical and professional work, it is well for a man to lay the broad foundation of a general culture, but she does not refuse to recognize the specializing tendencies of the times, and to permit those who will to obtain the one without the other. (President Low, Columbia University, 1890: Knight 1940: 41)

And eventually we see a more complete accession to the understanding of instruction as vocationally directed, with a correlated shedding, for this author, of the old conception of the ideal liberal arts education.

> It is true that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England there was a form of limited liberal education which had, both at the time and in retrospect, great charm and coherence. But it was not, in my opinion, really serious higher education at all. For its purpose it was valuable. But I do not think that anyone today can seriously suppose that reading Horace and even learning him by heart is a unique or necessary condition for being a learned man or for being an educated man. (Oppenheimer: in Frankel 1959: 48)

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Cycles in the History of Education

What we have seen with the development of models for the university—as a force of social stability, as a guild, as a parent, as a social resource, as a factory, as a tool for social change, and as a business—is that they vary greatly. No single central goal or function is shared by all of these; each is sprung from, and rooted in, particular historical circumstances and institutions: the Church, the guild, the factory, the business. Each of these source-domain institutions has its own socio-historical context, motivation, function, and so on.

With models of education, however, it is different. The central conceived aim of education is to direct the growth of the individual in the most beneficial way possible. This core belief is shared by all the models of education. But this core is elaborated in different ways, as seen above.

Those goals of education noted above which have a more basic and primary nature, whose elaboration relies on aspects of culture that tend to be stable or to recur in history, have been associated with a number of cycles, or recurrent patterns, in the history of Western education, especially more recent ones. Foremost among these is the expansion of academia, and its attendant changes and problems for the system as a whole.[66] This cycle and others are examined below.

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[66] These cycles do not represent a change followed by a return to the original state. In the case of the expansions in enrollment, for example, the cycle described is a a recurrence of problems perceived such as declines in quality, followed by adjustment, followed by another expansion. But for each round the scope of education is larger.

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The cycle of expansion of education, and decline in quality

Ashworth discusses the situation of education in America in the latter half of the century as another revolution in a familiar pattern. The cycle is of academia expanding with an influx of students, of new and sometimes expedient techniques being developed in education to accommodate the expansion. This is followed by a questioning of the resulting quality of education, and a phase in which the American system of higher education has to justify its expanded size and correspondingly increased costs. In the final stage of the cycle, as Ashworth notes, "Eventually concern arises about the decline of quality, and the labels and titles whose prestige and meaning have accrued over generations become devalued." (Ashworth 1979: 20)

Hofstadter has commented on the ill effects of a significant expansion in enrollments between the Revolution and the Civil War. Cremin notes Hofstadter's position that "the early nineteenth century witnessed a vast deterioration in quality, occasioned principally by the crippling forces of denominationalism and equalitarianism. The 'great retrogression,' as he calls it, affected every aspect of collegiate life: academic standards were low; teaching was atrocious; libraries were inadequate...." (Cremin, in Crane 1963: vi)

And more recently there has been a swell in enrollments in the 20th century. Lucas has observed the trend of increase in American numbers educated:

> The typical American college of the 1800s tended to number its students by the dozens, not in the hundreds. As one measure of the

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> scale involved, it is estimated that even at the close of the nineteenth century, fewer than 3 percent of the nation's population had ever attended college, much less earned a bachelor's degree. [...] In the 130 years between 1840 and 1970, for example, college enrollments rose 417 times, as compared with a population increase of 12 times. Most of that growth took place after 1900. (Lucas 1996: 10)

The biggest jumps in numbers educated were the various attenuated increases resulting from the Industrial Revolution, the GI bill, and the baby boomer generation. These expansions have been fueled by, among other factors, the ideal of education as a tool of democratization or as a tool of social mobility which should be made available to all.

These aims of education, however, have not been considered ideal by all educationalists, as Ashworth has noted. He quotes Dewey, who is summing up and commenting on Hutchins' diagnosis of the ills of the university in 1937:

> Fundamentally, the ailment proceeds from too ready response of universities to immediate demands of the American public. [...] The result is that these institutions become public service stations ... . Love of money results in demand for large numbers of students, and the presence of large numbers renders training even more indiscriminate in order to meet the demands of unselected heterogeneous groups. (Dewey, in Ashworth 1979: 14)

This perceived decline in quality was visible not only the caliber of the students, but also that of the teachers, in the expansion of the faculties of schools which followed and accommodated the increased numbers of students:

> The rapid growth and multiplication of colleges and universities ... has necessarily drawn into their service men of every type and kind, and of these mediocrity has claimed its full share. One main difficulty with which the higher institutions of learning throughout the world have

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> to struggle today is militant mediocrity.... (President Butler, Columbia University, 1907, in Knight 1940: 62)

Educators who remain in the system from the time prior to the expansion become dismayed by this change, and their response to the situation has been call for a return to education which seeks out and cultivates the best and the brightest. This is, as can be seen, a return to the model of education as a means of providing society with the flower of intellect for its cultivation.

> Not every institution has succumbed to this craze for numbers with little regard to quality, but certainly in all institutions the rush of hordes has been felt and the student body is no longer composed of those who are there for the development of their intellects or character, and every one will concede that many are trying to enter college who really lack the brains and industry. [...] Several college presidents have ... called attention to those conditions and suggested that education should be limited to an "aristocracy of the best minds." And, of course, they are right. (President Graves, University of the State of New York, 1922, in Knight 1940: 66)

One significant iteration of this cycle of expansion was the common school reform movement in America in the previous century. As was noted above, this movement was supported out of various interests. One of these was that of the humanists, who desired moral reform; another was that of local business owners, who wanted a tractable workforce. Both of these recognize the "civilizing" role of education for the larger population.

The cycle of standardization and diversification

Two models of education are involved in this cycle: the social aim of education to create a unified culture; and the individual aim of education as perfecting the person. In this cycle, the bounds of education are extended,

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more students enter into the university, and in the democratic fashion, it is assumed that education everywhere and for everyone should follow the same path. Standards are developed and encouraged, and programs of regularization are introduced.

Part of the impetus for standards comes from the model of education as the process of uncovering truth:

> Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same. (President Hutchins, University of Chicago, 1936, in Knight 1940: 48)

And part of the impetus for standards comes from the assumption that not only is truth everywhere the same, but that people are everywhere the same, and that therefore the only way to achieve equality is to provide everyone with exactly the same education. This sentiment was not restricted to the United States:

> Let the revolting distinction of rich and poor disappear, once and for all, the distinction of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed. Let there be no other different between the human beings than those of age and sex. Since all have the same needs and the same faculties, let there be one education for all, one food for all. (François Émile Babeuf, Manifesto of the Equals)

With the combined beliefs that people are undifferentiated except by socially imposed inequality, and that knowledge and truth should be universally the same, the conclusion that standardization of education is the only way to achieve human equality is inevitable. After this conclusion is reached, the only question that remains is how to achieve such standardization.

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An aspect of our ideological history which is relevant to this inclination to standardize is the American tendency to seek many functions in one object or institution. The desire is to economize or streamline operations by making one appliance, person, or institution responsible for a wide variety of tasks. When this inclination, called in recent times the "supermarket mentality," is extended to schools, we get the multiversity, now an unquestioned institution. In the past, however, this expectation of multiple functions has encouraged the imposition of one set of expectations on all academic institutions.

Another factor in the push for standardization in the history of American education has come from the infusion into education of obsessions from the "cult of efficiency" that was born with the industrial revolution.

> As early as February, 1911, educators began responding publicly to the demand to apply scientific management to the work of the school. (Callahan 1962: 54)

And the tenets of scientific management were soon absorbed into the edifice of conviction of many educators. As one fervent convert to Taylorism and the efficiency cause wrote in 1912,

> We are clearly running our schools on a lower plane of efficiency than we are some of our factories. As a nation we cannot afford to do this. As sure as daylight follows the dawn, this higher standard of efficiency will be applied to all phases of education, including religious education, and the sooner the better. (Fullerton, in Callahan 1962: 60)

Thus there are proposals made to make education everywhere the same. Then there occurs a period of reaction to this. Educators see that not all students are equal, that while some are highly suited to the larger inquiry

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and lack of applied nature of a liberal arts education, others might do better to be directed to vocational programs. But "uniformity carries with it the seeds of mediocrity." (McCoy, in Connery 1970: 168) So with each iteration of standardization, it has been feared, and at times demonstrated, that the overall quality of liberal education must descend as the attempt is made to provide it equally to everybody. Critics of standardization in these cycles argue that the process may mean nothing more than equal mediocrity for all. Not all students are created equal, these educators come to think, and some alteration and adaptation in the education system needs to be made to accommodate their differences and different interests and abilities, rather than attempting to lower the overall standard to the level of those not well prepared for higher education.

> Why should we not have diversity in our universities? There is a tendency in education to standardize, and this is taken to mean that all universities should be alike. (President Lowell, Harvard University, 1914, in Knight 1940: 64)

And with the assumption that diversification of educational style and goal should prevail, the similarity or consistence across programs which results from efforts to standardize education is interpreted as wasteful redundancy:

> Some things should be clearly defined and generally accepted, as to what we are seeking and the means by which we may attain it. Time and money, strength and genius, are being wasted because of the absence of these. An educational survey of the United States would disclose vast sums wasted on duplicated courses and huge plants and equipment that need never have been. So would such a survey of California. There is no reason why every junior college, college, and university should cultivate all fields of knowledge, or the same fields

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> of knowledge. More to be commended is a careful restriction of instruction and research, so that, within its estimated income and its community requirements, each institution may support comfortably the departments of known value and established need.... (President Sproul, University of California, 1931, in Knight 1940: 44)

It is interesting that this criticism of standardization, noting "vast sums wasted on duplicated courses" and equipment, appeals to exactly that ideal of efficiency invoked in bringing this situation of standardization about in the first place. Two different kinds of production efficiency are in contrast here: in the first, the goal is a uniform output, so production should be as regularized as possible, which means making all schools alike. In the second, it is assumed that the output should be of several kinds, which means that the division of labor should be made as efficient as possible, which means specifically diversifying schools to produce their different kinds of education most effectively.

The mixture of different kinds of students in a standardized system, when they are understood to be of widely varying intellectual capacity, becomes a hindrance to effective education:

> All institutions of higher education that I know have student bodies so lacking in homogeneity, so varying in mental power, as to be almost unteachable, as a whole. [...] In the universities of today we are attempting to be all things to all men, and are about as comfortable as a chameleon on a Scotch plaid. (President Sproul, University of California, 1931, in Knight 1940:66: 452) 44)

One analysis of what is at bottom here in this debate is a conflict in a system of limited resources between the democratic ideal of equal treatment for all, and the opposing conviction that in order for a state to prosper and

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thrive it must seek out and nurture its most talented citizens so that they will be best prepared to provide wise leadership.

Another analysis understands the debate as a conflict: education is understood as the means to increasing social access and power; those who desire to increase their clout seek to make education generally available; those who control it, to keep their hold on the system.

The role of the American distrust of government

A number of other factors have been implicated in this cycle in the history of American education of initiatives to standardize and then diversify education. One such factor has been the historically evident, persistent American dislike of any system or inclination which smells too much of government involvement and regulation. This dislike springs from a strongly entrenched populist fear in America of the oppression of an overbloated, centralized state. As Tocqueville noted, citizens in a democracy "have a natural taste for freedom. By nature they are impatient in putting up with any regulation." (Tocqueville 1969: 702) People have understood for a long time that an authoritarian government will seek to retain and expand its control through education:

> Governments have ever been careful to hold a high hand over the education of the people. They know, better than anyone else, that their power is based almost entirely on the school. Hence, they monopolize it more and more. (Francisco Ferrer, the Modern School)

The ongoing American obsession with restricting government growth means that regulation and involvement of the government in civilian affairs

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should be closely watched. We have seen this fear of regulation repeatedly in discussions of government involvement in industries of all kinds, and education has been no exception. Any move to the standardization of public schools must necessarily involve heavy government participation; thus, each such move has aroused the public suspicion. Even any semblance of regulation within the school is viewed with suspicion. Brubacher notes that Eliot's "laissez-faire" elective system was popular in part out of such sentiment: "Just as men sought freedom from excessive governmental regulation of private enterprise, so as an educational corollary they sought freedom from a too rigidly prescribed college curriculum." (Brubacher 1966: 452) As Conant (1953) points out, there are good and bad consequences of a system characterized by diversity of schools, including "ample opportunity for experimentation," and occasionally "some very inferior schools indeed." "But on balance there can be no question but that the American people prefer the decentralized system with all its faults....", he concludes. Occasional poor quality and inconsistency across schools are a necessary price to pay for this crucial independence from centralized government authority.

The role of elitism

The effects of standardization, and of making education generally available, run counter to the goals of this "pursuit of excellence," noted above, and many modern conservative critics have objected to the democratization of education for this reason.

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> There is, indeed, a college for everyone. But few ask if there should be a college for everyone. With standards reduced to the lowest common denominator, universities have vitiated the pursuit of excellence. (London, in Barzun 1993: xii)

Some have seen this reaction as an outgrowth of the undercurrent of American elitism which desires to guard closely the hold on social and political power. This association of elitism with diversified education has aroused criticism of exactly this tendency in American education. Certain educational theorists observe that although such models of educational tracking include no bias, it rarely seems to be the case that the means of access to advanced education which are so carefully meted out actually fall to those from unprivileged backgrounds. This is the set of models discussed in the second part of the section above on education for the elite, which include a recognition that society is not a classless, privilegeless transparent structure of equal access to resources for all. Karabel observes the conflict between the ideal situation of diversified education and its usual instantiation:

> In principle, colleges can be different and excellent, too. But in a stratified society, what this diversity of educational experiences is likely to mean is that people will, at best, have an equal opportunity to obtain an education that will fit them into their appropriate position in the class structure. (Karabel 1972; in Karabel and Halsey 1977: 248)

Nasaw notes as well the way in which in practical terms the diversification of education often equates to a reproduction of the class system. Discussing the fate of the freshly introduced lower classes into common school education, he writes that

> The new students, "the children of the plain people," were "differentiated" into vocational programs to prepare them for their

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future lives within factory, workshop, or working-class household. (Nasaw 1979: 241)

The role of the business model in standardization

A source of pressure in the modern push for standardization is the factory/business model, by which both students and education are seen as products. One entailment of the business model is that products are ideally standardized. One way to standardize production is to have uniform instruction, accomplished through the introduction of a uniform curriculum and fixed schedule of teaching. At the turn of the century, the popularity of electives in the latter part of the 19th century (also, as we have seen, introduced through the influence of the business model) came under the criticism of producing too disparate a student population, with no common culture. One response to this was to make the curriculum more focused with general humanities courses;[67] another, to standardize secondary and higher education across schools in curricular uniformity. Hofstadter notes the significance in this era of the conglomeration of the corporate world: "business ceased to be small business and became a world of giant corporate bureaucracies." (Hofstadter, in Hofstadter and Hardy 1952: 58) The rationalization of labor in the industrial world was being increasingly carried into the intellectual world, producing "an intensified division of intellectual labor" in the universities. (Ibid.: 57)

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[67] Hofstadter writes that in the 1930s "the assault on the elective principle ... reached its greatest force;" and that "between 1920 and 1940, at least 30 new general humanities courses appeared in American colleges, and others were in the process of being planned." (Hofstadter and Hardy 1952: 55)

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In our time this rationalization and standardization has been carried to the fullest:

> Because [the University of Phoenix] was created all at once it's a highly rational institution. Classes are held at night, from six to ten. Courses consist of five or six weekly sessions, taken one at a time and one right after another. *Each degree program is identical from one campus to the next.* (Traub, 1997, emphasis added.)

The cycle of upward mobility and class in education

One iteration of these cycles was the industrial age's great press on the educational system to produce trained workers, as we have discussed above. Correlating to this cycle was another, a result of the dream of upward mobility in America which relied on education to open the way to the top. An establishment education was understood as bearing prestige, and as the domain of the privileged class: "The traditional colleges and universities, private and public, focused upon educating "gentlemen." (Ashworth 1979: 25) This education of gentlemen was not concerned with their behavior, as they were presumably all of equivalent upper- or upper-middle-class background. The principal concern of education was purely intellectual.

> For nearly two centuries after the founding of Harvard, "discipline and furniture of the mind", as President Jeremiah Day, of Yale College, said in 1828, were considered the primary purposes of higher education in this country. (Knight 1940: 39)

With the industrial age, the population of students was greatly transformed, and the consequent form of education followed slowly to reflect the new needs of those being educated. By 1938, the picture of education was changed:

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> Some three hundred college and university presidents recently answered a questionnaire in which they were asked to list, in the order of importance, what they regarded as the purposes of their institutions. Mental discipline, which ranked first sixty years ago ... now ranks twenty-second among the twenty-five avowed purposes of our institutions of higher learning. It is preceded by such objects of higher education as good manners. 'Good manners' have no place in the program of higher education. 'Personality' has no place in the program of higher education. 'Character' has no place in the program of higher education. (President Hutchins, University of Chicago, 1938. In Knight 1940: 55)

The reaction of President Hutchins shows that the emphasis in education was shifting away from the classical liberal arts tradition he is so vehement about. He may resist this shift, but the results of the survey, and the protest-too-much insistence of his own description, show that by this time the teaching of proper behavior had come to be seen as a central purpose of education. Universities were flooded with students who were very different from the 'gentlemen' of classical education, and administrators and educators felt it was their duty to bring these students up to the standard of their traditional alumni.[68]

Conclusions

Models for the university have shifted fundamentally following the tenor of their times, while the goals of education have often been the same. As we have seen, the history of education has been marked by a clash between a naturally conservative institution which reflects the values and needs of a

[68] It was at about this time in the history of American culture that manuals of proper etiquette became very popular. As Zinn (1980) has pointed out, this signifies the struggle of the

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previous generation in its structure, curriculum, and goals, and external social forces which place new demands upon the institution. The conflict has taken the form most often of a disparity of values between academia and some parts of society, which prevents insight into academic structure by non-academics (the inscrutable ivory tower), and a resistance of academics to demands for adjustment (the crass practicalmindedness of the unlettered). Even already in the eleventh century, as Bowen (1975) observes, "learning, as given in the cathedrals, seemed to bear little perceptible relationship to the times."

Universities have always stood in complex economic and political relation to the larger society, supported and influenced by those furthering their interests, coming under financial pressure in times of larger economic strain in the society. Education in ancient times was dependent on the fickle and partisan support of powerful religious and secular leaders. "Stimulus though imperial support was to higher learning, it had its drawbacks. The price for imperial support was too often imperial control." (Brubacher 1966: 429) This situation is a recurrent one in the history of education. Familiar as well is the cycle of economic strain and "downsizing" of social services including education. While universities were given tax-exempt status in the United States, Brubacher notes, "it is interesting to note how American municipalities tried to encroach on even this privilege during the severe economic Depression from 1929 onward, claiming that the universities

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bourgeoisie to smooth out the wrinkles in their assimilation into their new position among the

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should pay taxes." (Brubacher 1966: 433) And universities now find themselves guided more and more by the directives of the corporate world, both through direct involvement with that world, and through its influence in the form of institution-shaping models. The tide has been from the fundamentally social models, and increasingly toward the fundamentally economic, rationalized models.

To understand the particular influence of these models in history and in the present, however, we must understand how the metaphors work in more detail. This is the subject of the following part. And to understand the difference in behavior between the models of the university as they have changed over time, and those models of education which we have seen recur through history, requires an investigation into the differences in their metaphorical structure, and an examination of the university and of education as contested concepts, to discover more fully what is behind this development.

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socio-economically privileged in society.

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I knew a very wise man that believed that, if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation.
Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun
(from a Letter to the Marquis of Montrose)

Part 2: The Present

Introduction

We have seen that there is a progression of metaphors for the school in the history of education. After a brief description of metaphor theory and the methodology used here, we will proceed to the metaphors. They will be analyzed in terms of their mappings and entailments: we shall see what each reveals, and what each hides, in the domain of the university. Because metaphors of business are increasingly predominant in discussions about schools and education, I devote a slightly larger section to these in particular.

It will be clear from this examination of the models of the university and of education that they conflict in many particulars of mapping, and in many entailments. This set of conflicts has made the university and education contested concepts. I will consequently present an analysis of these contested concepts, with illustrations of the particular conflicts that arise for both the university and education. Following this will be an examination of various particular conflicts arising in reasoning using the models.

But the view of business as a model for social domains is in ascendance in our time. A summary of the current state of the various models which

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have arisen for the university will show how they have declined and given way to the business model.

Metaphor Theory and Methodology

The central methodology in this thesis is the study of metaphors. Metaphor theory as employed here, and the particular methodology used, are described below.

Metaphor Theory

Metaphor is the use of some image or set of relations taken from one domain of experience to structure reasoning about another. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the pervasive and fundamental role of metaphor in cognition. The use of metaphor is a necessary and in large part unconscious process in everyday life, allowing us to bring structure to domains of experience which are important but indeterminate in and of themselves.

Metaphor is systematic: it behaves in constrained ways which can be described in principled form. It is generative: it productively and regularly creates structures of thought. Evidence for metaphor as a fundamental, common, mundane cognitive process, and not merely linguistic, or stylistic, can be found in gesture and other nonlinguistic domains. The coherent preservation of inferences across the mapping from source domain to target domain is one of the fundamental aspects of metaphor: that which is understood to follow as a consequence within the source is what allows us to reason about the target.

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Recent elaborations in metaphor theory, particularly the work of Grady (1997) have provided an account which sytematizes the behavior of metaphors via the concept of fundamental elements, or *primaries*, which pair experience and cognition at the lowest level and give rise to conflations, which then form the basic units of higher-level metaphorical thought.

Grady establishes a system in which the most basic level of metaphor is composed of primary metaphors which are formed in direct experiential subscenes providing the basis of conflation of some aspect of experience with some more cognitive process. For example, the subscene of swallowing conflates the physical act of swallowing something with the decision to accept it. What was previously called "understanding is digesting" is thus understood to be a composition of a set of primary metaphors, including swallowing is accepting, chewing is considering, digesting is taking apart/examining/ingesting the parts of an idea, etc.

The Characteristics of Complex Metaphors

Complex metaphors compose a number of primaries into a larger, coherent, also experientially-based structure. Complex metaphors are distinct in that they are very schematic, i.e. not richly construed, and can be mapped onto a large and diverse set of target domains. Thus for example one common pervasive complex metaphor, the event-structure metaphor, comprises a set of "metaphorical correspondences between concepts in the domains of spatial motion and location on one hand, and events and actions

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on the other." (Grady 1997: 102) This complex metaphor is used to reason about people's careers, lives, relationships, etc.

Grady (1997) provides a compelling argument for the primary structure of metaphor, but he does not touch on the question of natural sets of primaries which would arise within an experiential domain. Complex metaphors of the kind I describe here would comprise a set of primaries which are experientially linked. In this way the experiences associated with motion through space provide a coherent source domain for reasoning about states, intentions, and actions, i.e. the event-structure metaphor.

Two complex metaphors, described below, underlie our understanding of metaphors for the university. The first, and older one, is the social complex metaphor, based on the experience of family; the second is the economic complex metaphor, which deals with the experiential domain of having, gaining, and losing resources, of their use, and so on. Each of these metaphors offers a set of entities and relations which have a high degree of conceptual salience, whose crisply delineable nature is readily imported into domains with less obvious internal structure.

The Social Complex Metaphor

The fundamental source of understanding of this metaphor springs from social experience, most basically the family. Families have hierarchical structures of status, parental authority, nurturance, cooperation among individuals with common goals, generations, and generational growth and

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succession. The social complex metaphor can be used to describe a number of domains (examples below), mapping a subset of these elements.

The *social group* is central to the social complex metaphor; the prototypical group which we experience is the *family*. First as children and then as parents, individuals participate in the group hierarchies. We experience the authority, nurturance, and protection of parents, interaction with members of the family, cooperation and interdependence within the family, and the shift of social roles from one generation to the next. The grounding of the metaphor is in our experience as social beings, interacting with other members within the group.

The social complex metaphor recognizes that members of a group or society are necessarily interdependent, that they must cooperate, that every individual takes part in larger social structures. The society has internal structure of divisions along generational lines, along lines of authority, of cooperation within subgroups, and so on.

The mapping of familial relations to social groups is common in construals of country, the state, of society, of governments, and of political figures. *Fatherland* and *mother country* are examples of the nation as parent to its citizens. Bergen has described the metaphor of society as a parent: in creating us, society "is our parent, and is responsible for taking care of our needs, for punishing us when necessary, for looking out for our best interest, and for teaching us proper behavior." (Bergen 1996: 16) In Lakoff's (1996) analysis, the government can be seen as a parent: an authoritative parent in

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the Strict Father version, and a nurturant and protective parent in the Nurturant Parent version (more will be said about this below).

The Roman Catholic Church is a domain in which family relations have been codified in titles: the priest, mapping both authoritative and guardian roles, is a *father*. Monks and nuns, forming communities of equals with common goals, are *brothers* and *sisters*.

Four of the metaphors for the university examined here involve the social complex metaphor:

THE UNIVERSITY AS A COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS

THE UNIVERSITY AS AN IVORY TOWER

THE UNIVERSITY AS A GUILD

THE UNIVERSITY AS PARENT

The Economic Complex Metaphor

The origins of economy concern the husbandry of resources,[69] their expense and use, and so on. The economic world is a highly constrained, rule-governed, logical one. It offers a very neat and collected system of naming and tracking exchanges of any kinds of resources. The domain becomes the source of construal for a broad range of human experiences.

Time has been construed as a resource since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution; this is a further instance of the economic complex metaphor. "Time is often conceptualized as a moneylike resource that can be wasted, spent wisely, squandered, and budgeted." (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:

---

[69] *Oikonomia,* combines *oikos* 'house' and *nomia* 'law', household management.

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530) The mapping is based in our experience of time as limited and as something that we can feel we use well or badly.

The economic complex metaphor collects and rests on a set of primary metaphors of the kind which Grady (1997) has analyzed. Among them are the notions of possessing, gaining, handing over, or losing resources or objects. These are all basic experiences, as is clear: we are provided with early and ongoing physical experience of having objects in the world, of losing them, acquiring them, exchanging them with others, and so on. We have experience of energy, of objects, of time, of these basic physical domains. This is not an arbitrary collection of primaries: that which gathers them into a unified domain is the fact that they all deal with some kind of exchange or possession of resources. It is because the experience of using resources to achieve ends is fundamental in our human experience that this economic construal is so compelling, and that it can be applied so broadly to other domains. Economic reasoning becomes a compositional domain, taking together many primaries of experience and giving them a distinct, coherent form and a well-defined set of relations.

Grady lists the primary OPPORTUNITIES ARE NECESSARY RESOURCES. (Grady 1997: 282) The examples of what you can do with opportunities illustrate the nature of the primary of a resource: you can *exploit* a resource, *make use of* it, *treasure* or *value* it. *We will use this opportunity to improve our chances of success.* The rich vocabulary of physical resources can be applied to any metaphorical resource: *use, save, squander, waste, throw away,* and so on.

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Morality is commonly construed in economic terms (*I owe him a great deal for saving my life; He has to pay society back for his crimes.)* (Taub 1990; Lakoff 1996; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The metaphor of Well-Being as Wealth provides the basis by which "an action of moral import is conceptualized in terms of a financial transaction, with a moral interaction being metaphorically equivalent to a financial transaction, one in which the books are balanced." (Lakoff 1996: 45) This conceptualization thus adds multiple agents into the equation of resource use: a moral harm to someone is the unpermitted taking of his resources; a debt is incurred, and must be repaid.

Indeed, the whole universe can be conceived in exclusively and concretely economic terms, as the following excerpt (from the movie "Network") illustrates:

> You are an old man, who thinks in terms of "Nations" and "Peoples." There are no nations. There are no peoples. There are no Russians, there are no Arabs, there are no Third Worlds, there is no West. There is only one holistic system of systems, one vast and immense, interwoven, interacting, multinational, multivariate dominion of dollars. Petrodollars, electrodollars, multidollars, reichmarks, rands, rubles, pounds, and shekels. It is the international system of currency which determines the totality of life on this planet. [...]
>
> We no longer live in a world of nations and ideologies, Mr. Beale. The world is a college of corporations, inexorably determined by the immutable bylaws of business. The world is a business, Mr. Beale. It has been since man crawled out of the slime.

As the world can be construed as an economic system, so the individual can be construed as an economic entity. Under this construal, any sort of energy directed toward the good of the individual becomes an

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investment. A person is a resource, like an asset; for example, workers are a resource for their employer; faculty, as we shall see, are a resource for the university. Any provision which benefits that person (e.g., health care, education) increases his or her value as a resource. Hence this provision can be seen as an investment in that individual. The word 'investment', of course, draws from the more specific financial domain, as an allocation of capital into some holding in the expectation of future returns. It is however commonly applied at the higher level of the economic complex metaphor. The following passage from Blaug employs the economic version of the individual:

> What draws [the economics of education] all together is the basic idea that the acquisition of education in a modern economy provides opportunities for individuals to invest in themselves. [...] Education is, of course, only one type of investment in human beings. People can invest in themselves by spending on medical care, by migrating to more prosperous regions, by purchasing information about job opportunities and career prospects and by choosing jobs with relatively high training content. To that extent, the economics of education partakes of a much wider subject that has come to be labeled, somewhat grandiosely, 'the economics of human resources'. (Blaug 1970: xviii)

And, as we shall see the significance of shortly, anything that can be construed as a resource can be construed as a commodity. "A good book is an everlasting commodity: Homer, Milton, Shakspeare, Byron, Scott... —have they not given to trade commodities which can never perish?" (Tappan 1852: in Crane 1963: 150) In the domain of education can be found many elements viewable as commodities: faculty, students, education, prestige, degrees, credentials. We can speak of *earning credits*, of *acquiring degrees*. We understand that having training or education can improve one's earning

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power. As Lewis Lapham notes, the role of the educational institution, often, is not to allow the attender to enrich his intellect but to provide the social connections which will take him through the rest of his business and social life. For these elites, Lapham writes, "Education has become a commodity, like Pepsi-Cola or alligator shoes...." (Lapham 1988: 20-21)

One can *have prestige, gain* it, *lose* it, and so on. These are all resources which educational institutions deal with; as resources dealt with, they become commodities. This construal dovetails with the general economic construal of agents and entities discussed above, to give us schools as economic entities dealing in commodities such as education, degrees, prestige, and credentials.

The focus of the economic complex metaphor is the individual, not the group.

Four of the metaphors for the university examined here involve the economic complex metaphor:

THE UNIVERSITY AS A STUDENT FACTORY

THE UNIVERSITY AS PUBLIC RESOURCE

THE UNIVERSITY AS KNOWLEDGE FACTORY

THE UNIVERSITY AS A BUSINESS

Methodology

The method employed here is a metaphor analysis of linguistic data taken from a range of sources. Metaphors are most easily and directly examined using linguistic data; as we saw above, however, it is important to remember that their influence is not merely linguistic. But the linguistic

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domain is the most accessible one to rigorous analysis: the ways people describe problems and complex situations necessarily expose the models with which they are reasoning.

Because it seems this model is pervasive across diverse kinds of discourse and social categories of user, I examine data deliberately chosen from a wide variety of genres, including academic texts, newspapers, magazines of the popular press, informal interviews, commentaries, and fictional accounts which contain descriptions of, or references to, educational systems. The references to the domain in question are extracted systematically, and then classified and analyzed.

Ideally, a comprehensive analysis of the shifts of metaphors over time would include an exhaustive examination of texts bearing evidence of metaphors. This is not an easily defined task; I have here attempted to amass enough evidence to support my claim of the changes involved. The background given in Part I provides additional support for the shifts of metaphor attested to in this section.

Metaphors are not neutral structures which we may interchange at will; they have values built into them. Lakoff has shown in his analysis of the metaphors underlying conservative and liberal politics that the differing beliefs of these two ideologies are direct results of the differences in the models they employ. Both reason about the relationship of government to citizens as parent to children; both employ complex family models. The

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critical difference is found in the specific model used. Lakoff examines political reasoning patterns in detail to draw out the exact structure of the model used, and shows that the differences in political reasoning arise from differences in the models of the family and in the notions of family-based morality. The first, associated with conservative political reasoning, is the Strict Father model, by which children (citizens) are expected to become mature and independent of the parents (government). The second, associated with liberal reasoning, is the Nurturant Parent model, by which the parents continue to be responsible for the children's well-being throughout their citizenship. His analysis captures the metaphorical sources for the ways liberals and conservatives reason differently about subjects as apparently diverse as welfare and abortion. These unconscious conceptual models drive our understanding of political issues: the holder of the Strict Father model objects to welfare on the grounds that it rewards failure, encourages dependence, and grants resources to the undeserving: it is a lax and overpermissive parent who does not require children to become fully independent and self-supporting. The holder of the Nurturant Parent model, on the other hand, believes that all people should be provided with the means to live a decent life: welfare is the government's provision for its less fortunate 'children.'

Metaphors drive our understanding of educational issues in the same way. What is the central purpose of the university? If you believe that the university is a parent, then you will see the education of undergraduates and

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their preparation for a full life as the central purpose of the university. If on the other hand you believe that the university is a knowledge factory, then you will assume research to be its central function. What is the goal of education? A number of questions and criticisms of various kinds have been voiced concerning the university, including:

Why have graduate students?

Why have undergraduate students?

What is the purpose of education?

Why have tenure?

Why have affirmative action, or remedial education?

To whom is the university answerable?

Who should decide the curriculum?

What is the university's responsibility to society?

The different answers given to these questions arise directly from the model used to construe the university. The metaphors for the university each shape the institution in a different way. Some of these metaphors will be familiar: we have all seen allusions to the ivory tower and the community of scholars; and we can see that these are important for how we think about the university. What has not been so apparent is that in all the contemporary talk about university accountability, productivity, and competitiveness, *the university as a business* is a metaphor in the same way; that this has consequences for what decisions are made within the university, about

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education and the university. Each metaphor foregrounds certain elements of the school; more crucially, each hides certain elements as well. Each metaphor entails a set of values; when the primary metaphor changes, the institution is radically affected.

The Target Domain: the University

In this section is provided a sketch of the target domain as it is mapped and divided by these metaphors. As my focus is on higher education, I rest my main theses on the university. By 'university' I mean the prototypical source of higher education. This refers to a particular set of entities in our society, not restricted to either public or private, not excluding colleges. A university is a social institution where projects pertaining to the larger intellectual endeavor of our society are carried out, including instruction of the general populace, advanced research, and the training of academics and researchers. As a social organization, the university has internal social structure, with different constituent groups arranged in prescribed relation to one another, expectations of occupation, behavior, interaction, responsibility, etc. The university thus has internal structure, and stands in relation to the rest of society as a semi-independent institution.

One of the functions of the university is to take in students and educate them; these students have been typically, though not exclusively, adolescents in the undergraduate years. Another of the functions of this institution is to conduct research into domains which may or may not have an expected financial return, under the direction of academics, at their discretion. A third

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function is to instruct graduate students in the practices of academia and research, to become the next generation of scholars.

There are different kinds of universities (public, private) with different kinds of students (academically inclined, vocationally inclined, etc.), different kinds of faculty (research-oriented, instruction-oriented), and different kinds of funding (public, private endowments, private foundations). All of these differences are relevant to some degree to our study here. But as what I am examining is the application of metaphors to higher education, and as people using these metaphors do not differentiate strictly among these criteria, I have described a more general sense of the university as it is understood and shaped by these metaphors. As Lucas notes, "A single model of the university as a multipurpose institution dedicated simultaneously to teaching, research, and service has gained the ascendancy." (Lucas 1996: xiv) It is this model, this abstraction, this collection of aims in one institution, which I address here.

The university as a community of scholars

> And so I ask you to think with me about the problem of where we are in education and where and how we are going. I do not have the answers. Perhaps together we can find them. [...] We are a *community* of scholars. [...] It is the *whole* university that demands our allegiance and our cumulated efforts. That which is best for the whole university in its relation to the whole of life must be our absorbing task today. (President Dykstra, University of Wisconsin, 1937; in Knight 1940: 51; emphasis original)

This oldest of the metaphors for the university arose from the early association of the university with the monastery in the Middle Ages. It takes from the monastery two major characteristics: the independence of the

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monastery from that outside it, and the general structure of internal organization. As Goodman (1962) writes of colleges,

> They are communities, really small cities, for they have a heterogeneous population and are cut off from their environments as if walled. (Goodman 1962: 4)

Each of these qualities—interdependence among members, and independence of the community from that outside—is derived from and understood within the social complex: the family unit as independent and separable, with internal cooperation, common goals, and internal social hierarchy.

A community is a set of people who live and work together in socially prescribed relationships, with an implicit social contract and the common goal of successful communal existence and personal advancement, who depend on one another for their physical and intellectual existence, and who are drawn together by their common experience of social life. This forms the basis for the metaphor: the university is made up of people who are gathered together in work, who have occupationally prescribed relationships to one another, with an implicit intellectual contract, and the common goal of pursuing the academic life and career, who depend on one another for their communal existence, and who are drawn together by their common academic experience.

The mapping is the following:

- The university is a community
- all affiliates of the university are denizens of the community
- the university comprises a heterogeneous population

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- the university is independent from the outside world: as a community is self-sufficient

Grounding: the university is a physically located place with physically gathered participants in the same way that an actual community is. Its workers are interdependent and possess the shared goal and common experience of the academic life. The metaphor is rooted in the primary SETS ARE BOUNDED SPATIAL RELATIONS (Grady 1997: 274): the physical community is conflated with the common endeavor. The natural boundedness of a set provides the independence of the institution from its surroundings. *Community* is a social metaphor for any set of people: *the community of bridge-players; the business community.*

Entailments:

- the university as a social entity in its own right, separate from the rest of the society, and has its own internal structure
- that which unifies the community of scholars is its shared goal of the pursuit of truth
- cooperation among the members of the academic community is essential to their mutual survival
- the university has interests that differ from those of outside society
- The independence of the academic community is the basis for and source of academic freedom
- research and the training of graduate students is the foremost priority of scholars

The community of scholars recognizes only those engaged in the academic endeavor. This includes faculty and their graduate students. As Brown observes, "other constituents—administrators, [undergraduate] students, and benefactors—are excluded by the academician from this community of values." (Brown 1982: 40)

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It was in the context of the university as a community of scholars that the notion of academic freedom arose, as Fuchs (in Baade 1964) has observed: "the conception of academic freedom" rests on "the idea of autonomy for communities of scholars." (Fuchs; in Baade 1964: 1) The view of the university as a community arose through its connection with the monasteries, as we have seen. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most universities had gained independence from religious control, and were more autonomous. It was in these conditions that "the idea of the university as a place where scholars are to pursue truth, as well as to formulate and transmit it to students, who at the same time learn to pursue truth for themselves, came to be dominant. (Ibid.: 5) The idea of researchers independent of political and economic pressures is a direct correlate to the independence of the university from the outside social conditions.

While the larger "academic community" is understood to transcend spatial location, as it includes scholars throughout the academic world, there is still an understanding of each school as itself an academic community, bounded in space and common endeavor. Those aspects of the university which gave rise to this metaphor are still true; indeed in many ways they have been augmented by further developments which make the university more like a community. One more contemporary article notes that, for example

> The University of Missouri has its own police force, physicians, attorneys, real estate managers, insurance professionals, health care professionals, architects, engineers, accountants, personnel

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> professionals, research laboratory personnel, and many other classes of employees. (Hutchinson and Levitch 1988: 23)

This could be a description of a small city; universities are, to a great extent, communities as much as ever. The metaphor however, as we shall see, is in decline; it is coming to be replaced by a businesslike conception of the university which focuses on accountability and is driven by profit-motives.

Consider within the context of the metaphor of the community of scholars the claim that the university should be profitable. What does it mean to say that a community should bear a profit? For whom? By restricting expenditures on what groups? As one critic of the business approach within higher education notes, responding to a proponent of business measures in academia:

> It's hard to believe anyone could be [so] oblivious ... to the social and human costs of the downsizing and subcontracting practices [Mahoney] seems so proud of, but perhaps describing such practices as "consolidation of unneeded units" helps. (Levi, CHE on the Web; 1997: 10/14)

The community of scholars is, as is clear, a fundamentally social conception of the university: the interdependence of academics working together with the shared goal of pursuing knowledge is of central importance in the metaphor. A community rests on the notion of concern for its members, and assumes care for their welfare. Nurturance of members, and provisions for their common survival and thriving, are basic community values, which arise from common social experience.

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As can be seen, in recent decades universities, especially public universities, have become heavily dependent on funding from the government; with this dependence has come a change in status. Taxpayers want accountability from organizations supported by the federal government. The aloof and separate status of the university from its former era can no longer be maintained in the face of such an expectation. More specifically, regarding this mapping, the university as community model does not make much room for a relationship with the rest of the society, as it does not really recognize any entity outside the university (unlike, e.g., the university as a public resource, which recognizes users of the public resource). The business model, however, foregrounds the location of the university within a system, in this case an economic system.

The chief difference and conflict between these two mappings is the foregrounding of cooperation within the university as a community of scholars, and of competition between universities in the business model. The metaphor of the university as a community foregrounds the interdependence of those within the university on one another. Inherited however as this model was from a time when the university was relatively autonomous in society, this metaphor completely hides the increased dependence of the university on outside funding and influence. The tighter the funding gets, the more the university is afflicted by internal competition for continued support. This competition is found at all levels, between and within

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universities. Already in 1877 this pressure of competition between institutions of higher learning was felt:

> But we are told that there are too many colleges.... In a free country, how can this be helped? ... The law of supply and demand is the only possible corrective for the evil. If a college attracts to itself patronage and endowment, it has a right to live; if it does not, it will die. The law of natural selection applies to colleges as well as to the animal and vegetable world.... (Anderson 1877; in Knight 1940: 84)

And competition arises between departments as well. In a *New York Times* book review of Annette Kolodny's *Failing the Future,* on problems in the university, the author notes "the ways in which the turf-protecting habits of departments and disciplines make it difficult for most faculty members to think in terms of the good of the university as a whole." (*New York Times,* Sunday April 26, 1998) Competition also arises within departments, sparking department politics and struggles over resources. The cooperation fundamental to a community at many levels is thus undermined by the business model.

The basis of academic freedom within the university as a community of scholars is a further concern in the decline of the metaphor. As the community is eroded, the independent of faculty from outside pressures is dissolved. More will be said about the status of academic freedom in contemporary universities in Part 3.

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The ivory tower

Another familiar metaphor arising from the monastery schools in the Middle Ages is the view of the university as an ivory tower. [70] The monasteries were removed from the world, isolated, often elevated; these are the qualities borrowed into the metaphor. It is used to focus on the tendency of the university to be disconnected from events and concerns in the "real world." In our time its sense is generally pejorative; it is used to criticize academics for lack of understanding of worldly matters, contrasting with the generally appraisive description of the university as a community of scholars.[71] The two metaphors do, however, highlight similar elements and relations in the target domain: the removal of the university from the rest of society, in some senses, its independence as an institution, and its physical integrity as an institution in its own right.

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[70] The term is noted in William and Mary Morris' *Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins* (HarperCollins: New York. 1977) as 'ivory tower', "meaning a place where intellectuals go to think and get away from the world, was coined by a nineteenth-century French literary critic, Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve," speaking of the school as *"une tour d'ivoire."*

[71] The joint source and mapping of these two metaphors gives rise blended invocations of the two:

> Figuratively speaking, [a university] sits on Mt. Olympus free from the pressures of the world, studying the things that the flocks in the valley below need, and shedding luster and learning upon them according to their need. [...] A university ... studies politics, but it will not advocate fascism and communism. A university studies business, but it will not engage in commerce. A university studies social relief, but it will not take to administer it. A university studies engineering, but it will not build bridges. (President Coffman, University of Minnesota, 1935, in Knight 1940: 48)

The university on Mt. Olympus is raised above the rest of the terrain like the ivory tower, but is a part of the larger society in that it studies the needs of the people, as does the community of scholars. But it is disengaged from specific concerns of and actions within that society, as are both the community of scholars and the ivory tower.

The community and ivory tower models both arose from the monastic association, as we have seen. Further evidence for these models, therefore, can be found in the garb and ceremony of commencement, with their resemblance to medieval Church functions.

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The ivory tower is a blend metaphor. Ivory is white, and therefore represents moral purity; it is "unsullied" by real work or involvement in affairs of the world. It is fragile, delicate, rare. The whiteness/moral purity represents the independence of academics from the common tarnish of the working life with all its political and social compromises. The unworldly nature of the material represents the sense in which academics are assumed to be oblivious to the workings of the social world. The tower is high, extended above and untouched by the world below. This represents the physical remove of academics from the world, and their aloof status.

The tower is based in the same primary metaphors Grady observes in his analysis of the metaphor of theories as buildings: PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT, and ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. The tower is a vertically raised structure which protects those inside from the elements and from whatever happens outside, and presumably allows a view on the outside.

More specifically pertinent in this image is the nature of ivory: pale, delicate, rare; it is not exactly a hardy and durable building material. A variation on the ivory tower is found in this observation of the role of private universities:

> The private institutions are, and we hope will continue to be, peculiarly the citadels of freedom. They are free from that political influence which may dominate at times the public institutions. (President Conant, Harvard University, 1936; in Knight 1940: 102)

The 'citadel of freedom' is the ivory tower cast in its best light: not ignorant of the needs of society, but not susceptible to the meaner pressures of

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that society's politics. The following passage, however, turns this image of citadel around:

> [T]he historian Friedrich Heer has pointed out that "the universities were also oases of freedom, where all those questions which elsewhere were suppressed or forbidden were discussed with what hostile critics described as brazen impudence." [...] While it may be true that this intellectual turbulence did not always carry the dominant overtones of social and political dissent associated in our time with the Berkeley uprising and other widely publicized campus protests, it is nevertheless important to note that the medieval universities were centers of ferment and that their vitality contrasts sharply with the citadels of caution which, in twentieth-century America, continue to claim them as their most revered ancestors. (Zahn 1967: 232)

The images of 'oases of freedom' and 'citadels of caution' are obviously studied in their contrasts of social and ideological progressiveness, but both are variations on the theme of the ivory tower, of the university as independent of and outside of common cultural and political pressures.

The university as a guild

The view of the university as a "guild of scholars" (Goodman 1962: 3) is a product of the later medieval era, after universities had become less closely allied to the Church. As universities gained some autonomy and power, and split increasingly from the direct control of a cathedral or monastery, the model by which they were seen, and by which they saw themselves, followed, moving from the Church- and monastery-based visions of citadels and communities to the organization of laborers. This offered a more concrete understanding of the internal structure of the university, and saw it furthermore as an organization of productive laborers engaged in a craft, and

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therewith providing a useful service, while preserving the sense of the institution's independence.

The elements foregrounded in this metaphor are internal structure and independence. The hierarchy of the internal structure of guild was mapped directly onto the university in forms which still exist today: the three major divisions of scholars into apprentices (undergraduates), journeymen (graduate students), and masters (professors). The notion of social hierarchy is a basic element in the social complex metaphor. The understanding of hierarchy rests on a number of primaries, including ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE. This metaphor comprises the notions of social hierarchy, intergenerational relations, and generational succession, and to them adds the understanding of scholarship as a profession involving skills and training.

- the university is a guild
- the hierarchy of scholars is the hierarchy of guild members (seniority)
- undergraduates are apprentices
- graduates are journeymen
- faculty are masters
- the thesis is the 'masterwork'
- new knowledge is the craft's product

The guild metaphor does not recognize or map the target-domain distinction between administration and faculty, or indeed the existence of administrators.

Entailments:

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- Education is training for the profession of academia, or in a separate version, for the production of knowledge
- The university depends on the advancement/replacement of undergraduates to graduates to faculty for its continuation.

Structural remnants of this model exist still in universities in the stratification of academics into three major levels: undergraduates, graduates, and faculty/doctors, and in the place of the thesis. To advance from one level to the next, students must produce a thesis or doctoral dissertation, in which they demonstrate their accumulated skills. This represents the 'masterwork' by which journeymen advanced within the medieval guilds.

The guild metaphor draws on the social conception of a cooperative group of individuals who share the training and aspirations of their academic profession. A critically social element of the mapping is the recognition for a craft to survive and prosper, new generations of practicants must be trained. The notion of successions of generations is most prominently recognized in the metaphor of the academic guild. The question sometimes raised of universities, as to why they should have graduate students, is understood to be groundless in this context. The graduate students, as journeymen in the guild, are those preparing and being prepared to take their place as the next generation of scholars, who will carry on the practices of teaching and research central to the effort of the guild. Without graduate students, the university would be unable to continue the tradition of scholarship; the very existence of academia would be threatened.

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The university as parent

> One purpose of higher education in the American framework is to help realize the dream of individual opportunity. Its purpose is to draw out the latent talent of youth, to give opportunity for able youth to mature intellectually, aesthetically, socially, vocationally, and morally. Succeeding generations of American men and women ... have attained *new heights of personal development*, of vocational achievement, and of ability in public service because higher education was available to them. Many Americans today could not have attained *their present stature* without ready access to institutions of higher education. *Development of their capabilities contributes immeasurably to their own lives as well as to the national welfare.* (Commission 1957)

Education is the process of rearing or bringing up the children to become mature adults. The phrase "alma mater," literally meaning "nourishing (or dear) mother," and the doctrine of the school as being *in loco parentis*, or "in the place of a parent," are familiar illustrations of this metaphor. The several references to the development of the individual are directly connected to the role of the university as parent—here, specifically, a nurturant parent. Also note the observation in the final sentence of the contribution of the mature individual to the intellectual and moral "wealth" of the state. Children must become mature, reasonable, thinking adults; their participation as an adult is participation in the society as a citizen.

The faculty in this mapping are nurturers in the role of formulating and transmitting truth to their students: truth, or knowledge, is a kind of sustenance (food for the mind) which the parents provide to the children, and at the same time teach them how to "pursue truth for themselves." (Baade 1964: 5) Teachers nurture the students, care for them, and further,

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teach them how to take care of themselves, i.e. prepare them for maturity and for their own careers as scholars and truth-seekers.

This is the last of the metaphors for the university which is of a fundamentally social nature. It reflects a view of social institutions as having a function of guardianship. As the role of family life was dissolved by advances in industrialization, the university provided the bulk of the students' socialization. The principal relational emphasis is on the role of the university as nourishing and being responsible for the student. The mappings are as follows:

- the school is the parent
- the students are children
- the process of becoming educated is the process of becoming mature

The source domain: Parents are responsible for children; children are unable to provide for themselves or determine what they need. Children go through a period of dependence on their parents; they eventually mature and become independent. The then mature adult is equal to the parents in responsibility for him- or herself. Parents are responsible for the proper instilling of moral and cultural values in their children. Parents nourish their children, provide for them, and are responsible for their preparation for life in the world.

The target domain: The school is responsible for its students; the students are unable to support themselves or determine their own needs. Students are dependent on the school during the term of their education; they eventually become educated and independent. The educated student is

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then equal to the educator in intellectual and social responsibility. The school nourishes the student's mind and intellectual development, provides for the student, and is responsible for the depth and breadth of his or her education.

Entailments:

- the university's responsibility is parental responsibility
- the university is responsible for the maturity of the students
- the students must respect the authority of the university
- the students owe gratitude to the university
- students cannot determine what they need to learn
- parents prototypically are the sources of moral, cultural, and ethical values. The university as parent becomes a moral teacher; the uneducated citizen is one who has not matured properly, who has not acquired the necessary mores and cultural values to be a proper, mature citizen.

The goal of the university in this model is the rearing of mature responsible adults, or the teaching of students to become good, informed, responsible citizens.

Grounding: The grounding of this metaphor is in the natural conflation of youth with a period of intensive learning, of the child's growth to maturity with the student's time of education. The development of this metaphor rests in the actual circumstance of education prototypically dealing with the young, and with learning of new skills, and so on The conflation of education and growth to maturity, and the school's role in the lives of children, instilling of proper moral and intellectual values as a reflection and continuation of parents' roles, is illustrated in the following:

> From the individual's earliest infancy this process of participation is widened and deepened, and always to some degree under the direction and control of the expectations and demands of those who form the

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> social inclosure [sic] of his childhood. Family life, no matter how unorganized it may at first sight appear, saturates the child's mind, directs his activity and thus introduces some degree of order into his unregulated impulses. In the school, as at present constituted, is found a more highly organized factor in the process of mediating the fund of social values and interests and thus securing the social transformation and control of the individual. (MacVannel 1912: pp. 173-4)

The metaphor does not allow for much elaboration of the mapping regarding the internal structure of the university, especially the roles of administration, faculty, research, and so on. It principally foregrounds the nature of the relationship of the university to the students. That relationship, it is worth noting, can take the form either of the strict father or of the nurturant parent. To the extent that the university makes rules of behavior and controls the students' lives, it is a strict father. This is the university *in loco parentis*, regulating its students' lives. To the extent that it sees its central purpose as the nurturing of the intellect, and the encouragement of intellectual inquiry and growth, it is a nurturant parent. The is the university as the "alma mater," recalled with affection as nourishing and encouraging the students.

The notion of realizing individual opportunity mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph above is related to the parental metaphor by the connection between maturity and the ability to achieve, as visible in the following:

> Higher education has been deeply influenced by the American concept of equality of opportunity. Americans ordinarily believe that higher education is and ought to be a gateway for personal development and advancement. (Commission 1957: 6-7)

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This is a fuller mapping of the metaphor. The educated citizen is mature; to be uneducated is to be immature. An immature person is not a complete person; an incomplete person is not equal to others, and is therefore not able to participate as fully in the affairs of life. Hence education is that which allows equal opportunity to all citizens.

The image of the "gateway" evoked above is an elaboration within the metaphor of one's life, and career, as a journey. There can be obstacles to advancement, such as fences/a lack of education; the gateway represents the removal of that obstacle. At bottom of the image are the primaries, CHANGE IS MOTION, ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS REACHING A DESTINATION, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS.

A fundamental element of the background of this metaphor is the familiar larger metaphor of the state or society as parent. The state is responsible for its children-citizens; schools are the arm of the state specifically concerned with education. Education is upbringing; an educated citizen is a mature one. The oft-recognized relationship between the parental state and public education is seen in Disraeli's observation that "Wherever is found what is called paternal government, there is found state education." (Commons, June 15, 1874)

The role of institutions of higher education as nurturant parents will be further discussed in Part 3. But the relevance of this model to questions about why undergraduate teaching should be a basic concern to universities, and about the aims of education, is clear: the university is responsible for the maturity, moral character, and preparedness of its students and therefore of

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citizens in general; this role cannot be overlooked. Under the pressure of the student as consumer, the university as parent is disappearing: the view of the university as a service-provider is incompatible with the strict father who determines what students should do and learn. But if the model of the university as a parent is lost, the positive model of the nurturant parent the "alma mater" is irrevocably gone as well.

The university as a factory

> That labourer alone is productive, who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, and thus works for the self-expansion of capital. If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, *a schoolmaster is a productive labourer,* when, in addition to belabouring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. *That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of in a sausage factory,* does not alter the relation. (Marx 1867, from *Das Capital;* in Tucker 1978: 418)

This more mechanical metaphor, the first of the models of the university not based on the social complex metaphor, arose after the Industrial Revolution. The Revolution not only provided the basis for a new model of production, the factory, with its technologically advanced, streamlined structure, it also brought about an increase in both general prosperity and in the need for educated labor. Against this background of ever larger numbers of students, the factory model foregrounds the priority on production amount and efficiency, and carries images of the production-line creating uniform cookie-cutter students.

Unlike the business metaphor, the factory model does not invoke the notion of a market, or of competition, or of a larger economic context into

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which the factory fits. Another difference from the business model is that the product in the factory is the student; the major version of the business model maps education as the product (or service), and the student as the consumer.

The factory model is based upon the economic complex metaphor, as it concerns immediately and centrally the use of resources. But it adds to the economic complex a notion of *product*: resources become raw materials, and the notion of production is created. This is an important development for our institutional models; the notion of students as products was a departure from all previous models, and the notion of the education process being critically focused on *production* of one sort or another has become central to our understanding of the university.

The source domain:

A factory is the organized, rationalized means of creating products from raw materials. It adds the goal of production to the fundamental idea of resources and the shepherding of resources as a basic aspect of any organism or organization's operation.

The mapping is as follows:

- the school is a factory
- the students are products
- industry, or seen larger, society, is the consumer
- education is the labor that creates the value in the product
- the faculty are resources OR the faculty are employees in the factory
- the administration is the factory management

Entailments:

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- streamlined production is desirable
- a standardized high-quality product is desirable
- minimal and efficient use of resources is desirable
- the higher quality the raw materials used, the higher quality the product will result
- the higher quality product the factory produces, the better its reputation, and the more successful the factory is
- the specifications of the university for its raw materials determine what is taught at the high school level

These last entailments show us why colleges compete for good students, using merit scholarships and other inducements to attract the more successful high school students. The better high school student is the higher quality raw material, and when educated will bring more prestige and success to the institution. Abraham Flexner, an early critic of the overgeneralized American university, wrote in 1908 that the success of the college in its role depends "on the ability of the preparatory school to deliver the necessary raw material in the right shape." (Flexner 1908: 60) He elaborates on the mapping, noting that "the college's specifications—the so-called entrance requirements—are full and precise." (Ibid.: 61)

Flexner also discusses the problems of the last entailment of the factory model.

> A strong and wholly regrettable tendency has thus developed in the direction of accepting the college entrance requirements as conclusively marking off the proper sphere of secondary instruction and as authoritatively prescribing how this work ought to be carried on. (Ibid.: 64)

The contemporary more prevalent extension of this mapping of product quality metrics to what students have learned is the problem of

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schools "teaching to the tests." Because of the need for each level to meet the metrics required by the next, the standards of measurement become straitjackets on what is taught. This restriction of the educational process is part of a larger trend in education which has disturbed a number of observers. As Lucas notes,

> If it turns out that so-called higher levels of learning by their very nature cannot be tested for adequately in a straightforward performance way, often-reiterated charges that the mania for outcomes assessment represents a reductive sort of intellectual "minimalism" in higher education gains credibility. (Lucas 96: 211)

School as Factory

In the following quote we find a slight elaboration of the mapping in the reference to the assembly-line model of production:

> They [distance learners] are experiencing something very different *from the traditional factory model of American education,* in which everyone on the assembly line is delivered the same standardized units of information (lectures and textbooks) and then must pass the same quality inspection (objective exams). [In] this factory model ... students sit in neat rows, holding up their hands for permission to speak, clock-watching their way through textbooks and lectures that are broken into discrete knowledge. (Phillips 1998)

Students as Products

In the metaphor of students as products, if there are more students receiving degrees than there are positions open for them, there is a glut in the market:

> So many of these comments seem to blame "society" and "culture" for an anti-intellectual attitude that is *somehow failing to create a market for surplus Ph.D.'s.* (Rice, CHE on the Web Colloquy 1997: 6/4)

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> I agree with you, Mr. McManus, that the production of new Ph.D.'s should be slowed down ... . (Mayers, CHE on the Web Colloquy 1997: 6/4)

One positive result of the view of the student as a product has been the association of prestige with a good education, that is a uniformly high-quality product bringing the school a good reputation. The perceived prestige of a school brings in a larger endowment, which becomes another incentive for the school to attract higher quality students. The benefits of higher prestige began in the most distinguished and selective schools, but has, as these things do, percolated throughout the system such that a larger range of schools now attempt to raise the quality of their educational standards to bring this prestige back upon themselves.

But there are dangers to the model, as we have seen. The uniformity that can be forced on a system has ...

The university as a laboratory

> The school ... must become a social laboratory where children learn to subject the received tradition to the pragmatic tests of truth; the accumulated knowledge of society must be demonstrably seen to work. (Bowen 1981: 423)

One metaphor which arose in the Progressive era was the view of the school as a place where teachers and students tried out new ways of teaching and learning, and where students tested traditional knowledge:

The mapping:

- the school is a laboratory
- students are scientists, testing hypotheses
- faculty are advanced scientists who guide the research

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The source domain: a laboratory is a place where experiments are designed and performed, where new solutions are tested.

The target domain: the university is the place where experiments are performed, where students learn what knowledge is valid.

Grounding: schools often contain laboratories physically; students are taught to examine received wisdom and test it.

The metaphor does not recognize graduate students or administration. But it does recognize the school as a place where the natural rebellious and tradition-challenging tendencies of youth are given an outlet for experimentation and compromise, and as a common source of social innovation.

A further illustration is found in an advertisement for Pace University, headed "Technological Revolutions: Classroom Solutions:"

> PACE's classrooms are like laboratories where solutions are worked out—thoroughly. And because PACE professors are in tune with all the changes sweeping through the world, the course material is shaped so that it's totally relevant. (From The *New York Times* "Education Life" Section, November 1, 1998: 5)

The university as tool for social change

> Education ... beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery. (Horace Mann; in Lucas 1996: 100)

This is the second of the two metaphors to arise in the Progressive era, and the faith of the idealists in the university as a means of restructuring society for the benefit of all. In this metaphor, social progress is desirable, it is primarily achieved through education, and the school is thus at the center of

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social change. The focus entities are the university as a place in which ideas for social change are developed and tested, and where issues in social development are solved.

The mapping:

- the university is the forerunner, the vanguard, of social change
- society is a mechanism
  The source domain: tools are used to alter, fix, or augment machines.

The target domain: the university is the place where solutions for social problems, and ideas for social change, are developed; the university is instrumental in altering the structure of society.

Entailments:

- the goal of the laboratory is to test solutions to social problems
- the university should be a force for social change

  > Social critics have [called on] universities ... as a group to redirect their efforts toward social action: altering housing policy, eliminating racial inequities, and, not least important, solving the problems of the cities. (Wood and Zuckerman; in Connery 1970: 6ff)

This was the first construal of the university to make explicit what has become a standard tenet in many strains of thought about higher education: that the school can have an active role in altering social structure. A college education has become not only much more common and expected in the average citizen's life, but is also a requirement for many forms of employment. This has led to great increases in the proportion of the population which attends college, an increase which broadens the social reach of the school. Curricular developments which arise in the universities—e.g. multiculturalism—often are forerunners to, and determiners of, larger social

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changes. Students are touched by issues during their education, and carry an awareness of them into their later lives.

The understanding of colleges and universities as central to many forms of social change is one of the factors behind arguments about the importance of affirmative action in higher education. If an education is critical to later success, and if changes in the university eventually percolate to the larger society, then the population of students should be actively shaped and reformed toward a larger social ideal.

The school as a 'laboratory of freedom'

> Another basic purpose of higher education is that of helping to provide solutions for society's problems. In addition to the personal development of students, to concern with intelligence-in-action, to the stimulation of research and creativity, the American college or university serves its surrounding society. [...] Comprehensive universities are deeply involved in the applications of the arts and sciences to contemporary life and practical affairs. (Commission 1957: 10-11)

Many education theorists have seen the school's role in society as the place where social problems are worked out, where solutions are experimented with and implemented. The elaboration here is that the school is seen as a tool not just for testing small solutions to minor social problems, but for changing social structure as a whole, for making it more egalitarian and democratic.

This construal combines the two previous metaphors: it is the laboratory used as a tool for social change. The metaphor invoked here is of the school as a testing-ground of techniques in social progress and

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development. This is the model of society as "using the American system of higher education as an instrument to implement certain ideological views about desired social changes." (Wilson, in Ashworth 1979)

The mapping:

- society is a mechanism
- the university is a laboratory in which social problems are examined
- solutions become operative in changing social structure

The source domains: laboratories test hypotheses; tools are used to alter, fix, or augment machines.

The target domain: students examine social traditions and develop new forms of democratic organization; the university is the place where solutions for social problems, and ideas for social change, are developed; the university provides and acts as a tool for altering the mechanism of society.

Grounding: University research often involves literal social experimentation. Universities have laboratories, create hypotheses, and so on.

Further Illustration:

As one modern proponent of this progressive view says in an interview:

> G: Radical education is interdisciplinary in nature, it questions the fundamental categories of all disciplines, and it has a public mission of making society more democratic. This last point is perhaps the principal reason why radical education as a field is so exciting. We can take ideas and apply them.
>
> M: —*Almost like having your own laboratory?*
>
> G: —Something like that. (Murchland 1990: 96)

Dewey's vision of the school as a laboratory of freedom unified the tool and the laboratory. "Dewey was at one with Plato in the idea of justice as obtaining where individuality is cultivated in a setting of social usefulness." (Brubacher 1966: 50) In this view, knowledge is beneficial, advances in

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knowledge are good, and what is good for the individual's growth is good for society.

In the basic laboratory metaphor, the purpose of the laboratory is to work on specific social problems. In the Deweyan elaboration, the school was the laboratory in which the work of changing the whole social structure was carried forward; it is the place in which the future form of society is worked out. In this model, society is constantly mutating; change is progress, and therefore good.

What is critically recognized in this metaphor, and often hidden or overlooked in other views of higher education, is the relationship between the school and democracy. Dewey believed that "democracy is more than a form of politics, that it is primarily a way of associated living, of communicating experience." (Brubacher 1966: 49)

> A society with many channels of communication between all its elements can mobilize resources of initiative and inventiveness limited only by the numbers and native talent of the whole body politic. (Ibid.)

A metaphor which highlights the social role of the university will preserve the understanding that education is critical to the larger political aims of a country.

The university as public resource

> The college is the promoter and conservator of the liberal arts, those subjects which engage the interest of enlightened minds; it is the guardian of the culture of mankind; it is the apparatus by which each generation is brought up into sympathetic appreciation of the total

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achievement of the race. (President Poteat, Wake Forest College, 1905; in Knight 1940: 117)

This metaphor describes the university as a kind of resource, repository, or social bank. It is another indirect product of the Industrial Revolution. The economic complex metaphor gives rise to the interpretation of goods as resources; education and universities are seen as social goods, and thus as a resource for society. This view of the university in particular grew out of the WWII era, in which the government employed the research facilities of universities for strategic and technological development.

In this construal, the school is a reserve of useful social knowledge. The focus entities are the university as a locus of knowledge accrual, storage, and distribution, and the knowledge itself. The principal emphasis falls on the role of the university as a cultural trust, as the place in which the collected knowledge of the society is preserved and made accessible for the good of society as a whole.

The mapping is as follows:

- the school is a public resource
- knowledge is a resource for society

The source domain: a public resource such as a library is a place created by a society to gather, and preserve the knowledge of the society. It is available for the citizens to access that knowledge. The resources are of some cultural value, being the fruits of physical labor.

The target domain: the school is a place created by a society which gathers, keeps, protects, and distributes culturally accumulated knowledge. This knowledge is of cultural value, being the fruits of intellectual labor.
Grounding: the school is the place in which the intellectual work of a society is done. The faculty are the laborers who gather and distribute

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knowledge. Laboratories and libraries become centers of knowledge development and preservation.

Entailments:

- knowledge is a resource; resources are useful or beneficial; therefore knowledge is useful or beneficial.
- the goal of the public resource is the preservation, dissemination, and transmission of knowledge
- it is the responsibility of the school to protect and preserve the resource
- it is society's responsibility to protect the university, as a general social resource

One metaphor underlying this construal is that of knowledge as an object to be accrued. An elaboration of this metaphor is found in the image of social capital, a variation of the economic metaphor. In the blend of the university as a resource with social capital, knowledge is the capital, the university is the place where the social capital is collected, the faculty are administrators of the trust, and so on. As Veblen (1918) notes, elaborating this accrual and storage image, the university is a "highly sterilized, germ-proof system of knowledge, kept in a cool, dry place." A public resource is one that takes in something of value to society, keeps it, and returns value to society. As one elaboration on the resource metaphor, the university is a kind of cooperative bank, "a mutual benefit society yielding dividends in efficiency and character." (President Poteat, Wake Forest College, 1905; in Knight 1940: 118)

Note also that the construal of teachers as a resource is related to the mapping of schools as a resource as discussed above: schools are a resource for society; teachers are a resource for students.

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The final entailment, that society is responsible for the preservation of the university, is illustrated in the following:

> The university contributes endlessly to the prosperity and welfare of society; it is right that society should contribute something in return. (Farrand 1922; in Knight 1940: 36)

A common view arising from the business metaphor is that institutions must justify their own existence. They must be self-supporting, and if they do not survive it is because they have not adapted to the demands of the market. But if we see the university as a resource for society at large, then it is clear that society has a responsibility toward its institutions of higher education: they provide a service to society, and that service should be recognized and supported.

The public nature of that service has however been threatened in recent years. As Barzun writes, observing the traditional role of the university in society, universities collect and create knowledge, and "knowledge is power and its possessor owes the public a prompt application." (Barzun 1993: 11) But as research departments and projects in universities are increasingly allied to private interests, the public benefit is lost. Soley observes that among the deleterious influences of "corporate, foundation, and tycoon money" in universities is "a covert transfer of resources from the public to the private sector." (Soley 1995: 145) The threat to public access to this major, critical social resource which is brought about by economic pressures within and without the institution must be reconsidered.

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The university as a research institution

> In the United States emphasis often falls on "practical research," but "pure research" which is a particularly appropriate field for higher education is not ignored. Much of the development of the social and behavioral sciences and most of the achievements in exploration of the natural sciences have emanated from the universities. As the frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, the complexity and cost of continued research have mounted, but the value of research to society continues to be demonstrated on a wide scale. No community, no industry, no cultural organization in America has failed to profit from the research achievements of twentieth-century institutions of higher education. (Commission 1957)

This metaphor arose during WWII, and in the postwar era with the challenge of Sputnik to American technological development. The university was called on to meet the challenge by educating the populace to meet a higher standard, and by contributing to significant advances in technological and scientific knowledge.

The metaphor rests on an economic interpretation of knowledge: knowledge is capital, something valuable and useful to society, universities are producers of that capital. There are two versions of this metaphor. In the first, the capital arises from the discovery of natural resources; this rests against a background understanding of knowledge as something in the world which is discovered. In the second, the capital is the knowledge produced by the researchers; this is the model of the university as a "knowledge factory." The background metaphors of knowledge for both of these are discussed further below.

This model foregrounds the role of the university as a locus of research. The focal entities are researchers, the university as their

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instrumental location of research and community, and the knowledge which results from that research. The relationship is of researchers in the university to product or understanding which is sought. As the concentration of the model is on the university as a research institution, the education of undergraduates does not enter into the mapping.

The two major construals of this model, of researchers as pioneers pushing back the frontiers of knowledge , and of workers in the university as a factory, present the same elements of the target domain arrayed in slightly varying metaphorical form, but have different reasoning consequences, and especially different connections to background ideological models, as is described below.

The university as a pioneer in exploration

This first type is a metaphor from the domain of exploration and discovery, resulting in images like *the search for knowledge*, and *to discover knowledge*. The metaphor is of the university as engaging in intellectual exploration to expand the frontiers of knowledge.

Mapping:

- the known and the unknown form a physical, spatially extended world
- knowledge is the territory of explored land; ignorance is the surrounding unexplored land
- research is exploration
- researchers, and members of the university in general, are the principal explorers

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Entailments:

- once territory is explored, it is known
- knowledge is a vast expanse, and given, and unchanging
- that which is known, and mapped, is not dangerous; ignorance, however, can be dangerous. This is the image of uncharted territories. It is also the source of knowledge being automatically beneficial or useful in this mapping: it can only be good to know more about one's surroundings.

Grounding:

We have a physical correlate to this metaphor which is very clear. Our experience of the physical and spatial world is one of encountering the unknown in the form of unfamiliar territory, which we come to understand in moving around in it. Knowledge is correlated both with motion through space and with the familiarity with the space that comes with that motion through it.

This image of the university is expressed in such common statements as *the search for truth, mankind's quest for knowledge,* and so on. The metaphor assumes that knowledge exists in the world, that people are naturally curious to discover more, and that it is a natural progression of the individual and therefore of society to increase knowledge. People desire to understand their world, and they desire to increase and refine this understanding of the world. As Ulich writes,

> And though the final and ultimate truth is beyond the reach of fallible human reason, this reason has nevertheless the vision of a goal, which is to eliminate error and illusion, and to come closer to that which really is. (Ulich; in Frankel 1959: 40)

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The terms *goal* and *come closer* express the idea of constant progress, of constant motion toward perfect understanding, even if this goal is never achieved.

This construal of the increase of knowledge is often expressed as 'pushing back the frontiers of knowledge.'[72] This is, as can be seen, an elaboration of the age-of-exploration model of knowledge as existing in the world, and found by researchers. Indeed the etymology of the word 'research,' indicating a quest, points to this model.[73] This is what we would expect from the fact that the age of exploration predates the industrial age.

> To enrich the culture by pushing back the frontiers of knowledge is also a part of the function of higher education. Library and laboratory are essential equipment for centers of higher education. (Commission 1957)

The underlying assumption is that progress is good, that increased knowledge is necessary. The goal of mankind is understanding of the world and of the self; knowledge can therefore only be beneficial to this aim.

The university as a knowledge factory

> The source of the problem in our universities is that they are controlled by and serve the interests of the giant monopolies and corporations. [This] has led toward computerized education in the

---

[72] The directional reference here takes as its source of meaning the canonical sense in which the frontiers face the subject. This is the same sense of 'back' as in 'push back the meeting date' in the metaphorical understanding of time, when this means to *delay* the meeting. The date is facing you, so for it to move back means for it to move away from you. This is opposed to the case in which pushing back the meeting date means making it sooner. In this latter case, the date is facing the same direction that you are, so to move it back means to move it closer to yourself. Pushing back the frontiers of knowledge is moving them farther away from the self or reference point.

[73] [<MF *recerch(er)* (v.) (to) seek, OF, equiv. to *re-* RE- + *cercher* to SEARCH] (Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, 1989, Dilithium Press, New York.)

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> 'knowledge factory' to serve society as it is, instead of academic institutions dedicated to the improvement and progress of society as a whole. (Aptheker 1966: 5)

The second construal of the university as a research institution comes from the industrial domain, and gives rise to images of the university and its workers *creating knowledge,* being *a knowledge factory* , and so on. This model rests on the assumption that knowledge is made and not found, and that it is useful. This is the metaphor of the university as major producer of knowledge, which becomes a form of social capital.

The mapping:

- the university is a factory
- knowledge is an object to be produced, and a valuable commodity
- researchers are knowledge producers

The source domain: people in factories manufacture useful products for social consumption. People need tools and resources to use; society creates factories as functional elements to produce the things necessary for people within it to use.

The target domain: researchers in universities produce knowledge for social consumption. Societies need knowledge to function; the school is society's tool for increasing social knowledge. The individual is inquisitive, and seeks to learn.

Grounding: the university collects and houses the major intellectual producers of the society; these intellects do increase social knowledge; this increase does amount to an overall perceived increase in human knowledge. Ideas have some object-like mappability; people create ideas; ideas correlate to knowledge, therefore we can have the sensation of creating knowledge. Knowledge is useful, so it becomes a kind of tool in our experience.

Entailments:

- the goal of the knowledge factory is to create new knowledge
- knowledge, once made, is an object that persists in the world
- knowledge is a resource; it is useful

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- the needs of society for useful knowledge determine what universities should produce

One finds cases of these two metaphors mixed in descriptions of the university, which are indications of their equivalence for some purposes, as in the following:

> The university has two great functions: the discovery of truth, and the injection of that truth into the social life stream. And as in industry so in the university it may be that the processes of production have been more highly perfected than those of intelligent distribution. (President Mather, Lafayette College, 1932; in Knight 1940: 45)

As is evident, while for some purposes the knowledge factory and the exploration metaphor are effectively the same for reasoning about the university, for others, they have significantly different entailments for the nature of knowledge and the role of researchers.

In the first model, knowledge is a product, as we have seen. Knowledge and truth are not interchangeable; and the kind of knowledge produced by the university is assumed to be useful, to have practical application. In this model, knowledge can sometimes be harmful, as the creations of man are not always beneficial. As Kerr notes,

> The organized intellect is a great machine that has gained extraordinary momentum since the Greeks got it going 2500 years ago. It turns out its countless new pieces of knowledge but with little thought for their consequences—their impact on the environment—like a new insecticide. (Kerr 1963: 123)

In the second model, knowledge is found; it exists in some sense independently of people and waits to be discovered. It is also assumed to be

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good; as a part of the natural world, it is only beneficial to know/have more of it. This is the Greek conception of knowledge.[74]

The question sometimes raised of why universities should draw resources and energy from their teaching obligations by engaging in research. One critic of research was Newman:

> [The university] is a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral; and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a university should have students [...]. (Newman 1852: ix)

But this question is more than answered in the context of the model of the university as creating knowledge for society. The products of university research are useful to the larger society, to industries within the society, to the government, and so on. Further, they enrich the teaching process itself: students can participate in the research effort, and learn thereby to value

---

[74] These two models of knowledge persist in our day, the former chiefly residing in the humanities, and the latter residing in the sciences. C.P. Snow observed "an aggravated split ... between two distinct and antithetical cultures in Western society, the one humanistic and literary, the other scientific." (Lucas 1976: 10) Snow wrote of two "polar groups" into which he saw Western intellectual life being divided:

> [A]t the one pole we have the literary intellectuals—at the other, the scientists. Between the two, a gulf of mutual incomprehension. They have a curious distorted image of each other. Their attitude is so different that, even on the level of emotion, they can't find much common ground. (Snow 1960:4)

Snow was illuminating this set of conflicting ICMs of knowledge and society which we find present in our culture today, discussed above. On the one hand, there is the notion of the utility of knowledge, for science, and social advancement, and so on. On the other, the notion of the major purpose of knowledge being the goal of individual development. The different ramifications of the two models of knowledge for our understanding of the effects of research and the nature of social progress are significant to our interpretation of the academic endeavor, touching on questions of the degree to which academics should be engaged in studying the effects of their research on the world, and how they should respond to their findings of this.

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academic inquiry, and aid in the larger knowledge production of the university.

Furthermore, in an economy which is increasingly one of knowledge industries, this metaphor becomes more and more relevant. More will be said about this in Part 3.

The University as a Business

> To Wall Street and entrepreneurs-at-large, the postsecondary education and training market looks huge and ripe for the picking . . . an "addressable market opportunity at the dawn of a new paradigm," in the breathless words of Morgan Stanley Dean Witter. In dollar terms, close to $300 billion is spent a year on the function, $635 billion if grades P-12 are added in. Several Wall Street houses have set up "education industry" practices to attract investors. A report from Nationsbanc Montgomery Securities ... claims $1.7 billion has been raised on Wall Street since 1996 to finance new competitive ventures. (*AAHE* 1998)

The university came to be seen as a business in the mid-20th century, especially in the postwar period, under the dovetailing influences of striking success of American business and the increasing appearance of ineffectuality in education as it was becoming understood more and more as a major industry in America.

The business model has crept into education via a number of paths, some physical, some economic, and some ideological. The physical paths are the direct influence on policy and administration by the increasing numbers of businesspeople acting in official capacity on boards of trustees, governing

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positions, and administrative positions in universities.[75] The economic paths are the growing involvement of schools with business concerns such as holding patents, overseeing large-scale externally-funded research projects, and owning stock and investments. As the universities have grown increasingly dependent on public funding, the demands for "accountability," for "productivity," and for "efficiency," have grown more strident, leading administrators to look increasingly to the business domain for guidance in how to achieve these economic goals.

While the business model is to a degree the descendant of the factory model, the two differ in important ways. The factory model, as noted above, came about after the Industrial Revolution, and arose in a time of increasing numbers of students at all levels of education. Corresponding to this need for guided growth, it was motivated by and foregrounded the images of increased

---

[75] The university has increasingly been directly involved with business concerns through local contracting and development interests. Indeed, as Aptheker has pointed out, the same kinds of conflict of interest long extant in business have arisen with regents and other board or administrative members involved in local businesses contracting with the university. Aptheker (1966) notes the integral involvement of regents of the University of California in corporations; and the conflict of interest created by the university's own investment policies. She notes that while it has been difficult to determine the details of cases in which a regent with a controlling interest in a business may influence university policy toward that interest, "[T]here are some public records. There was a discussion in a regents meeting at U.C. about how to dispose of a 500-acre tract owned by the University. It was disposed of as follows:"

> It is now recommended that an oil and gas lease be executed with the Signal Oil and Gas Company providing for a term of five years at $7.50 per acre per year thereafter, and a one-sixth royalty. The treasurer advised that Regents Pauley and Mosher have recommended acceptance. (Minutes, Committee of Finance of the Regents of the University of California, October 18, 1963.)
> Regent Mosher is chairman of Signal Gas and Oil Company.
> At another meeting the Regents were discussing whether or not to maintain investments in the aerospace companies. Regent Canady 'expressed his continued confidence in the industry . . . . It was decided to retain present investments.' (Minutes, Subcommittee on Investments, Regents of the University of California, October 17, 1963.) Mr. Canady is a vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft[...].(Aptheker 1966: 8-9)

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production of students, streamlined efficiency, uniformity of the product, and so on. The primary product of schools at this time was their students; their customers were industry and society in general.

The business model however gathered its real momentum in a period of declining enrollments, when colleges and universities were searching for ways to attract more students, to cut costs, and in effect to survive in an increasingly competitive environment. Thus, with the newly arisen background understanding of education not only as a market but as a highly competitive one, the business model focuses on the school as becoming competitive within the market, on the need for advertising and other image-grooming to attract students—now the customers; and on other business concerns, such as cutting overhead and increasing production.

The metaphor of the school as a factory introduced an economic frame in education, and added the goal of production, and the interpretation of resources as raw materials to be made into products. But as we have seen, the business model arose under new socio-economic conditions in higher education. The decline in enrollments raised awareness of education as a realm in which institutions needed to attract students, to increase profitability, but most importantly in which institutions were in competition with one another.

Neither the economic complex metaphor nor the factory model provided a way of understanding competition. Hence the rise of the model of

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businesses within a market, which rested on the ICM of the natural world. This basis was critical: to the notion of resources and of organizations as primarily means of shepherding resources on a larger scale, the Darwinian ICM added the understanding of a larger environment with limited resources which individuals had to compete for.

The fuller nature of this model, and its influence on the business model and thence on education, are discussed below.

The source domain of business and the market: The Folk Model of Darwinian Natural Selection

Our central metaphor for understanding the domain of business and the market comes from a folk model of the Darwinian conception of the natural world and the mechanism of natural selection.[76]

The Darwinian ICM is fundamentally about resources: it rests on, and arises from, the economic understanding of the world. Both diachronically and synchronically the Darwinian natural world rises from an economic conception. As Gould notes, "Darwin grafted Adam Smith upon nature to establish his theory of natural selection." (Gould 1977: 100) Smith's view of individuals in competition with one another for survival in business, and their need to adapt to the market, formed an apt framework for

[76] Business is itself the target domain of a related set of metaphors described by Taub, Morgan, et al. in their work on Metaphor Families. It is perceived of as a game, as a sport, and as a battle or war. We will not go into the full analysis of the grounding of the various construals of business here; but even a cursory examination of these metaphors, and an analysis of what features they share, provides us with an understanding of one of the fundamental means of conceiving of business in our culture: the idea of competition and survival; and as we see above, the most common, direct, and compelling source domain for competition and survival is the Darwinian model of natural selection.

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understanding the competition of organisms for survival in a shifting ecosystem. Economic metaphors provided a systematic set of ways of thinking about resources, the use and expense thereof, wise and unwise uses, and so on; the factory model brought to this the idea of production, and of resources as raw materials made into products. The ICM of the natural world places resource-users into a closed system, in which their struggle for survival is rendered as competition over limited resources. It is compelling because of our experience with limited resources. The metaphor is especially appealing or persuasive, however, because of the Western dichotomy of natural and artificial, and the inherent appropriateness credited to the former (more is said about this below). The metaphor also resonates with us because of another common metaphor, the Strict Father metaphor, which corresponds in a number of ways with the competition model: the notion of each individual as responsible for his own survival, without help from others/parents, surviving/succeeding only by dint of individual effort, adaptiveness, preparedness. The premises of the Darwinian model "derive from Strict Father morality." (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 561)

In the Darwinian ICM of natural selection, there are a number of organisms living within an ecosystem. The goal of each organism is to survive and to pass on its characteristics to progeny. There are limited resources (food, water, etc.) in the ecosystem, and hence it can support only a limited number of organisms, so these organisms must compete for the resources. Organisms within species compete to survive; species compete

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with each other to survive. Weakness, ill health, and deformations all contribute to an inability to compete and therefore survive. That which promotes survival in the natural world is by definition good. The natural world/ecosystem imposes certain forces on the individual organism, including resource limits but also conditions like climate change, predator and prey systems, etc. The organisms must adapt to survive optimally under these conditions.

To summarize:

- the center of the folk model is the individual organism (with life span including birth, life, death; states of health and decay; etc.)
- the organism exists in the ecosystem with other organisms
- the paramount goal of the organism is to succeed (survive and procreate)
- the method of surviving and flourishing is to compete
- fitness allows the organism to succeed
- fitness is provided by health and strength
- fitness (that is, what counts as fitness) is determined by the survival and flourishing of the organism in the environment

The grounding of natural selection:

Struggle and survival are fundamental experiences of all living things; we all experience difficulties, obstacles which we overcome, and know what it means to survive despite hardship. We know what it means to be fit to deal with difficulties. We all experience limited resources in the world and the result at times that many people are trying to get the same thing. We see cases of the success of the more fit around us in the natural world if we look: of two deer running from wolves, the faster one will survive.

The Darwinian Folk Model

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Folk models are generally simplifications of some set of cultural or biological facts, with relations holding among their constituents that do not necessarily reflect situations in the real world; this one is no exception. The structure of the natural world as rendered in this folk model is drastically simplified. To give just one counterexample, biologists have noted a great number of kinds of behavior in animals which result in an increase in the likely survival of the phenotype, and not the genotype, or of the kin set, and not the individual.[77] The pure folk model of simple individual-level competition and dog-eat-dog struggle does not hold. It is a misleading representation of the processes of natural selection.

But it is clearly a compelling model, taking together as it does some major elements of our existence in the world—life, struggle, survival, success, and death—and giving them a shape and a purpose. It is interesting to note the irony in the use of the Darwinian model to give structure to the business and market domain, given that Darwin called up images from Adam Smith's description of the market to impel his reader's understanding of how natural selection worked. This is an illustration of the compelling nature of this metaphor: when Darwin was concocting his model, the experience of the market was familiar to people, and therefore provided a basis for leading them to understand the parallels of competition and survival in the natural world. But since that time, the analogy is almost always made in the reverse direction.

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[77] Cf. Ehrlich, Paul R.. 1986. *The Machinery of Nature*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

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Beside presenting a very clear format for understanding competition, the Darwinian ICM offers an appeal to the natural world which provides considerable further motivation for its use as a model in other domains. Business is a very social, rather latter-day development in culture, and as such has little to make its processes and outcomes seem inherently necessary. To ground it in this model of the natural world is to give it a set of justifications, a connection to the essence of the world, which grant it an authenticity and motivation it would otherwise be hard-pressed to find.

The Mapping to business and the market

The conception of business which is applied to education and other domains is a folk model. In this model, a business is an independent financial organization with a hierarchy of management and employees. It produces some product or service which it sells to customers/clients. It competes within a market with other businesses for these customers.

The ICM of business as a source domain for conceptualization is a mixture of metaphoric mediation and direct experience. The general structure of a business, prototypically, includes:

- the organization
- managers/administration
- workers/employees
- resources (natural and human)
- a product or service produced
- customers or clients

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The elements from the Darwinian ICM in Section 3.1 correspond as follows to elements described above from the domain of business and the market:

•a business is an organism: i.e. it has all the corresponding characteristics of an organism: life span, health, death, etc.

(This is a subcase of the metaphor by which a social institution is an organism, having the characteristics of a living organism: a life span, a state of normal health and strength, etc. We find this metaphor in examples like *Japan is suffering from the recession,* or *1775 marked the birth of the United States.*)

- the business exists in a system
- economic health is physical health

Note that this is a common metaphor, found regularly in descriptions of e.g. nation's economies (*a strong economy, a healthy economy*) etc.

- economic fitness is physical/biological fitness
- economic competition is physical competition
- economic survival is physical survival (continued life)
- Technological developments in business correspond to genetic developments in the Darwinian ICM, to changes in the organism that make it more fit for competition and survival. Technology allows a business to be more productive per resources used, and therefore increase its competitiveness

The metaphorical entailments which follow from these include the following. A business is an organism in an ecosystem/ the natural world, so:

•organisms survive by being the most fit to survive/businesses survive by being the most fit to survive in economic competition

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•competition in the natural world determines which organism is the most fit/competition in the business world determines which business is the most fit

•interference in this competition among organisms leads to weak and unfit survivors/interference in the competition among businesses (i.e. regulation, certification, government control) leads to inefficient and unfit businesses

•organisms survive by being fittest to survive; they achieve fitness through adaptation/businesses survive by being fittest, and achieve fitness through technological development.

Entailments of the application of the natural world to the domain of business:

•*The paramount goal of the business is to succeed.* An organism's goal is to survive; in business, survival is determined by success.

•*Economic fitness determines survival.* If physical fitness corresponds to economic fitness, and physical fitness is what causes an organism to survive, then it is entailed that economic fitness will determine the survival/success of the business.

•*The market is a natural system/ecosystem.* As businesses are the entities in the system, if businesses are organisms, the market is the ecosystem within which they operate.

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•*Economic fitness is determined by the market.* In the natural world, the qualities in an organism which lead to survival are determined solely by the environment. In business, the market determines what will make a business succeed or fail.

•*Monopolies are bad.* It is competition that fosters a healthy market, lower prices, more positive positions for the consumer. A monopoly, in which one provider holds the majority or entirety of business in some market, is bad.

•*Technology is good.* As something that increases the fitness of the business in the market, technological developments are beneficial.

Some of our understanding of business comes from the ICM of Darwinian natural selection, as we saw above. But other characteristics come directly from our experience of business. These include the following:

•*Unitary metric of success is money.* The success of a business is measured in profit. Since the fundamental worth of a business, product, service, etc. are measured in money, the monetary becomes the basic metric of a business's health, strength, and longevity.

•*The notion of productivity.* This has no direct correlate in the natural world. Products are specific to business, and to the workings of the market. But productivity correlates generally with profit, and is thus the mechanism which creates success for a business.

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•*Productivity is the paramount goal.* The competitiveness of a business is determined by its productivity; especially a high ratio of product to cost, and to business size (which can be measured monetarily); increased productivity is increased competitiveness

•*The market is unlimited.* There is no correlation in the natural world to this artificial construct. In the ICM of the market, there is no limit on resources; while it is obvious that resources in the natural world are limited.

•*Unlimited possible expansion of business.* As the market is unlimited, the possibilities of expansion of the business are unlimited

•*The idealized model of closed economic world*: the only entities in the economic ICM are businesses, consumers, and unlimited resources. The nature of the consumer is defined by desire (or want), and this desire is presumed to be unlimited, therefore the market is unlimited. No external factors come to bear on nature and behavior of market (e.g., the effects of waste, pollution, limited natural resources, a fragile environment). The inherent balance of the system is achieved through competition among its organisms.

•*A business as an organization of people*. A business as a collection of people organized to perform some purpose. The defining characteristic is goal-directed organized action.

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The target domain: education

In the application of the business metaphor to education, we use several folk models of that target domain. The one which applies generally to public universities is of the following structure: a school, which accepts students, not of especially high or low caliber, but average, and deals in the commodities of education and credentials/degrees.

There is a second ICM which will be relevant here, and that is the model of the ivy league school. In this model, prestige is as important a commodity in the school as degrees or education. The school gains prestige through having renowned faculty and graduates who go on to become distinguished in their careers. It uses this prestige to attract promising students who will then become successful and continue the cycle. Students seek out the school in order to benefit from its prestigious reputation in making their careers. There is a side-business which arises in this model, which involves the school selling prestige to wealthy students.

The elements of the target domain (parallel to those in the business domain: business, workers, managers, customers, product, etc.) include:

- the institution
- administration
- faculty
- students
- education
- degree (and in some mappings, the prestige of an established institution)

The configuration of the target domain

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The faculty and administration are a permanent part of the institution, engaged in an effort to provide education to the transient population of students. This parallels the structure in the source domain in which the employees and managers of a business are permanent parts of it, engaged in providing a product or service to the external and transient population of consumers or clients.

Mappings

Some of the elements mapped in the business metaphor of education are inherited from the business model as it is informed by the Darwinian ICM; some come from our direct experience of business itself.

There are three versions of education as a business, differentiated by the three mappings of the *product*: there is education as a product, students as the product, and knowledge as the product. The latter two we have seen before: the school as a student factory, and as a knowledge factory. Just as with the factory metaphor, there is the idea of the university as having a product for both of these. What is new is that which is specific to *business*: the notion of universities as in competition with one another for survival in the market.

Further, there are two forms of the version in which the students are consumers. In one, education is a *product*, students are consumers, and so on. In the service-industry version, education is a *service* of which students are the consumers.

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•schools are businesses

•the education is the product

•the student is the consumer

•faculty are employees/laborers

Service-industry version:

•the education is the service

•the student is the client

•academic are service-providers

So for the student factory, and the knowledge factory, the mappings are as follows:

Student factory:

•the student is the product

•education is the school's labor to change the raw material into finished product

•industry and society are the consumers

Knowledge factory:

•knowledge is the product

•faculty researchers are employees/laborers

•industry and society are the consumers

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Entailments from the Darwinian ICM of business

Competition among schools fosters efficiency (which is fitness to survive): that competition between schools is necessarily beneficial, as it leads to streamlined, more efficient production

Inefficient (unfit) institutions are unable to compete: an efficient business is a competitive one; therefore an efficient school, in this mapping, is a competitive one; since competitiveness is desirable, efficiency is desirable

Technology is an aid to education, as it makes schools more efficient and thus better able to compete. It boosts productivity: more students per faculty member can be educated

Consumer desires, or market force, should determine nature of production: the businesses, as consumers (1), or the student, as consumer/client (2) determines what products are valuable; these 'natural constraints'/the 'invisible hand' determine the nature of the market

Accreditation is interference with the market: regulation of the industry is bad, as it interferes with the natural forces of the ecosystem

Entailments from the business domain

The entailments which arise from our knowledge of the business domain include the following:

Productivity is good: measured in output of product, i.e. students, the higher number the better;

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Streamlined production is good (cf. assembly-line style production): the faster students can be educated, the better;

An increase in productivity is desirable: as businesses are constantly seeking to increase output, so should schools;

Efficiency as desirable: any measures which allow the business to produce more product, with less expenditure of funds and effort, are good. Thus, with schools, that which allows them to produce more students with the same or less input of funds, is good;

Profit in the short term is preferable to long-term planning: the goal of a business is to make money; whatever measures are necessary to do this must be taken. There is little or no conception, in the business domain, of long-term planning necessary to produce long-term return;

Undesirability of increases in factory mechanism: the ratio of producer to product should not increase; this is an indication of decreased efficiency, and a sign of corporate bloating and ineffectiveness;

Standardization of production methods: in business, an important method of achieving efficiency of output is the assembly-line style of production, which decreases as much as possible any customization of products, labor, and so on. In education, this means that there should be a high ratio of students to instructors, and that pedagogic techniques should be standardized across students;

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Unitary production goal: the single goal of the business is to produce; maximum efficiency is reached in the output of one kind of product. Thus, in education, there should be a single goal of the institution;

Unitary metric of productivity: level of production provides a unitary measure of success (from money and monetary value, bottom line, single metric, etc.);

Undesirability of price cuts to producer: in business, the balance of supply and demand determine the price of the product. Any cuts to price which are not required by this balance put the individual business at a disadvantage in its competition against the other businesses, as its ratio of profit per sale is decreased. In schools, this means that tuition reductions and other decreases in the cost of education are harmful to the school, when the reduction is not a matter regulated by demand;

Use of technology to streamline, standardize, and accelerate production: in the business domain, as we have seen, advances in technology tend to correlate with an increased ratio of product to producer. In education, therefore, there arises the assumption that technological aids can only increase the efficiency of delivering education;

The unlimited growth potential of the market: in the business domain, there is no limit to consumer demand, and no limit to resources, therefore there is no limit to the possible expansion of the business. In education, this would correspond to an unlimited supply of students-consumers of education for existing universities;

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Affordable tuition and what the market will bear: making tuition affordable is price-fixing;

Scholarships as subsidies, interfering with the natural self-regulation of the system;

Public education as monopoly: the predominantly public domain of education counts as a monopoly of the market, and is therefore bad;

The product should be guaranteed against defects in construction or performance: in the business domain, the contract between the producer and the consumer usually includes some stipulation that if the product fails to perform as the consumer requires, it can be returned at the producer's expense. Thus we see schools offering guarantees to the employers, the consumers of their students/products.

Affirmative action as interference with the competition which should be the sole factor in student selection.

Illustrations of the Mappings between the Business Domain and Education

There are three versions, as discussed above, of the metaphor of education as a business. In one, education is the product; in the second, the student is the product; in the third, knowledge is the product. These are elaborated and illustrated below.

The School as Business, Education as Product; Student as Consumer, Tuition as Price, etc.

In this mapping, the college is a business, selling a product, education, and the students are the customers paying for and consuming that product.

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> Scott Safranski, a professor of management at St. Louis University, who headed a visiting accreditation-review team that looked at Phoenix last year, notes that detractors have called [the University of Phoenix] "the McDonald's of higher education" but says, "I'm not sure that's entirely derogatory. They've provided *a uniform product in a consistent way which is convenient to the consumer at an affordable price.*" (Traub 1997)

School as Business

Here the school is a business, the market is education, and the student is the customer or consumer. In one elaboration of this mapping, a set of university campuses in different locations but under the same administration is a chain store:

> The word 'campus' is understood, at the University of Phoenix, to mean 'site,' or even 'outlet.' The university is a franchise operation, with forty-seven sites all over the West and in Michigan, Florida, and Louisiana. (Traub 1997)

Education as Product

Here the school's product is education, consumed by the students.

> Professors at Arizona State ... had concluded that the [University of Phoenix] delivered *pretty much the same product they did,* only more efficiently. (Traub 1997)

It is through the metonymy between *education* and *credentials,* as the indicator or proof of having a certain education, that we get from education as a product to the certification of that education as a product. This extension is seen in the common pejorative term of a *diploma mill* for a school which is seen as having low standards of credentialing.[78] The image invokes the

[78] The term originated in accounts of individuals or organizations doling out credentials for a fee which "make no pretense to providing an education. They only sell the paper

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cookie-cutter production line of the Industrial Revolution in a criticism of that school which churns out degrees for a price paid. Diploma mills arise in response to the demand for certification. Barzun cites S.M. Miller, writing that "we have become a credential society in which one's educational level is more important than what he can do." (Barzun 1993: 261)

Student as Consumer

An offshoot of education as a product and students as consumers is the development of marketing programs in college recruiting.

> Demographic changes and cuts in important sources of student financial aid brought significant enrollment declines to higher education in the 1980s. Colleges responded by engaging in market oriented activities intended to attract students while *students became more like academic shoppers* [...]. Understanding individual enrollment behavior *can help enrollment managers tailor and target their college's marketing mix of programs, prices, and places.* (ERIC Digest)

Education as a Service Industry

Over the course of the 20th century America has become increasingly an economy based on industries of services rather than goods. This has been reflected in the business model as applied to education, as colleges and universities have reformed their curricula. This model has become widespread in the past decade, partly as a result of the increasing pressure on educational institutions to attract previously untapped markets among the population, most notably older and returning students. Institutions have

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credentials and advertise in newspapers and some magazines." (Ashworth1979: 47) But it came to be a more general negative description of any school considered to have low standards of admission, advancement, and accreditation.

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modified their offerings to appeal to part-time students, returning students, special program trainees, and others whose interests may not be the traditional four-year undergraduate degree. The development of "education on demand" has opened the way for the understanding of education as a service provided to the students as clients.

Student as Client

In the service-industry model, the student is the client receiving the service. A survey of non-full-time on-campus students has found, according to Traub, that

> they wanted the kind of relationship with a college that they had with their bank, their supermarket, and their gas company. They say, 'I want terrific service, I want convenience, I want quality control.' (Traub 1997)

Universities as Competitors in a Market

The decline in the college-age population after the baby-boomer generation brought institutions into struggle with one another. They were competing for students, using advertising and changes in their curricula to attract potential students and foster enrollments. This development was behind the new understanding of education as a market, but in the past decade this view has become fully entrenched.

Education as a Market

In this mapping, schools are businesses competing in the education market for the interest of the student as customer-client.

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> With adult education accounting for nearly half of the $200-billion higher-education market, [the University of] Phoenix sees few limits to its growth.... (Bronner 1997)

Subcase of the School as a Business: The Ivy-League School

Much of the mapping in this case is the same as above: the school is a business, the student is a consumer, tuition is the price of the product, education is a market. But to this we add the specification that the school deals in prestige as a commodity.[79] We see all of these elements mapped in the following quote:

> In fact, the top research universities—those that are the most criticized for their lack of attention to *the "customers," the students*—are exactly those universities that *maintain artificially low prices for their products*—lower prices than the market would support. Why is there such a demand for these universities? In part it's because an active researcher often makes a better teacher. But it's also because the research itself *raises the prestige of the institution, thereby raising the value of the degree on the job market.* (Sawyer, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Students as the Product

In this mapping of business to education, the students are products, as in the student factory metaphor, with the addition of schools as competing with one another in a market. Part of this competition takes the form of

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[79] It is arguable that prestige has the appearance of a commodity because it does in fact raise the value of the labor of those students who earn degrees from a prestigious institution. Marx argues that education increases the labor value of the individual, and that different kinds of education have different values. "In order to modify the human organism, so that it may acquire skill and handiness in a given branch of industry, and become labour-power of a special kind, a special education or training is requisite, and this, on its part, costs an equivalent in commodities of a greater or less amount. This amount varies according to the more or less complicated character of the labour-power." (Tucker 1978: 340) The extension to this argument pertinent here would place prestige as a facet of an education which influences its value.

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universities jostling for high-quality high school graduates, the raw materials in their production process.

The consumer of the product is either industry, as employers, or society at large, as the collection of employers and businesses which benefit from educated workers. Faculty are the laborers employed by the business who produce the product. Invoking this metaphor, Barzun writes of

> the student fed raw and young into the machine at one gate and emerging bearded and gray at another, machine-finished, qualified in a dozen ways, and even "Inspected by No. 23"... (Barzun 1993: 189)

As is clear in this image, education is the process by which the raw material is transformed into the finished product. Since high school students are the raw material to be made into the product of higher education, the better quality high school student the school can obtain, the higher quality its product will be. It was with the rising awareness of product quality that the practices of merit scholarships and other forms of "discounted" tuition have greatly increased in recent years. The consequences of this will be discussed further in Part 3.

Knowledge as the Product

This metaphor takes the notion of the university as a knowledge factory, and places it within the business framework of a market. The notions of ranking and competition among institutions can be seen in the illustration below.

> Chicago is moving quickly to license its technology. Stanford and MIT, aggressive pioneers of such arrangements, are way ahead of the pack,

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> with 259 and 257 active licenses and options on technology, respectively. Chicago has just 36 such deals, but it's catching up: in 1996, by virtue of a few big payouts, it ranked sixth in royalty income, up from 29th the year before and ahead of MIT. (Melcher 1998: 96)

The assumption here is that research in universities should result in products, and have direct profitability. "I've told the faculty they have an additional responsibility to go beyond the discovery of new knowledge," says one such business-minded university "reformer." He "talks of a new ethic, one that requires measuring progress in commercialization and boosting collaboration" with private industry. (Ibid.)

One of the dangers of this trend is a decline in various forms of basic, advanced, and less obviously profitable research. It has been a truism in science that we cannot always see what knowledge will be of use to us. Even this article which argues for a more business-like research program in universities notes that "research universities have helped drive innovation for decades, spurring development of everything from jet engines to the Internet." (Ibid.: 94) Research geared most immediately to profitability is necessarily shortsighted. As one critic of the industrial direction of university research notes, this tendency draws efforts and funds away from "the quest for fundamental research, which is long-term and uncertain, but can result in true innovation." (Ibid.)

Noble (1998) and others have criticized the relationship between industry and universities as an exploitative one by which industry gets the fruits of government-subsidized basic research. At least in this case, however,

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there is still basic research. If the purely business view of the university should come to pass, even this will disappear.

Education and the University as Contested Concepts

There is immense disagreement about the purpose of education, which is fed by the different social ideals people hold. "The foundation of every state is in the education of its youth," noted Diogenes.[80] Education is a critical meeting-point between the individual and the social domains in a nation, and as such it is deeply infused with our ideas of social structure, of the nature of the individual, of the role of the individual in society.[81]

Gallie (1956) discusses the problem of disagreement over the appropriate use of a term based on differing background assumptions which inform the user's understanding of a term. In the simple standard case of disagreement, he notes, there is at least an agreement on the proper application of the term to a situation. Thus the correctness of a term can be decided by whether it meets the necessary truth-conditions which make it appropriate to a certain situation.

But there are many cases of disagreement in discussion which cannot be solved according to this set of principles. These cases involve background

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[80] In "The Cynic." Politicians have long recognized the importance of education, and, it seems, long used the familiar politician tactic of stressing its importance while skirting any actual potentially objectionable claim about how education should be carried out, or for whom.

> Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in.... (Abraham Lincoln, March 9, 1832)

[81] The intimate connections between these things have long been observed by educational theorists: "Discussion of the relationship of education to social structure is at least as old as Plato and Aristotle, and is renewed at every period of crisis in social development;

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assumptions which make the way in which the term itself is understood into that which is disputed:

> Different uses of the term "work of art" or "democracy" or "Christian doctrine" subserve different though of course not altogether unrelated functions for different schools or movements of artists and critics, for different political groups and parties, for different religious communities and sects. (Gallie 1956: 168)

Gallie argues that the backgrounds creating these different uses can be examined, and the terms understood in context, such that the disagreement, while it does not dissolve, can at least be understood in terms of a difference of larger ideology. Gallie offers four necessary conditions which a concept must meet in order to count as essentially contested: it must be appraisive "in the sense that it signifies or accredits some kind of valued achievement"; the achievement signified must be of an internally complex character; any explanation of its worth must make reference to one or more aspects or features of this complex constituency; and the achievement must be of a variable or "open" character. As is evident, both education and the university meet all of these criteria. They is considered to be institutions of social value; they are of internally complex character, including different emphases on purpose, or in the case of education, on skills, on cognitive development, on moral development, and so on; descriptions of both refer differently to these elements; and the natures of both are variable, indeed have changed significantly over the course of its existence as an institution in Western civilization.

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indeed, every landmark in political theory has its counterpart in educational theory." (Floud

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Schwartz (1992) has analyzed *feminism* as a contested concept, with a number of different versions which have no necessary fundamental commonalities of assumption. *Feminism* forms a radial category which has an underspecified central model that is shared by all of its versions, but receives that different instantiations. He discusses radical feminism, Marxist feminism, political/economic feminism, and others, and notes that they all differ on what kinds of answers their proponents would give to questions of whether there is inequality between men and women in society, and if so, of what type (genetic, economic, political), and whether to attempt to redress it, and if so, how (by political, or economic, or social means). The speakers' different models of the world fill in the underspecified core in different ways.

Lakoff has described *mother* as a radial category with a rich cluster structure. It is this richness of extensions which leads to contestedness of the term in some situations. *Mother* is understood from a large cluster of simple models, whose extensions may have nothing in common. Like "bachelor,"[82] the concept of "mother" is understood from an Idealized Cognitive Model in which a number of elements co-occur: a mother is, in this ICM, the woman who is the genetic parent of the child, in a legally recognized union with the genetic father; she gives birth to the child, nurtures it, and is its legal

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and Halsey 1958: 168.)

[82] In the Idealized Cognitive Model in which all men are heterosexual, all men marry, they marry young, and remain married for the rest of their life, a bachelor can be (and in dictionaries often is) defined as simply "an unmarried man." This definition then implies the rest of that which holds in the ICM, that the man is heterosexual, "marriageable," not, e.g., an octogenarian, etc. It is from these implications of the ICM that we get the incongruence of certain applications of the term. Is the Pope a bachelor? Is a gay man in a long-term relationship a bachelor? Is a thrice-divorced man a bachelor? And so on.

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guardian. The concept of mother becomes contested in a world, the real world, in which this model does not always, indeed often does not, hold true. These elements can be separated from one another: a woman can give birth to a child produced from a donated egg, thus distinguishing between the donor or "genetic mother," and the "birth mother." Or a child can be adopted and raised by a woman not its genetic or birth parent, thus distinguishing the "adoptive mother." Or the child can be cared for by the woman who has married its father, thus distinguishing a "nurturant mother" in its stepmother. And so on.

We see then that contested concepts are of different kinds: those which are understood by underspecified and filled in bases, like *feminism*, and those like *art* or *mother*, which are understood in terms of a rich cluster of central models, which may or may not have some ICM which can be analyzed in relation to the conditions of the real world.

Like feminism and mother, the university and education are contested concepts. They are of different natures, however. *The university* is more like *mother*, as a contested concept: it is defined by a rich cluster of simple central models (instruction, research, social progress, resource to the community) which may conflict in their extensions. *Education*, on the other hand, is more like *feminism*: it is understood in terms of a bare unspecified core, which is filled in by different models of world. It is interesting to note that *education* is somewhat like *mother*, however, in that its very different interpretations are provided some unification under an Idealized Cognitive

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Model of the nature of the individual, and of the academic and social world. The elaboration of these concepts is provided further below.

Education as a contested concept

The basic frame of education is of a process correlating to and inducing maturation; the form of the maturation can be of character, intellect, of morality, or of manners. The underspecified core of *education* is simply the notion of instruction. This core can be filled out differently depending on different background models of society and the individual. We saw in Part 1 a number of different interpretations of the nature of education: as the transmission of culture; as the preparation of the person for life, for citizenship, or for work; and so on. These arise as the unification of the notion of instruction with, e.g., society as a structure, whose strength is preserved in its inculcation in each individual; thus instruction must be the transmission of culture. In an ICM of the person as inherently political, instruction must be the preparation of the student for citizenship.

> The faith rests on the proposition that man is a political animal, that participation in political decisions is necessary to his fulfillment and happiness, that all men can and must be sufficiently educated and informed to take part in making these decisions, that protection against arbitrary power, though indispensable, is insufficient to make either free individuals or a free society.... (Hutchins 1959)

Thence we get education as preparation for life and for citizenship, since citizenship is inseparable from life. The Strict Father model of education requires that it produce a moral, upstanding citizen. The Nurturant Parent model holds that education should be the fulfillment of the

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individual, achieved in nurturing and enriching the intellect and interests. In a model of society as a mechanism, with functioning elements, in which individuals must provide for the function of the whole, education must be the preparation to serve that whole; in its most focused form in this model, it must be vocational. These are the different realizations of the underspecified central model of *education*. Below are some cases in which the concepts, thus differently filled out, come into conflict.

Education to promote cultural stability vs. to promote social change

> The real villain of [the decline of higher education is] the American university professor. [...] Almost single-handedly, the professors—working steadily and systematically—have destroyed the university as a center of learning and have desolated higher education.... [They have been] *polluting the intellectual inheritance of society*. (Sykes 1988: 4-5)

A number of relatively contemporary critics of education in America have focused on the "liberal takeover of the curriculum" as a threat to American values and traditions. The debate is heated between those who advocate modifying the curriculum to reflect perceived changes in cultural attitudes and interests, and those for whom a conservative education is the cornerstone to the preservation of a recognizable American society. Squarely in the middle of this latter group is Fitzpatrick (1975), who accuses teachers as a class of "corrupting" the minds of their students with "anti-American" ideas.

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A number of other criticisms have sprung from this conflict. To some theorists, traditional education is the preparation of the masses for their working-class lives:

> Two tacit assumptions seem to be prominent in teaching and in curricular materials. The first centers around a negative position on the nature and uses of conflict. The second focuses on man as a recipient of norms mainly by coping with the day-to-day encounters and tasks of classroom life. The fact that these norms that students learn penetrate many areas of later life is critical since it helps document how schooling contributes to individual adjustment to an ongoing social, economic, and political order. [Schooling] acts as a distributor of a form of rationality that, when internalized by the student, enables him to function in and, often, accept 'the occupational and political institutions which contribute to the stability of an industrial society.' (Apple 1971; in Stub 1975)

This is the adult, or modern-industrial-society version of that goal stated for primary schools in early America, which was to teach youngsters to arrive on time, sit in rows, take orders, and behave themselves: in short, to be good factory workers. Education today, though we are talking here about higher education, still fulfills this purpose of teaching students to be dutiful, obedient, and generally eat their 'occupational and political' porridge of status quo. Related to this is the goal of education as "moral training."

Education as proper socialization of the unlettered masses

A related aspect of this purpose of education is its role in preparing the student for social life, which grew into the function of endowing students with proper social manners, and so on. It is just a step from the notion of education instilling the proper moral values in the student to education teaching manners, and proper behavior. The link between these two is the

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Strict Father model moral authority, which has the obligation to make children into the right kind of adult. As Nasaw (1979) notes, "By making the population more moral," the proper values would be instilled; "the young would be taught to vote right and to pray right." This is the intention of education which Veblen dismisses as "edification of the unlearned by 'university extension'."

Education for the social good vs. the interests of the individual

In Dewey's conception, education which is good for society is also good for the individual. This view structures the unification of the model of the goal of the university as the search for truth, and as a social laboratory. In adding to human wisdom, we continue in the progress of culture and humanity.

> The paramount goal of all education is ... to make life good. It is to increase material well-being, to advance wisdom, to forward the great virtues of thoughtfulness and humaneness, to elevate the ideals and practice of justice and mercy. It is for the upward evolution and refinement of man, for the enlargement of human freedom, for the upgrading of our hopes and ambitions. (Chambers 1965: 107)

But this view of education contrasts with one conservative view in which state authorities are suspect, in which educational goals for any other purpose than to aid the financial and social success of the deserving individual are oppression, in which no theory is the best theory.

Education as vocational training vs. citizen preparation

A conflict related to this is the disagreement over whether education should be vocational, practical, preparing the student for a working life, or

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whether it should be more political, with the citizen in mind. The debate between proponents of a classical liberal arts education and advocates of education for practical use is a long-standing and heated one. As Lucas notes, Harold Howe, Vice-President of the Division of Education and Research in the Ford Foundation, claimed that

> a considerable proportion of the educational effort should be geared not just to economic man—linking work and education—but to the roles of men as citizens and as private individuals. (Lucas 1976: 261-2)

Howe was reacting to the suggestions of men like Marland, advocates of career education:

> How absurd to suggest that general knowledge for its own sake is somehow superior to useful knowledge. "Pedants sneer at an education that is useful," Alfred North Whitehead observed. "But if education is not useful," he went on to ask, "what is it?"[83] The answer, of course, is that it is nothing. All education is career education, or should be. And all our efforts as educators must be bent on preparing students either to become properly, usefully employed immediately upon graduation from high school or to go to further formal education. (Marland; in Lucas 1976: 268)

The view of education as the provider of skills or training for future workers fits into a conception of society as functionally defined, and of the school as serving the function of preparing workers for their occupations.[84]

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[83] Whitehead is relying in this argument upon a blurred distinction between two frames within which "usefulness" is understood differently. In the first, the contrast is between matters of the intellect and matters of practical life, and "useful" is that which pertains to the latter. Supporters of the ideal of an Aristotelian liberal education, like Newman, argued that cultivation of the intellect should be the highest goal of education, because the intellect is man's most precious, most human, and most unique strength. Those skills used in brutish daily life should not be touched on in this education.

In the second frame, the whole world is divided into "useful" and "useless," and only one metric of value is employed. This of course reduces whatever is not called useful to the obvious status of undesirability.

[84] That aspect of this metaphor which involves the student receiving training to prepare him or her for life in the world as a citizen or worker has been elaborated in the

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Education for the elite

The goal in many educational circles of the "pursuit of excellence" had two interpretations, the former based on a view in which success in life was primarily a matter of merit and effort, and the educational system worked effectively to sort the best leaders from the masses of men. The second view saw this goal of education as a cover for preserving power in the hands of the few: education aimed toward "excellence" meant intended for the members of the elite, to both prepare them for and shunt them into their positions at politically important posts in society.

Education to select the best in society for leadership

The first is of a fine educational world in which everyone is given a shot at school, and the cream of the crop is selected and prepared for roles of leadership at the political and intellectual forefront. This is the model of education which Jefferson, Conant, and others have held, as noted in Part 1.

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modern twist that the skills developed in negotiating the administrative and other bureaucratic channels of higher education are desirable attributes in the individual about to be hired by employers in the 'real world.' As one writer has noted in his discussion of the economic factors in education, beside the various kinds of economic output in education including the increase in information and the acquisition of methods of thinking by the individual, there is a certain filtering function of education: "In addition, as part of its economic role, education serves as a screening mechanism: regardless of what they have learned, persons who successfully negotiate the education system have demonstrated that they have certain talents, useful in the business world, in dealing with institutions, individuals, and problems." (Eckaus 1990: 51)

Note the distinction of the purposes of education implied in this observation. Historically, educators have focused on content: Erasmus and others have formulated as the central goal of education as the need to acquire familiarity with man's history, to enlighten oneself as a citizen and as a human. Here we find a shift to a focus on this kind of meta-content which Eckaus describes: the significance of a completed education as successful negotiation of a system, as an indication of employability. It may just be the case here that this long-recognized value of education has simply only recently been made explicit, and voiced publicly. Politics, and this kind of interest in someone who can successfully negotiate complex social

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It was conceived as in the interest of the population at large to provide full support for and develop this "natural aristocracy." This interest is backed by the desire to have the most fit (note the competition and natural selection theme) running the country. The imperative need for intelligent leadership should preempt any inclination to squander learning on the masses:

> The design ... of university establishments so far as the public is concerned, is not to furnish education to the poor or to the rich, not to give away a modicum of Greek and Latin and Geometry to anyone who chooses to ask for it, but to foster and cultivate the highest talent of the nation, and raise the intellectual character of the whole, by throwing the brightest light of science in the path of those whom nature has qualified to lead. (President Wayland, Brown University, 1842; in Knight 1940: 40)

Banks notes the related assumption that the poor wouldn't benefit from the subtleties of a liberal education. "Indeed, one of the most interesting features of an educational system organized on elitist principles is the belief that the working classes do not need more than a minimum of education, and would not, in any case, be capable of making use of it." (Banks 1968: 69)

If education is wasted on the poor, and should be carefully hoarded for and passed to those who can benefit, then certainly the majority of those being educated now are being so mistakenly.

> Democracy would be wise if it would curb the education of thousands of our present school population. For hundreds of thousands today a high school education is largely a waste of time [and] a waste of public funds.... (President McConoughy, Wesleyan, 1937; in Knight 1940: 75)

Education is seen as an institution of limited resources, whose distribution needs to be meted carefully to benefit most those who will best be

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systems, are as old as civilization, and have always been associated to some degree with

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served by it, and best serve their society in consequence. This means necessarily an exclusion of the greater part of the population from higher schooling.[85] This model assumes, it is important to note, a transparence and fluidity of social structure, such that those who are talented will rise to the top, while those who do not rise must have been kept from achievement by lack of innate ability alone. Its proponents acknowledge that the intellectual sparkle they seek to cultivate for society's benefit is not constrained to the realm of the rich:

> In order to [achieve] the most perfect condition of any society, it is necessary that, whenever unusual talent of any kind exists, it be so cultivated as to be able to accomplish the highest results of which is has been made capable. This talent is very equally distributed among the various orders of society, least of all is it limited to the rich. (President Wayland, Brown University, 1842; in Knight 1940: 40)

But they do not acknowledge that there may be other barriers to the successful entrance into hallowed academe of such hidden glints of ore in society's earthy fundaments. Indeed they claim that intellect overcomes any imagined obstacles:

> It is one of the glories of our American colleges, that their doors are alike open to all classes in society, and that the only nobility known within their walls has its basis in intellectual power, high attainment and moral worth.... (Baldwin 1856; in Knight 1940: 82)

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organized education.

[85] It is not only conservatives and elitists who take this view; also certain critics of the educational system believe that education as it is now does not benefit the majority of its students. Among these is Goodman (1963), who argues that the mindlessness of standardized public education is more harmful to innate creativity and humanity than it is beneficial to any intellectual inclination. Please see the discussion on standards in American education in Part 1, for the related observation on the constant problem of how to educate different kinds of students appropriately, democratically, with an eye to their abilities, to their role as citizens, as participants in the working society, and as human beings.

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The problem of possible barriers to simple socio-economic mobility through education is observed in the second version of education for the elite.

Education to reproduce class structure

The second interpretation of this model is a little less flattering. In this interpretation, the purpose of education is to groom the inheritors of power for their roles of power, and, in its extreme form, to act as gatekeeper and exclude the inappropriate and the masses. Educators have a nice little deal with the wealthy and privileged, in which they provide undemanding survey educations to their young, and receive the privilege of the association with this ruling class in return. In this model, usually invoked in a critical tone, social structure is not transparent, and the class system uses the machine of education to reproduce itself.

This model of education inherits something from the origin of the gentleman's education in the Renaissance. At the time, those who were educated were only from the most powerful quarters in society, and their education was meant to provide them with the proper cultural attire and mental faculties.

One adherent of this view is Trumpbour, in his discussion of Harvard University. He contests the notion of Harvard as a disengaged institution serving as an instrument in the search for truth and for the greater good of the country, pointing to the close associations between the directorate of the school and central corporate interests. Harvard has long been subservient to

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the private interests manipulating the larger political scene. The school is firmly rooted, he claims, in conservative traditions of pandering to the powerful. Trumpbour notes of the exclusive elite clubs at Harvard that

> It is in such intimate social circles, passing *le sel et le poivre* to the fellow rich and powerful, that these young men imbibe the proper values and affectations, acquiring the self-confidence and nerve required to run society. Slowly they are molded into what Mills calls "The Ones Who Decide." (Trumpbour 1989: 186)

Lapham too has observed the way in which the politically powerful in America are associated with certain socio-economic circles and with, e.g., certain educational institutions. The role of the educational institution, however, he notes, is not to allow the attender to enrich his intellect but to provide the social connections which will take him through the rest of his business and social life. For these elites, Lapham notes, the proper education "was something one couldn't afford to do without (like dancing school or swimming lessons), but it was not something that deserved much thought or attention." (Lapham 1988: 16)

This set of conflicts between different conceptions of education shows us the various ways in which people reason about the goals of education. But all of the models of education share at least a skeleton of commonality. As with *feminism*'s underspecified core, the basis of education common to all versions is instruction. And there is an ICM which unifies the senses of education: people are educated when they are young, then go on to become fulfilled and productive citizens. Their education teaches them how to deal

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with physical and intellectual life, and in the process of becoming educated they achieve maturity of mind, of morality, of civil behavior. People are naturally political (as indicated in the model of the quote above), and naturally social animals, so education will only need to draw out and focus their instincts in these directions. Thus, in the general, unified case, education is personal, moral, political, vocational, and for citizenship; it gives the person all the skills and maturity of faculties which they need to succeed in life.

As we have seen, however, discussants may deviate from this ICM at many points. As with *feminism*, differences will arise when the more exact priorities which people have for education are laid out. For those with a Strict Father view, for example, the goal of a strong morality will take precedence to the fulfillment of the individual.

The university as a contested concept

Higher education has served a number of social functions, each of these has left its mark. A summary of the goals of the models of the university presented above will show their disparity:

The university as parent: to produce a mature educated citizen; with Strict Father and Nurturant Parent versions.

The university as public resource: to preserve the cultural heritage; to educate students in their history and traditions.

The university as laboratory: to perform experiments in social progress.

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The university as pioneer or as knowledge factory: to increase the store of society's knowledge.

The university as community of scholars: to highlight the nature of the university as a social and intellectual domain separate from the rest of society.

Since education, which forms only one of the explicit functions of the university as described above, is a contested concept, it is clear that the university itself will be subject to some conflicting ideas of function and purpose as well.

Established universities, as social institutions which have developed over time and in response to various needs of the community, are complex entities, as Kerr and others have pointed out. They fill several functions, and take various forms. Kerr notes among the visions of the university Newman's "Idea of a University" with teaching as its primary goal, the "Idea of a Multiversity," and the "community of masters and students," and observes that

> These several competing visions of true purpose, each relating to a different layer of history, a different web of forces, cause much of the malaise in the university communities of today. The university is so many things to so may different people that it must, of necessity, be partially at war with itself. (Kerr 1963: 8)

The university as a contested concept is more like *feminism*, because we understand the institution as many things, each of which is fully realized, often within and in conflict within the same physical organization. Universities support concrete research in, e.g. pharmaceutical areas; they

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support research in abstract domains such as philosophy; they instruct undergraduates; they instruct graduates; turn their attention to local social problems; and so on. Unlike the case of *education*, there is no unifying ICM which makes all of these purposes of the university fall together. Many of them fall together under some of what we have seen: man is naturally curious, and desires to know more; knowledge of all kinds is useful; the more informed a person is, the better he or she is as a person and as a citizen. It is the duty of society in its parental role to provide schools for citizens, and to allow for the growth of knowledge. This means that research is necessarily beneficial, both for the individual and for society, and falls naturally together with teaching.

> The history of higher education shows that its institutions have alienated themselves from the spirit of their period, or have decayed into glorified trade schools, whenever they have not seen the necessity of a productive interaction between scholarship and human culture. Only when they have been able to combine the advancement of knowledge with the interpretation and guardianship of the deeper meanings of human existence have they been really respected. (Ulich; in Frankel 1959: 46)

The ideal expressed in this passage unifies the goals of research and teaching (i.e. the research institution with the parent metaphor), and unifies graduate and undergraduate teaching. The university as a laboratory is unified with these in a world in which society progresses naturally (i.e., not in the model of society which makes social stability paramount). The university as a community of scholars does not quite blend in with these others in any obvious way. So it is clear that there is no single underlying model of all of

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the necessary components (society, individual, knowledge, etc.) which allows us to understand all of these purposes of the university as springing from it.

Disagreements about the "true purpose" of the university take a number of forms; some of these are illustrated below.

Schools as places for learning rather than laboratories of social progress

The belief that schools are intended for teaching useful knowledge and skills will conflict with the model of schools as a locus of social progress, as seen in the excerpt below:

> We seem to have lost sight of, or become confused about, our main function as educators, our principal goal, our reason for existence. We have no good answer that we are sure of and can agree on to the question, What are schools for? [...] Let me mention a few of the wrong answers:
>
> —Schools are not social research agencies, to which a society can properly delegate responsibility for the discovery for solutions to the problems that are currently troubling the society. (Ebel, "What Are Schools For?" in Lucas 1976: 19-20)

The university as laboratory vs. as factory for producing workforce and vs. education of the elite

Proponents of the model of the laboratory believe that education which serves principally to prepare workers or to groom the elite has failed its true purpose. One such observes tendencies in the history of education that

> have highly instrumentalized the purposes of schooling by either privileging certain groups of elites who become the managers of society or narrowing the scope of education so severely that schools become mere factories to train the work force. The traditionalists lack a language of possibility about how schools can play a major role in shaping public life. (Giroux; in Murchland 1990: 98)

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The goal of the university as teaching vs. research

Kerr (1963) and Lucas (1996) are among those who have observed the conflict between the several aims of the university, especially between those of research d scholarship on the one hand, and undergraduate education on the other. This has been the unresolved subject of an ongoing debate about the purposes of the university. Proponents of each of these views have been vocal throughout the history of higher education in America. Among the more noteworthy are Newman, defending the university as a place for teaching, and Veblen, defending the central goal of research.

Both Newman and Veblen believe that the foremost purpose of the university in society is the gathering and dissemination of knowledge. They disagree strongly, however, about the model of the university and the priority of goals within that purpose. For one who sees the preservation and cultivation of a culture's advances in knowledge as a central aim of civilized society, the university is likely to be the institution upon which these social obligations and efforts devolve. It will be noted, however, that the gathering and dissemination of knowledge involve necessarily a combination of research and teaching. As Veblen is careful to point out, the instruction of students is necessary to the transmission of knowledge, and to the training of the next generation of researchers, and incidentally can aid the researcher in his research; but instruction must not impede the central goal of research in any way, and should be directed only to advanced students. The success of

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continued research is the single important goal, to which teaching is secondary.

Newman did not believe that the central purpose of a university was to increase the store of a culture's knowledge. He did not subscribe to the metaphors of the university as a tool in the search for truth. He did subscribe to the metaphor of the university as a social reserve for knowledge, as the place where knowledge was gathered and from which it was disseminated. But for Newman, as can be seen, knowledge is fixed ("universal"); and given this, he cannot side with those who believe research to be a central function of the university. He focuses on the university as a place existing for students; and as such, as a center of teaching universal knowledge, values, and morality, and not a place for conducting research. His central metaphor was that of the strict father, which arises in his discussion of the importance of creating educated mature citizens.

Veblen, on the contrary, explicitly eschewed the parental role of the university, and subscribed to the metaphor of the search for knowledge for the benefit of mankind. He gives particular care to opposing the parental mapping for the university, assigning that duty instead to "the lower schools:"

> The lower schools (including the professional schools) are ... designed to fit the incoming generation for civil life; [their occupation is to] make their pupils fit citizens of the world in whatever position in the fabric of workday life they may fall. The university on the other hand is specialized to fit men for a life of science and scholarship.... It follows that while the lower schools necessarily ... exercise a large measure of authority and responsible interference in [their pupils' everyday lives],

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> the university assumes (or should assume) no responsibility for its students' fortunes in the moral, religious, pecuniary, domestic, or hygienic respect. (Veblen 1918: 21)

The university and its teachers are not there to draw the students out of their immaturity. They do not stand in relation to their students as parents to children, as in the lower schools: "The student's relation to his teacher necessarily becomes that of an apprentice to his master, rather than that of a pupil to his schoolmaster." (Ibid.)

Veblen is intent that the single purpose and effort of the university should be the higher learning, by which he means the conservation and advancement of knowledge. The legitimacy of "other lines of endeavor, into which the universities allow themselves to be drawn" remains an open question. These other lines of endeavor include

> professional training, undergraduate instruction, supervision and guidance of the secondary school system, edification of the unlearned by "university extension" and similar excursions into the field of public amusement, training of secondary school teachers, encouragement of amateurs by "correspondence," etc. (Veblen 1918: 17)

Conservatives and the university as a reserve of knowledge: Fitzpatrick

The assumption of the importance of political consensus plays an important part in the model of social stability. The consensus model takes as central the need for an absence of conflict in society; this means that the university as a social resource which preserves and fosters traditional knowledge will conflict with university as locus of social progress. According to this model, education can only be seen as the preservation of tradition, in the transmission of stable cultural values. Fitzpatrick, a full adherent of this

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model, describes teachers as "the men and women hired to properly educate our future citizens, to preserve, protect, and extend our way of life." (Fitzpatrick 1975: 7)

His concern is the liberalism of the teachers who "mount the attack against so many community standards." (Ibid.: 11) He counsels those poor students subjected to the radical rage of the moment that

> It is possible ... to go through your school years without being "educated out" of your acceptance of your parents' ideals and standards of behavior. Being educated simply does not mean learning why Mom and Dad and the pastor of your local Church are all wet. (Fitzpatrick 1975: 11)

The ivory tower vs. the university in the world

The image of the university as an ivory tower, removed from the conflicts of the world, clashes directly with the interests of those who would have it be a socially engaged center of applied and useful research. For the research model, the university must perceive, anticipate, and respond to problems in the community which it is created by and made to help.

> Increasing evidence is at hand showing the close relationship between achievement in research and the advance of society, including the advance of economic prosperity. The fairly popular notion that study and research which are not directed toward some immediate practical problem are relatively useless has no basis in reality. The concept of an "ivory tower" remote from the stresses and strains of everyday living ... is not accurate. (Commission 1957: 69)

The authors take pains to note that "The American college or university is not conceived as an isolated *academia*. The institution has an active role in the transfer of learning to life." (Ibid.: 10)

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The ongoing conflict between these different functions of the university has been noted by a number of critics. Lucas observes the irreducible differences of emphasis among the models:

> It is often lamented that none of the major aims of the university has ever successfully supplied a unifying focus or center for the university as a whole—not research and scholarship, not teaching, not public service. [...] Although attempts have been made repeatedly to elevate one or the other of its many functions at the expense of all others, to declare that teaching or research or service lies at the heart and center of the university, so far all such efforts have failed win broad acceptance. (Lucas 1996: 72)

He notes that the university has tended to remain "the most pluralist of social institutions in American society" as a result of these differing aims. This pluralism is the manifestation of the institution's contestedness.

Concluding remarks on the contested concepts

The ideological waters left in the wake of a contested concept look disordered and confused to the observer.

> Looking back at this brief history of higher education ... we may ask: It the increasing variety in universities and in the education policy of our colleges due to principled action, or are they merely signs of increasing confusion? (Ulich; in Frankel 1959: 39)

Or the following:

> If you asked the professors at the University of California what each one regarded as the proper means by which to achieve the purposes of that institution, you would have almost as many answers as there were professors, both as to purposes and to means. (President Sproul, University of California, 1931; in Knight 1940: 44)

But nonetheless the determined devotee of one model may trace that aspect held most dearly as the central and dominant theme of the university

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throughout the history of education. A domain as complex and as controversial becomes a kind of ideological Rorschach test: each observer sees what he most fears, or most desires. As for example we find in the following expression of certainty in the final loyalty to "the ideal of truth" in the university:

> Thus, when we ask for the causes of the change from the university of the Middle Ages to the scientific modern university, we may discover what looks like a sequence of acts of disloyalty to old and venerated values. Conservatives have often explained it this way. But underneath there is a dynamic, though often tortuous loyalty, the loyalty to the ideal of truth, which, like a diamond, shows ever changing facets to the human eye. (Ulich; in Frankel 1959: 41)

Veblen expresses a similar faith in the overarching goal of pursuing knowledge:

> Yet when all these sophistications of practical wisdom are duly allowed for, the fact remains that the university is, in usage, precedent, and commonsense preconception, an establishment for the conservation and advancement of the higher learning, devoted to a disinterested pursuit of knowledge. (Veblen 1965: 85)

Or again, at the other end of the scale, with quite a different prevailing theme, we have a theorist who nods to the existence of some high-minded notion of the search for truth or education for citizenship but is persuaded that the true purpose of education has been to prepare docile workers for the all-consuming industrial machine:

> We all know our educational system is tiered. Some institutions are vocational. Others are places of real learning, although primarily for the elite. Harvard will never define itself as an institution whose primary mission is the promotion of industrial growth! It appeals to the life of the mind, the good life, and so forth. The higher rhetoric! We can distinguish different missions. But if we look at higher

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> education in general, I argue that the instrumentalist ideology prevails. (Giroux, Henry, in Murchland 1990: 98)

We have seen that people hold very different views on the aims and functions of higher education. We may hope, with Gallie, that the recognition of these institutions as essentially contested concepts will allow us to clarify the discussion around them.

The contested nature of education and of the university is hidden, however, by the structure of the business metaphor. Many contemporary observers of higher education in America worry about the loss of a unified sense of educational goals, and of a coherent sense of purpose of the university. Lucas cites Ernest Boyer, writing in the late 1980's:

> Scrambling for students and driven by marketplace demands, many undergraduate colleges have lost their sense of mission. They are confused about their mission and how to impart shared values on which the vitality of both higher education and society depend. (Lucas 1996: 243)

Lucas continues, noting that Arthur Chickering of George Mason University has argued along the same lines:

> Clear and consistent institutional objectives, a clear definition of what the academic institution is about, declares [Chickering], is "critically important" in higher education today. ... Institutional objectives must ... become part of the "working knowledge" of all parties involved. ... Policies, programs, and practices take on greater internal coherence and consistency when there are shared undergirding purposes, objectives, and values. (Ibid.: 244)

The implication of these arguments is that there can be agreement about institutional objectives. We have seen, however, that this is not the case. Education is a heavily contested concept, and there is no agreement

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about the central purpose of the university. The business model, providing as it does a frame of concerns centered around accountability, efficiency, and so on, hides any question of educational purposes. A university which sees itself as a competitor in a tough market shapes its goals as competitiveness, as increasing efficiency, as producing more students, and so on. The question of what it is educating students for does not arise. Not only does the business model hide the contestedness of educational goals; above that, it hides the contestedness of university goals, i.e. education versus research.

The cases of contestedness described above illustrate the conflicts that may occur between the various models for the university and for education. Those clashes which do not involve the influence of the business metaphor, however, are dwarfed in number and in prominence by those which show the increasing dominance of that model in education. This latter sort will be recognized to include the most frequently seen sources of intense academic discussion and conflict: the continuing dissolution of tenure, the disappearance of even an institutional awareness of the need for academic freedom, the struggles over affirmative action. The developments in each of these domains reveal the constant growth in the economic model. These will be discussed further in Part 3. The relative health of each of these metaphors, and the developments and circumstances which have given rise to this state of affairs, are discussed below.

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On the contemporary state of these metaphors

An examination of the current state of the various metaphors for the university which we have seen arising out of its history shows the business metaphor to be eclipsing the others in its ascendance. None of the metaphors for education beside the business model receives very elaborate mappings in contemporary discussions of education, while it is a straightforward matter to find fairly complete mappings of the business metaphor instantiated in people's reasoning about education. A stroll through informal discussions of education in newspapers, magazines, and even less informal discussions in books and articles, will turn up several instances of the metaphor, in various degrees of elaboration.

A number of factors lie behind the descent of the non-business models of the university. These include major economic shifts, like the greater involvement of the general population in higher education, and the growth of government and corporate funding, both working together to create a greater expectation of institutional accountability to the public and to its funders. This has contributed especially to the loss of institutional independence and the importation of corporate mentality into the administration of higher education. Also among the factors are socio-economic changes, like the loss of community in American culture and the decline of the family as a social institution, which have eaten away the easy conception of the university as a community of academics or as a parental figure to its students. Larger ideological elements have also played a role,

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such as the strong and constant current of anti-intellectualism in American culture, making academics less esteemed than administrators in our national purview. But the major influence in the changes we have seen is the advance of rationalism, with its special hold on the American psyche, enthroning the economic understanding of the world as the definitive model by which to understand and assess all public institutions.

These factors, and their more specific effects on the models, are discussed below.

The model of the academic community persists in some circles, but these circles grow ever smaller. The idea of community has been undercut by a number of developments in the American academic and larger cultural scene. The purposes of education are now more varied, and with their alteration, school has become much more of a stage, a transition period, for most students. General higher education is construed not as a way of life but as the means to a credential, or to vocational training; people pass through and go on.

Another factor in the decline of the community model has been the changed status of the university in the economic world. The decline of the model has been speeded by the exigencies of the university's place in a world of business. The primary goal of the university as a community of scholars is the search for knowledge, as we have seen. As also noted, however, the situation of the university as an independent institution could not persist so

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easily after it became much more financially dependent on the rest of the society. As Derek Bok notes, where it once would have been almost incomprehensible to discuss the role of the university in the economy, it is now a commonplace:

> There was [once] a much greater sense of being protected and removed from society. Even business cycles left universities relatively unscathed, a protection that kept them from thinking a great deal about the effects of the economy. (Hanson and Meyerson 1990: vii)

Further, the former sense of class year consistency which was characteristic of college life has been undermined by the more modern student profile of part-timers, commuters, returning students, and so on. The authors of *Education at Berkeley* point out that at a large school like UC Berkeley, many undergraduate and an even higher percentage of graduate students tend to live off campus, which diverts their attention from campus life. Students do not arrive, attend and finish as a coherent class; instead they often transfer to the campus from elsewhere and take varying lengths of time to finish their degree work.

> As a result, a unified college community cannot be found here, even among the undergraduates. When a student's year of graduation has little relation to his year of entrance, when almost half a graduating class has done most of its work elsewhere, when a third of the students live outside the vicinity of the campus, the small-college loyalty to graduating class and even to college must wither. (Select Committee Report, 1966: 15)

It is clear that life at a large public university is not particularly conducive to a sense of community for its students, and it is fair to hazard that this is to some degree true for faculty as well. The image of the academic

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community has been one of the most entrenched in our conception of the university. This too is changing, however, with the advent of schools geared to on-demand education, distance learning, and other variants from the tradition of a shared campus, a relatively discrete academic setting, and a contiguous, durative, and intensive undergraduate education.

The effect of these factors has been further deepened by the more widespread loss of community in the United States. As numerous authors have observed, Americans are becoming increasingly asocial under a number of influences, including suburbanization, longer working hours, the isolation of individuals whose tend more and more to forsake social interaction for television and a more home-based life, and the decline of local business.[86]

Academia is increasingly falling under the scythe of business practices which strike at the core of what has made universities communities: the stability of a population of tenured faculty members is undercut by ever greater numbers of temporary and contract appointments replacing the permanence of tenure; faculty members, no longer as easily able to count on funding, have to scramble and compete for internal funding, and are drawn out of their departments with consulting work and outside contracts.

And academics themselves have been guilty of some of the charges raised in the disappearance of the academic community. Lucas observes that the increasing specialization and departmentalization of academia, which followed the advent of "scientism" in universities, was a critical factor. Many

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have lamented "the division of the university community into smaller and smaller administrative units, or the retreat of scholars into ever more minute specializations." (Lucas 1996: 66) In these developments, in the professionalization of subfield after subfield, he writes, "something important was being lost...: a sense of community, of wholeness, a feeling of intellectual connectedness and interdependence." (Ibid.)

All of these changes have coalesced to undermine the sense of academic community. The larger loss of a sense of community in America has taken its toll as well on our sense of common social progression, of guided social change in which the university might play a part, as the tool of social progress.

The guild, as we have seen, declined long ago with the increasing number of students who came to and passed through universities, seeking education as a stage in their lives rather than a way of life. As the bachelor's degree became more and more a terminal one, and less a mark on the path to master status, the guild model weakened. It has left its imprint in the form of the traditional divisions into undergraduate, graduate, and doctor in the levels of academic achievement, but beyond formal traces of this sort the model is in good part defunct. Contemporary references to this model are of a very restricted, and specific, nature: they are limited to attempts by university administrators fighting graduate student unions to downplay any model in

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[86] See i.a. Jackson, Kenneth, 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

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which graduate students might be seen as employees of the university who would thus deserve job protection, benefits, and so on. The guild model, taken as it is from a time in which factories did not yet exist, is the one which most obviously makes graduate students into professors-in-training. Their work teaching within the assembly-line of modern undergraduate education becomes in this scheme no more than experience in the course of their academic preparation for facultyhood.

We have seen even in relatively recent times the decline of the metaphor of the university as parent. And, as noted in Part 1, the parental view arose with the growth in the number of younger students in higher education. The industrial age divided the family, as parents increasingly worked in factories, and the school tended to replace the family as a central source of socialization. Education came to be seen as the imparting of manners and proper behavior as much as knowledge. Eventually institutions of higher education were recognized by the law to have a parental relation to their students, which gave them certain priorities to establish regulations of student comportment and life.

Then the shift in the population of students as a result of the GI bill at the end of World War II introduced factors into the system which undermined the parental status of the colleges and universities. With the influx of older and more experienced students, the role of the university had

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and Sennett, Richard. 1992. *The Fall of Public Man*. W.W. Norton and Co.

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to change from the parental, protective model. Veterans could hardly be treated like children, and the university eventually adapted by becoming more of a service provider and less of an overseer. Kaplin observes this among other reasons for the decline of the parental role in schools. The population was changing, with "new social, economic, and ethnic groups" entering the university.

> [Some of these new groups] were hostile to traditional attitudes and values because they perceived them as part of a process that had excluded their group or race or sex .... For many of the new students as well, older patterns of deference to tradition and authority became a thing of the past .... The emergence of the student-veteran; the loosening of the "lock-step" pattern of educational preparation, which led students directly from high school to college to graduate work; and, finally, the lowered age of majority—all combined to make the *in loco parentis* relationship between institution and students less and less tenable. (Kaplin 1985: 6)

Another factor in the decline of the parent model is the changed relationship between the generations. The swift pace of technological change has made experts of the young, and often has left their parents "behind the times," without much to teach their children that seems relevant to their modern, technology-driven life.[87] This shift has undermined the authority previously and traditionally granted to elders in society. Parental authority is no longer as definitive as it once was, so the foundation of the university as a parent is weakened.

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[87] Erikson observes the shift in the relations among generations brought about by "rapid technological change:" "Aging, for example, will be (or already is) a quite different experience for those who find themselves occupationally outdated..." There is a "relative waning of the parents and the emergence of the young adult specialist as the permanent and permanently changing authority." (Erikson 1968: 39-9)

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The rise of the student-consumer has put the definitive nail in the coffin of the metaphor of the university as a parent. The university as a parental authority determined the content and structure of the curriculum, graded students on their performance, and had discretion over who graduated. The student as a consumer, however, buys a service, which the consumer selects and customizes; and the product must come with certain guarantees.

A serious factor in determining the shape of higher education in America is our national tradition of anti-intellectualism. In his 1927 essay, *Do Americans Really Value Education?*, Flexner observes that while it is true that Americans are more determined to provide the opportunity for social advancement through education to every child, and that a large proportion of the population seeks higher education here than in comparable countries across the water, nevertheless we do not value education for its functions of promoting scholarship and rigorous intellectual exercise. He observes the low "degree of esteem in which the scholar is held" compared with European countries:

> Assuredly there are countries in which the teacher, even in the elementary or secondary school, is an authoritative person in the eyes of the family, and in which the title of professor commands respect from tutored and untutored alike—and America is not one of them. (Flexner 1927: 12)

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And he notes, more significantly, the contrasting respectability within the university granted the scholar versus the administrator.[88] While probing the depths of this problem—the responsibility placed on scholars and teachers for which they receive no credit, etc.—he does not discuss the reasons behind this situation. Tocqueville instructs us in this matter: the source of American anti-intellectualism, he observes, is once again that democratic instinct to distrust any difference of status based on anything other than wealth.

> When standards are unequal and men unalike, there are some very enlightened and learned individuals whose intelligence gives them great power, while the multitude is very ignorant and blinkered. As a result men living under an aristocracy are naturally inclined to be guided in their views by a more thoughtful man or class, and they have little inclination to suppose the masses infallible.
>
> In times of equality the opposite happens. The nearer men are to a common level of uniformity, the less they are inclined to believe blindly in any man or any class. (Tocqueville 1969: 435)

It is this anti-intellectualism, this tendency of Americans to suspect all innate difference of character, which makes the educational "pursuit of excellence," the desire to find and cultivate the brightest minds for leadership, into elitism, because it assumes inborn inequality in a professed egalitarian society. The effects of anti-intellectualism on academia have been to undermine the judgment of the intellectual endeavor as worthwhile for its own sake, and of the university as a repository for the intellectual wealth of the culture. The value of pure research, and the social worth of academics pursuing their work, are brought into question.

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[88] And this in 1927! Flexner writes well before the sweeping changes of WWII and of the postwar era, the massive increase in exactly the intellectless educational opportunity which Flexner sees as so empty of scholasticism. How much more would he note this today.

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Thus follows the decline of the model of the university as a research institution which is to serve as a resource for society. The growth of anti-intellectualism, and the suspicion of independent institutions which are seen as dubious organizations parasitic upon the taxpayer. Similarly, the collapse of affirmative action programs around the country indicates the decline of university's role as a force in social change. There is no longer any broad national support for social engineering of this kind, as can be seen from shifts in the political discourse.

And following upon or coincident with this, we find the growth of the service model and the business model, which is in direct conflict to the parent metaphor, for other reasons, including the increased dependence of public schools on government funding (discussed in more detail elsewhere). In the parent metaphor, as we have seen, the parent is responsible for the education of the students, for what they learn, for deciding what is appropriate, what leads to proper moral and intellectual maturity, and what expands the faculties. In the school's role as the strict parent, the student must respect the authority of the school. In the business model, the student as customer is the one who determines what form the product should have. We see these consumerist beliefs in statements like the following, criticizing teacher performance from the standpoint of the consumer-parent:

> It is surprising that anyone could demand [this kind of job security], and receive it, for a job performance that is not to the buyers' liking. (Fitzpatrick 1975: 9)

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> Where else in our economy do you find a situation where people cannot control either the quality of the product they purchase, or the price they pay for it, or even whether they want to make a purchase at all? (Fitzpatrick 1975: 8)

The near-apoplectic sputterings of someone like Fitzpatrick about the consumer's helplessness in the face of liberal propaganda in schools, are illustration enough of the conflict between these models, and of the degree to which the consumer model has become entrenched in our cultural understanding of education. Even in the past century, the metaphor of the school as parent has seen and passed its heyday. Even in our recent past, it is clear that this metaphor was solid enough to be enacted into law, a sure sign of the established nature of a model. But it is as clear that this solidity has dissolved in the intervening period, with the advent of a fierce consumerism and belief in the free market of education.

The dominant process which has guided the shift in metaphorical structure, causing the earlier, social metaphors to be lost and the more recent economic metaphors to rise as they have, has been the march of rationalization: the increasingly institutionalized particularization and division of social and economic relations in society. As Weber noted, rationalization is not a modern process. It has been a constant in human cultures; but with the rise in capitalism, rationalization found a motivation and resonance previously unknown to Europeans. Capitalism itself arose through the development of the Protestant ethic and its morality of spiritual

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goodness reflected in material means sanctioning the pursuit of earthly wealth.

Conclusion

The diversity of the metaphors is shown in their mappings: elements mapped in the guild model, e.g. graduate students, do not even enter into the business model. The status of 'university' and 'education' as contested concepts shows that while views of education through the ages may in fundament be reduced to the guidance of the individual's growth, models of the university are more complicated. Their development has been conditioned by historical developments and situations, and has been noncyclical, tending ever more toward models seen in economic terms.

The state of the university as a conception of business, a collaborator with business, and in the end a place of business, has hidden the contestedness of the purposes of education and of the university, as we saw above. It has rendered obsolete even the notion of education having a purpose:

> With colleges today increasingly viewed as employment credentialing stations [and] students as customers, learning for its own sake [is seen as] a quaint idea whose time has passed. (Bronner 1998: A1)

The business influence in education has rendered irrelevant many or most of the criticisms brought against the institution in recent years, as Harvey, Readings, and others have observed. The various combatants in the "culture wars" are completely out of touch with the real directions of academic development:

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> Attacks on "the canon" of dead white males signaled the end of the university as a guardian of universal truths and values. Conservatives were right to worry that multiculturalism meant an end to the university as we knew it, but hopelessly nostalgic in their prescriptions. Multiculturalists, by "lending primacy to the cultural," also missed "the fact that culture no longer matters to the powers that be in advanced capitalism..." Much of the current debate consequently "misses the point, because it fails to think of the University in a transnational framework, preferring to busy itself with either nostalgia or denunciation—most often with an admixture of the two." (Harvey 1998: 114)

From a long-term perspective, the changes in the university are part of its slow normal evolution following in the path of larger social and economic shifts. The fundamentally economic institution is reflecting the economic ideology of its context. From the more local perspective, however, there can be no doubt that the changes we see in the university are significant of a shift toward the dominance of the business model, and have considerable ramifications for those social goals which conflict with the ends of that model. This will be examined at greater length in the following section.

Since, as we see, the business metaphor is now the predominant metaphor for the university, the entailments of this metaphor, their consequences for the domain of education, should be examined more closely. As well, the influence of the business metaphor in other domains should be observed. This is the subject of Part 3.

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This world is a place of business. What an infinite bustle! ... It is nothing but work, work, work. I cannot easily buy a blank-book to write thoughts in; they are commonly ruled for dollars and cents. An Irishman, seeing me make a minute in the fields, took it for granted that I was calculating my wages. If a man was tossed out of a window when an infant, and so made a cripple for life, or scared out of his wits by the Indians, it is chiefly regretted because he was thus incapacitated for—business! I think that there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business.

Thoreau, Life Without Principle

Part 3: The Future

Introduction

The dominance of the business metaphor in education is apparent. At issue, then, are the consequences for the ways we think about education. The ways in which reasoning about the business domain carries over into education have immense influence on the future of higher education in this country. The effects in education of assumptions about necessary productivity, competition, marketing, and so on are examined below. Contemporary issues of concern, including the status of tenure, of academic freedom, the future of affirmative action and of remedial education are examined as well.

This trend of businessification is not unique to education, however. It is significant as a part of a larger process in the historical development of our social institutions. Parallel trends are visible in the domains of government, health care, and prison administration. A brief discussion of developments

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in these domains is provided, with an overview of the larger context in which these changes arise.

Consequences of the Business Metaphor in Education

In recent years we have seen an increase in the use of language from the business domain to describe education.

> [An article in a paper] claims the problem with schools is that they should be run on a business model: "Imagine a company that has little quality control, churns out shoddy products, and then wants more money; imagine a company that gets millions of dollars from stockholders, has virtually no competition, and yet ends up bankrupt; imagine a company that takes a decade and $40,000 to churn out each product and then somehow loses up to half of these products before delivery...." (Murchland 1990: 17-18)

> [Western Governors University's] ambition ... will be second to none. Its founders included 17 governors; its 14 "business partners" include IBM, Sun, AT&T, KPMG, Cisco, 3COM, Microsoft, and International Thomson. WGU won't employ teaching faculty, develop courses, or deal in credit hours: its online academic content will come from a range of qualifying providers (colleges or businesses, here or abroad), and all degrees will be competency-based. WGU's aim is to be the broker of choice within an academic common market that it helps create. Its "founding philosophies" are "partnerships" and "competition." ... As courses are added from national universities, corporations, and publishers, Utah governor Mike Leavitt foresees WGU becoming the "New York Stock Exchange of technology-delivered courses." (*AAHE* 1998)

The use of imagery from the business domain to describe situations in education, invoking the notions of products, consumers, resources, efficiency of production, competitiveness in a market, and so on, has become commonplace. In 1980 such imagery had permeated the view of the university enough to form part of the basis of a court decision regarding the managerial status of faculty, with the Court noting that "the faculty

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determines within each school the product to be produced, the terms upon which it will be offered, and the customers who will be served." (*NRLB v. Yeshiva University*, 100 S. Ct. 856 (1980); in Kaplin 1985: 108) Now the view of education as a business is ubiquitous.

It is striking that people use language borrowed from a domain founded on the principle of self-interest so readily to describe a domain which is critically social and based on an assumed set of social and individual rights and needs. The criticism might be raised that this is 'just words'; that it has no real significance for the way people think about education or make decisions that shape the future of the institution. But we have seen that linguistic images like those above are the indicators of a complicated process of reasoning about a domain which is very much influenced by the conceptual model used.

There are consequences for the present and future condition of education in this country which come about directly from the application of the business model to education. Some of these are noted in Charles Frankel's "Epilogue: Reflections on a Worn-out Model" from *Universities and the Western World*:

> But perhaps the more important story is being told in developments that do not catch the public eye and hardly catch, it would seem, even the eye of the academic world. Consider the following phenomena: grade inflation; the progressive elimination of foreign language requirements from the curricula; the steady dilution even of mild distribution requirements; the regularity with which curricular reforms turn out to involve simply less reading and writing....

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We shall see below how each of the developments is a result of the influence of the business metaphor in education.

There are two kinds of entailments of the business metaphor we are examining: those which arise from the source domain of the Darwinian model (e.g. that competition is a fundamental good), and those which arise from the business domain independently (e.g., that the product should be warranteed against defects in construction or performance). These are detailed and supported below.

Entailments from the Darwinian ICM of Business

The following entailments arise from the ICM of business as it inherits from the folk model of Darwinian natural selection.

Competition fostering efficiency

Businesses must compete; competition makes them more efficient; those that survive are best:

> Good charter schools that are well-managed will make it, the theory goes, because the free market demands it. And, by design, schools that are bad or poorly managed will shut down. (Schnaiberg 1997)

The school voucher program is also based on the idea of competition as beneficial, without regard for the factors which are not visible in the model such as the effect of such vouchers on students of different socio-economic backgrounds and mobility. The vouchers add the facet of consumer choice to

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the mapping, and it is assumed that it is the consumer choice which will bring market pressures to bear upon individual schools, and force them to shape up or shut down.

Inefficient institutions unable to compete globally

The text below, taken from the Reagan Administration's publication "A Nation at Risk," provides an elaboration of the stipulation that an institution must be effective and streamlined to be competitive, here in the global education market. In the first paragraph we have the image of nations in competition; education is a support system which strengthens them.

> Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. This report is concerned with only one of the many causes and dimensions of the problem, but it is the one that undergirds American prosperity, security, and civility. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, 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. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur—others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments.
>
> If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament. (Reagan Administration document, "A Nation at Risk")

In the second paragraph above we see the competition of nations construed as war. This is an elaboration on the construal of economic

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competition between nations as physical competition. Because we are describing nations, the metaphor of war fits easily upon our conception of this competition.

In sum, teasing these mappings apart, we see that the article assumes that student achievement is a commodity, which has decreased with the lessened effectiveness of education in this country. We also see student achievement presented as a form of national armament, allowing us to compete in other nations in the struggle for commercial, industrial, and scientific supremacy mentioned in the first paragraph. We see that our actions which have allowed the quality and effectiveness of education to deteriorate amount to a dismantling of these sources of armament, of our national strength, which makes our own failure to provide ourselves with the appropriate educational defenses an act of disarmament.

Entailments from the Business Domain

The business domain adds a number of elements and entailments to those provided by the Darwinian ICM, including the role of the consumer and issues arising from productivity.

The importance of consumer desires: demand for service

Consumer demands and choices are obviously foregrounded in this mapping:

> Most of the nation's thirty-seven hundred colleges see themselves as market-driven institutions trying to satisfy customer demand. (Traub 1997)

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A further consequence of the service-industry model of education (noted above) is that education as a commodity should be tailored to the demand of the consumer:

> According to a study conducted by Arthur Levine, the president of Teachers College, at Columbia University ... the five-sixths of students who do not fit the stereotype [noted in a survey that] 'they wanted the kind of relationship with a college that they had with their bank, their supermarket, their gas company. They say, 'I want terrific service, I want convenience, I want quality control. Give me classes twenty-four hours a day, and give me in-class parking, if possible.' These are students who want stripped-down classes. They don't want to buy anything they're not using.' (Traub 1997)

In this we see the forces of the demand side of the market: consumer desires for efficient and customized service. The role of consumer choice is an interesting one; the focus of education shifts entirely from what some established authority deems appropriate in a curriculum to what the students see as minimally necessary to the advancement of their careers.

The desires of the consumer, in the classic free-market model, determine what products should be available, and what form these should have. For colleges, this means that the college which desires to attract students in a competitive market adjusts its curriculum accordingly.

> Colleges responded [to enrollment declines] by engaging in market oriented activities intended to attract students while students became more like academic shoppers.... Understanding individual enrollment behavior *can help enrollment managers tailor and target their college's marketing mix of programs, prices, and places*. Colleges can better manage enrollment in the selection and attendance phase by recruiting students consistent with the characteristics of the college or *by adjusting the college characteristics to match the characteristics of the desired students*. (ERIC Digest)

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The effects of this entailment on our reasoning about education will be discussed further in the section on clashes between models concerning academic freedom and curricular content below.

Consumer demand for service and grade inflation

Faculty at colleges and university have become increasingly aware of the problem of grade inflation, in which the average grade awarded the students rises constantly. The inflation is a response to a complicated situation, but the most significant factors to note are the role of the student as a consumer: students are increasingly apt to complain about grades received and demand changes. As a result these changes are awarded, and eventually the general level of grades given is raised to prevent such complaints.

There have even been legal cases involving concerning grades. "On the Pacific coast, in a lawsuit surely deserving an award of some kind," Kaplin reports, "a student sued her institution for $125,000 after an instructor gave her a B+ grade which she claimed should have been an A-." (Kaplin 1985: 1-2)

The increase in student complaints does not occur ex nihilo: the increasingly service-oriented self-presentation of an institution seeking to attract customers and keep them content leads to this kind of behavior on the part of the student, fully understandable in these circumstances. But the consequence of less meaningful grades is to undermine the system as a method of comparing student performance and sorting out those with strengths and aptitudes in particular areas from those without. The "all children are special, everybody is above average" mentality also feeds grade

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inflation; and the fault for poor student performance must be laid at the door of the teacher, with the belief that "low grades are evidence of an ineffective faculty member rather than unqualified or unmotivated students." (Ashworth 1979: 57)

Out of this tendency to blame the teachers arises another reason for grade inflation, in the need of teachers to make their own records of teaching look good. The grade's significance as a measure of student success becomes central to a school's desire to look effective: the higher the set of grades awarded, the better the school looks. Administrators bring pressure to bear upon teachers to grant higher grades to their students, to make everyone involved look better. One account of such pressure is given by Biehl, below:

> BM—Do high school teachers still flunk students?
>
> PB—I do. In fact, I have one of the highest failure rates. That's why I don't teach freshmen anymore. I flunked as many as 50 percent of the class. But my department in general are hard graders. And we catch holy hell from the administration. This reflects badly on the system, and the administrators say it reflects bad teaching. If we were good teachers, they say, our students would pass. Students have the same idea in their heads. (Murchland 1990: 17)

This service-industry self-interpretation of educational institutions, and the consequent subservience to the consumer under the threats of loss of custom, and lawsuits, have worn the import of grades and student performance reports to a harmless insignificance.[89] As Bloom notes, the

[89] (Perhaps this is not altogether a decline. Maybe instead it can be interpreted as an advance in democratic egalitarianism: the pass-through no-questions-asked treatment that was once the exclusive province of the wealthy good-old-boy old-school network is now accessible to the middle class as well, and that primary purpose of school as a place to ease into

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consequences of this are that there is no longer any real measure of academic achievement, that "the grade is both pursued and despised," and that a low morale and self-irony in students results from the preponderance of good grades, "for they are aware that this sort of egalitarianism is fraudulent." (Bloom; in Chapman 1983: 155)

The obvious consequence of inflated grades is the resulting uselessness of grades as an indicator of student aptitude. "The professional schools (the market to which our products are now largely seeking to appeal) no longer trust our seal of approval." (Ibid.: 154) But the more significant consequence is the increased reliance on standardized tests, as the sole remaining "trustworthy" measure of student achievement. This in turn induces at least two critical structural changes, as Bloom observes. First, as we saw in Part 2, the schools begin teaching to the tests, and the curriculum is more and more determined by that which tests can easily measure. These curricular changes then ripple down through the educational system. This determination of the educational curriculum all through the system by the endpoint, general tests has been deplored by critics, but is of bland inconsequence compared to the larger structural damage wrought by the dependence on tests. As Bloom notes, the further result is the displacement of authority from the schools to the testers;

> Students too begin to consider the tests as genuine measures of accomplishment, and the machines of the Educational Testing Service replace the universities as the source of evaluation and standards. The

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adulthood and to form the connections upon which careers are based can be restored to its secure place among time-honored functions of the school.)

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> idea of a liberal education ... begins to fade as its authority ... is supplanted. The student can hardly take the university very seriously as the source of education, rather than as a propadeutic to vocational training, if it is not master in its own world. (Ibid.)

When the student comes to think that the purpose of the university is "preparing him for specialized examinations in the profession of his choice, " (Ibid.) its authority certainly suffers.

Productivity

In the business model, a high ratio of product output per producer size is a central goal. This translates to several developments within the school application: the goal of a high product output level, or in this case number of students:

> The higher-ed management elite ... increasingly see themselves not as educators, but as managers no different from those in the corporate world, whose mission is simply to *maximize through-put—that is, to move the greatest number of students and dollars through the system.* (Murray, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Desirable increase in productivity

Productivity must increase over time for the enterprise to count as successful, equating to a rising enrollment, or an increase in the ratio of tuition to cost:

> The past decade wasn't easy for colleges and universities. Flat enrollments and reduced state subsidies led scores to close, while hundreds of others engaged in downsizing and soul-searching. [...] But the University of Phoenix not only *swelled its enrollment,* but with 40,000 students in 12 states made itself the nation's *largest private university.* (Bronner 1997)

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An extension of the business conception to the university makes the traditional summer break an incomprehensible waste of resources. As Barzun writes,

> When one begins to think of multipliers [of university income], one wonders, Why not teach all the year around and thereby increase tuition receipts and make better use of "the plant"? The analogy with a factory, its output, and its overhead is obvious. (Barzun 1993: 188)

Barzun is critical of this move: he argues for the break on the basis that students need time to assimilate the learned material—and often require the summer to work and earn money to support their studies. But just such a change has been instituted or proposed at a number of institutions around the country. Barzun notes that Parsons College, in Fairfield, Iowa, has gone this route, increasing productivity and profitability but sacrificing its accreditation and a number of faculty and its president. And a *San Francisco Chronicle* article reports that administrators at San Francisco State University are considering such a change. "Political and education leaders are seizing on a simple idea that experts have been pushing for years—filling classrooms that are idle during the summer months." (*San Francisco Chronicle,* March 30, 1999: A13)

But not overproduction

The law of supply and demand in the market requires that the available products roughly match the demand for them. It is bad for business to have a "market glut" or oversupply, as this will bring about a drop in prices and thereby lower the profit ratio of the producer. The following observes the

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conflict between the business model and its imposition on the understanding of graduate careers:

> The key term is "overproduction"—as if we were operating from the outside on some inert material that, as a result of our more or less skillful manipulations, would emerge at the end of a mechanized assembly line as a certain number of more or less efficient additional manipulators, the assumption being that the number produced should be as nearly as possible equal to the number that our customers are currently able and willing to buy. To state the proposition in such concrete terms is to expose its absurdity. Concretely, we are dealing with live human beings who are in our programs because they want Ph.D. degrees in English. It is not our duty to decide whether or not they ought to want degrees. (Adams 1974)

The assumption that the market will determine what is needed does not allow for the possibility that a lack of "demand" for graduates from certain fields may be considered to need redressing.

Efficiency as desirable

The exigencies of business mean that 'efficiency' is desirable:

> Higher education is one of the most inefficient mechanisms for the transfer of knowledge that have ever been invented. [...] I decided to go back to my economics and conceive of education as a production function, in which you specify the learning outcomes that you want—they're your product—and then do a regression and figure out the most efficient way of producing them. (Traub 1997)

Note the OBJECT TRANSFER metaphor of teaching and learning upon which this conception of education depends heavily: if knowledge were not conceived of as some tangible, transferable object, the business model would not work. This is an elaboration or subcase of the metaphor of education as a product, in the form of knowledge as a product. Prototypically, a product is a tangible object; an elaboration of the metaphor of education as a product

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combines with the common construal of knowledge as an object (with object properties including being transferable, packageable, and so on: *have an idea, give someone an idea,* etc.) to provide the metaphor of knowledge as the product.

Another example illustrates the goal of efficiency:

> One broker I spoke to said that most of his customers were professors at Arizona State, who had concluded that the [University of Phoenix] delivered pretty much the same product they did, only more efficiently. (Traub 1997)

The object transfer metaphor of teaching and learning combines with this notion of desirable efficiency in insidious ways. One result of viewing a college education as nothing more than a series of courses, and of viewing those courses as sets of information—and these are both common, standard views among the American public—is that the central importance of the college community and the social experience of college to undergraduate students is completely obscured. While the industrially-oriented, technology-focused educators perfect their plans of the ideal, streamlined, efficient "delivery of course material" to their consumers via online programs and other forms of packaged distance learning, the understanding of college as a fundamentally socializing experience for youngsters is falling by the wayside.

A college education has long been understood to be the chance for students not only to learn from their professors, to take courses, and to gather credentials, but to learn from each other. As Flexner pointed out in 1927, "we realize, as the English realize and the Continentals do not, that there are many elements of first-rate importance to education beyond the merely

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intellectual." (Flexner 1927: 8-9) The extreme opposite to this view, however, is being found in the proposals of contemporary educational profiteers. "A report from Nationsbanc Montgomery Securities characterizes the industry with words such as "inefficient," "cottage industry," "low tech," and "lack of professional management." (*AAHE* 1998)

One illustrative example is found elsewhere in this article (entitled "Not-So-Distant Competitors: How New Providers Are Remaking the Postsecondary Marketplace"):

> Jones Education Company (JEC), the brainchild of cable entrepreneur Glenn Jones ("Let's get the cost of real estate out of education!"), offers instruction via cable (Knowledge TV), courses and degrees from existing universities "anywhere, anytime" (College Connection), and self-paced video and CD-ROM learning products (Knowledge Store). (Ibid.)

The view that college equals the educational knowledge-product plus "real estate" is supremely deceptive. But it is increasingly common for any role of community and academic commonality to be overlooked. A *New York Times Magazine* article on affirmative action reports Bok and Bowen's finding that "in the sample of 28 elite schools they studied, 'even those black students in the lowest S.A.T. band (those with combined scores under 1,000) graduated at higher rates, the more selective the school they attended.'" (Traub 1999: 50) The author concludes that this is the case because "the elites, in short, protect their own." In such a casual dismissal of this significant correlation, he does not recognize that the higher graduation rates of these students in more demanding schools might be the case because, e.g., the local academic culture of learning promotes more interest in remaining in and

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finishing school, and that the examples, encouragement, and challenges offered by fellow students provide further motivation.

Studies have shown that students respond to more rigorous demands in a more nurturant social setting: a *New York Times* article reports that "students are making significant academic gains in schools with educational strategies that include higher standards and more personal instruction, parent involvement, and teacher accountability." (*New York Times;* May 9, 1999: 24) This and related findings show us that the kinds of differences of performance of disadvantaged students may be more immediately redressable than previously thought. But the view that poor performance can be addressed with effort and involvement is not a popular one in an era which sees increasingly depersonalized education as the goal. The invidious assumption underlying the notion that performance reflects ability and not the effects of environment, encouragement, and community is a further dangerous outgrowth of our Cartesian assumptions about the disembodied mind which more than ever demand reconsideration. "I believe that the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situations in which he finds himself," wrote Dewey. "I believe that much of present education fails because it neglects [the] fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life. It conceives the school as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned...." (Dewey 1897) Dewey expressed thus more than a century ago the dangers of seeing education through the Cartesian lens,

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reducing it to the transmission of information, and abnegating its fundamentally social nature. This is something which we are still today coming to understand, but which the view of education as a business is moving us farther and farther away from.

Standardization of production methods

Standardization of production is accomplished through the introduction of a uniform curriculum and fixed schedule of teaching, as illustrated in the following description:

> Because [the University of Phoenix] was created all at once it's a highly rational institution. Classes are held at night, from six to ten. Courses consist of five or six weekly sessions, taken one at a time and one right after another. *Each degree program is identical from one campus to the next.* (Traub 1997; emphasis added.)

Undesirability of increases in production mechanism

In the optimal structure of a business, growth on the production side (without correspondingly increased growth on the product side) is bad; in the case of a university, this would equate to the administration or faculty increasing in number, without a corresponding increase in the number of students produced:

> I had a dream the other night—a nightmare. I dreamed that once again I was the chief executive officer of the Monsanto Company. What made the dream a nightmare was that I was supposed to run the corporation like a university. In my dream, Monsanto had two parallel and often unwieldy organizations—the academic side and the administration—both of which devoted considerable effort to *doing what bureaucracies do best: growing*. (Mahoney, CHE on the Web, "'Reinventing' the University: Object Lessons From Big Business")

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Unitary production goal

The business model only allows for one production goal. In education this translates to choosing between research and teaching:

> What is the primary goal of the institution? If you were absolutely forced to choose research or teaching, which would it be? Although institutions needn't choose just one or the other, *they need to be clear about which activity they value more*. If the answer is teaching, then why aren't senior faculty members doing most of it? Are 90 percent of the institution's discretionary funds (those not absolutely fully obligated) spent on programs related to teaching? (Mahoney, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Unitary metric of productivity

As there can only be one production goal, there can only be one metric of productivity, the monetary return on the single product. This means in the education model that the number of graduates becomes the focus. The author of the following quote is observing the parallel between business and education, and the dangers of such a parallel, for the emphasis on product:

> For example, ask yourselves whether we want to nurture institutions where Presidents and Provosts will be able to vote themselves bonuses or perks for meeting enrollment, retention, or graduation rates? (Dennis, CHE on the Web, Colloquy on Mahoney)

In this conception, there is no longer any obvious reason for the existence of academic undertakings like research, mentoring, or community involvement of academics, to give just a few examples of institutional influences unconnected with the production of graduates. Instead, these become frills, or wasteful expenditures of resources which could be put into increasing production or customer satisfaction. We see this in the following excerpt:

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> The company's business results were not defined in terms of sales or profits or meeting the customers' needs, but rather in terms of how big individual departments were—what kind of recognition they received, how many books or articles in journals their members published, and how much money they received from government. (Mahoney, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Undesirability of price cuts to producer

In the business-based view, need-based scholarships become a financial burden with no benefit to the producer. As competitiveness of the producer is the foremost goal, and as the market alone determines value and price, scholarships must be counter to the ideal structure of the education market.

> We all know what's creating the problems of shrinking revenues and rising costs for campuses: *the soaring expense of need-based scholarships;* [...]; the massive spending needed to bring—and keep—libraries, classrooms, and laboratories up to date in our electronic age; [...]; and the price of star faculty members, in addition to the regular salaries of tenured professors, whether or not they are performing well. (Mahoney, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Desirability for higher quality raw materials

Unlike need-based scholarships, however, merit-based scholarships have an economic justification: they can be used to garner higher quality students. The raw material for the production of college graduates is high school students. Mario Savio employed the mapping of students to raw material in his criticism of the university administration in the Sixties:

> This is a firm, and if the Board of Regents are the board of directors, ... then ... the faculty are a bunch of employees and we're the raw material.

Colleges that seek a certain prestige in their image desire to enroll more able, talented students; these students, presumably, will go on to greater

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careers after their graduation, and eventually their garnered glory will further burnish the image of their alma mater. As we saw in Part 2, the role of prestige in this cycle of attracting good students is central. As a quality that adds to the school's ability to attract better students, larger endowments, and other funds, prestige becomes a form of capital. Higher prestige augments the school's perceived value; higher prestige also clearly can augment the school's physical revenues (e.g. alumni contributions).

> The rationale at colleges [competing for students] is that better students enhance the reputation of the institution, which helps attract more alumni contributions and, ultimately, better students in future freshman classes. (Janofsky 1999: A12)

Raw materials are purchased by the producer; colleges are thus "buying" high school students with merit aid offers:

> Colleges that offer top students a discount on tuition are not simply honoring high academic achievement; *they are buying better students* than would attend their institution if financial aid were tied to need alone. (Sandel 1997)

Beside the mapping of high-school students as the raw materials, we see in this quote a second mapping: tuition is the price of the product (education), and a reduction in that price is a discount. The student here is the buyer or consumer of the product. But the central mapping is of better high school students as raw materials being bought by the school.

The courting of more talented students by Ivy League schools is not new; tuition reductions and other scholarships have been used as inducements to desirable applicants for decades. But the fiercer competition among schools in more recent years has led to a new trend: the increasing

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replacement of need-based scholarships by merit-based awards. In aid packages, schools "will sweeten their offers, if it means beating competitors to a highly prized student." (Janofsky 1999: A12) The consequences of this for the larger social aim of providing education as a public good are discussed below.

Use of technology to streamline, standardize, and accelerate production.

A business or industry is assumed to be able to benefit from and be made more efficient by the use of technology; certainly it is commonly assumed that the use of computers, teleconference teaching, and long-distance learning makes it possible to greatly increase the number of students per faculty member and per local campus facility. Viewed within the business scheme this is only seen as a positive effect.

The unlimited growth potential of the market

A further aspect of the mapping of education as a market involves the fact that markets are assumed to have no natural limits to their growth. Thus education as an industry must be an unlimited growth opportunity:

> With adult education accounting for nearly half of the $200-billion higher-education market, *Phoenix sees few limits to its growth* in offering bachelor's and master's degrees in business, information technology, health and education. (Bronner 1997)

Educational institutions operate within a market with the same competitive scheme as any other:

> The University of Phoenix is competing not with the Ivy League but with the big state schools and the small, unheralded private colleges, where most students enroll. It's a Darwinian world out there: some

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two hundred colleges have closed during the last ten years. (Traub 1997)

Another facet of the market mapping is the role of marketing, or advertising the product. We see many examples of reasoning about the role of advertisement in education in our sources:

> Colleges don't have admissions offices anymore, they have marketing departments. (Edmundson 1997: 44)

Affordable tuition and what the market will bear

Under the model of the free market, with costs determined by what the market will support, need-based scholarships become a case of price-fixing, as we see in the court case described below:

> Since the late 1950s, the eight Ivy League schools and MIT had agreed to offer financial aid solely on the basis of need, as defined by a common formula. To implement their agreement, representatives of the schools met each year to compare financial aid offers and adjust for discrepancies. [...] The Justice Department brought an antitrust action against the schools, claiming the practice amounted to price-fixing. [...] While the Ivies can continue to share common principles for awarding aid, they can no longer compare individual cases. (Sandel 1997)

Furthermore, a tuition deliberately maintained at a level considered affordable to the less-than-wealthiest students is also contrary to the goals of business.

> [A]t many top universities, current tuition (the price of the product) is kept much lower than an open market would support: Harvard could probably double its tuition and still fill every class. (Sawyer, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

Public education as monopoly

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In the education-as-industry model, any interest which controls the majority of the market is a monopoly.

> Pioneer [an education management business] sponsors seminars bringing together entrepreneurs selling curriculum packages, management systems and assessment and evaluation programs. *Conservatives want to 'outsource' these functions as part of an effort to neutralize 'the government monopoly on education'.* (Vine 1997)

Even some academics refer to the government's role in education as unreasonably restrictive on free-trade practices:

> We need leaders at the top, in state legislatures and in Washington, who understand that it is time to untie our hands, to set us free from the monopolistic practices and regulatory constraints that once provided safe havens but now hold us hostage. (Lovett, in AAHE Bulletin 1998)

Accreditation as interference with the market

A natural entailment of the free-market model is that the consumer and market decide what is a successful and useful product, making regulation not just spurious, but a hindrance to progress, as seen in the following:

> Sperling came to see higher education as a closed system whose gates were manned by the accrediting agencies—a racket designed to squelch the forces of individual choice. (Traub 1997)

The obvious implication of the following (following from the use of the word "free", with its positive associations) is that the 'rules that govern traditional public schools' are bad:

> As public, state-funded schools, charter schools operate free from many rules that govern traditional public schools. In the competition for parents and students, charter schools are intended to force traditional public schools to better educate their charges and become more responsive to what parents and students want and need from public education. (Schnaiberg 1997)

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Guaranteeing the product

There is a trend in recent years of schools offering product guarantees with their students, a direct parallel from the business domain's custom of providing warranties against defect or failure in construction and performance. A *New York Times* article of December 1998 describes a proposal in Virginia to certify the competence of high school graduates to prospective employers, a proposal modeled on an existing program in Hanover County, Virginia:

> Every Hanover student who graduates with at least a C average comes with a two-year warranty. If a college or employer finds that the graduate needs remedial work, the school district picks up the cost of the course. [...] "The district is demonstrating that it stands behind its product," said ... the superintendent of Hanover schools. (*New York Times*; 1998)

Lucas has observed this larger trend among community colleges and even liberal arts schools as well. Remedial coursework for unsatisfactory graduates, termed "upgrading" the product, is common collateral:

> Several hundred community colleges currently promise their students that if they fail to find jobs within six months of graduation, or if employers find their skills deficient, graduates may return to campus for supplemental course work free of charge. [...] One four-year liberal arts college—St. John Fisher in Rochester, New York—even offers students up to $5,000 in cash in the event they fail to secure employment within half a year after graduation. "An education that works," boasts its brochure, "We guarantee it." (Lucas 1996: 211)

Note the blend of sub-mappings here: in the case of the graduate failing to find employment and returning for supplemental coursework, it is the education as a product which is being guaranteed; in the case of the employer

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finding fault with the preparation of the graduate, it is the student as a product who is guaranteed.

These policies are not without their critics:

> "What's the guarantee for a theology major? Salvation?" asks Bard College president Leon Botstein. "This trivializes education. It places a minimum standard, not a maximum one, on excellence." (Lucas 1996: 211)

The consequences of this, including and beyond a placing a minimum standard on excellence, are potentially considerable. If schools have the policy of guaranteeing their students, their motivation (both financial and reputation-based) to accept only likely candidates for this version of success rises immensely. In such a development, at-risk, underprivileged or other 'alternative' students will once again be at a disadvantage for consideration. There might also be consequences for curricular content: that is, if schools are gearing the education they provide towards instant measures of hireability, studies of e.g. the humanities may be considered of lower priority than business practices. These issues will be discussed further below in the sections on remedial education, affirmative action, and academic freedom.

Contemporary Issues in Higher Education

There are a number of highly charged debates in higher education in our time which reflect the increasing influence of the business model on universities. These include affirmative action, remedial education, tenure, academic freedom, and the governance of universities; they are discussed below.

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Most of the effects of the mapping described above involve cases in which there is no obvious other interpretation of the target domain to compete with that offered by the business model. Below, on the other hand, we see cases in which there is some prior model which still holds strongly in our imagination of the function or structure of the university. This includes such conflicts as the current vivid debate about tenure: on the one hand, the faculty, as employees of the university, hold positions at its discretion, and if the employer decides they are not performing according to its standards for productivity—not producing enough students, for example—then it can fire them. On the other hand, the historically significant notion of academic freedom devolves exactly from the independence of academics from local political and economic interests, reified in the institution of tenure. Examples of these clashes between models of the university are discussed below.

The Purpose of Education and the Future of the Curriculum

A number of current issues in academic circles relate to the purpose of education. A major conflict arises between educators who believe that there are certain things all students should be taught, for reasons of general knowledge, or for citizen preparation, or of cultural cohesion, and students who see education as a service they pay for and therefore should determine the content of.

Required courses may be seen as originating within the frames of two different source models. On the one hand, they represent the long-standing

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goal of educators to create a uniform culture through common curricular structure and content; this goal arises within the view of education as having a conservative social function and serving the larger needs of a culture for commonality and cohesion. On the other hand, an entailment of the factory model, as we have seen, is that the product meet standards of construction, quality, etc.; in the model of the student as a product, prepared for employment in the society's workforce, the goal of standardization translates to students receiving a uniform education.

Both of these models of education come into conflict with the more recent view of education as a service. The student as consumer determines what sort of service he or she shall receive; required courses represent a lack of choice, and an abnegation of the service model. It is worth noting that requirements form an increasingly minor part of many curricula. Frankel has observed, for example, that universities have brought about "the progressive elimination of foreign language requirements from the curricula [and] the steady dilution even of mild distribution requirements." (Frankel 1975: 280) These conflicts are discussed below.

Education for Citizenship

One of the most striking entailments of the business model, especially the service-industry model, in education, is that the usefulness or value of education is determined by how it serves the student in the business world, either in getting a job or performing that job. Any consideration of its contribution to a person's value as a citizen, or fulfillment as an individual,

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or to general cultural breadth, is ignored. In the following quote of the president of the University of Phoenix, we see clearly the concrete, career-oriented focus of education:

> The people who are our students don't really want the education. They want what the education provides for them—better jobs, moving up in their career, the ability to speak up in meetings, that kind of stuff. They want it to *do* something for them. (Traub 1997)

The attitude revealed here is the modern, service-industry incarnation of an older expectation that some students hold of their college education. This is the view of the school as a kind of "meal ticket:" that the education is a stepping-stone to what they want from their lives. The possession of a college education opens career doors for them and generally lubricates their ladder-climbing in work and social life.

The particular institution described in this article has certain requirements it places on its students for admission (its targeted 'market niche'): they must be at least partly college-educated, adults, and working. This is so that

> the need for general education, liberal arts, and all the other stuff that takes up so much time and money at college could be dispensed with. (Traub 1997)

This notion of education as a service to the student is in direct contrast with the ideas of Dewey and others regarding the purposes of education. Historically, educators have professed the value of a broad liberal education in its addition to the intellectual wealth of the country and the ability of the

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individual to reason and to inform himself or herself in the world. These possible uses of an education are eradicated in the simple business model.

Education for citizenship and social cohesion vs. as a service

The existence of courses required by undergraduate programs, often called distribution requirements, reflects the ingrained belief that a set of shared fundamental courses benefit the student and the larger society by promoting a sense of common culture, a preparedness for good citizenship, a common moral training, and so on. But the growing extent of such requirements has come into conflict with the opposing desire of students to pick and choose their subjects of study. Lucas observes the uncomfortable structure that has arisen as a compromise between these conflicting models.

> If the old idea of a shared intellectual and moral "culture," or *paideia* had been too narrowly circumscribed by classical learning, the alternative of a "cafeteria" approach to learning was too open-ended. ... The practical expedient ... was a "concentration and distribution" requirement. That is, as a sort of compromise between two extremes, students were required to "concentrate" their studies in a given field or discipline (the "major") while "distributing" or spreading their other choices across a range of subjects in the arts, humanities, and sciences. (Lucas 1966: 130)

Standardization vs. Service

In the business/factory model, one of the goals is a standardized product. Required courses can be seen in many programs as a correlate of this mapping. In the model with the student as consumer, the education is the product, and the consumer has a choice of flavors of product, which equate to electives in the education domain. It is from the clash of these two models

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that we get the familiar conflict between requirements and electives. As we saw in the quote above from the president of the University of Phoenix, the consumer mentality prevails:

> These are students who want stripped-down classes. They don't want to buy anything they're not using. (Traub 1997)

In recent times we see more emphasis on education as a service provided to students, falling into the model of the service industry, and creating an expectation of customized education. The conflict between required and elective courses results directly from the two models of the factory and its standardized product versus the service industry and its customized product. The long-standing nature of this conflict in the attitudes of American university students reflects the entrenchedness of this dual factory model mapping in education in this country.

The problem with required courses and electives and its relation to the two models springs from a deeper conflict between the two models, that of the consumer as determiner and that of the professor as instructor. In the business model the market is supposedly driven by the desires of the consumer.[90] In education this means that the demands of the students come before the knowledge of the faculty about what is or is not valuable to learn.

> Worsening the nightmare, the customers—the students—were not happy, complaining that they were being ignored, and that regular price increases were excessive. (Mahoney, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

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[90] In fact the immense and powerful machinery of advertising and target marketing by major corporations in our society tells us that the consumer hardly determines his or her own desire any longer (cf., e.g., Galbraith 1958; 1979).

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This development arose in part with the more specialized course programs in technical education (where tailored curricula have been seen as more appropriate) and spread to education in the humanities. The change spilled thus into traditional liberal arts education, originally founded on the principle that the young have something to learn from their teachers. In education as a service-industry, the consumer is the arbiter of the product's form and content; under the influence of this model, as Ashworth notes, "some schools have gone so far in courting the students as to permit the students themselves to decide what constitutes a college degree or an educated person." (Ashworth 1979: 55)

This is as we see hardly in accordance with the "old-fashioned but still powerful notion that the older generation of educators knows what is best for ...the new generation of students." (Ames; CHE on the Web, November 1999) Education as a service obscures the possibility that the student is in some way ignorant and goes to seek education from the wise, who presumably being instructors have some idea of what knowledge is useful and how to go about becoming educated. It would be rather imbalanced to have the ignorant quarter determining the course of learning, a situation which seems a case of the blind leading the sighted.

As Flexner noted in 1908, in his criticism of Eliot's laissez-faire system of electives, such a system presupposes that the student is psychologically, morally, and socially prepared to make intelligent choices in his own education:

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> It is very rightly held that if the college student is to undertake the conduct of his own subsequent education, he must have previously developed a guiding consciousness of his own line. ... This is the indispensable preliminary to the efficient operation of any sort of elective system. (Flexner 1908: 72-3)

But any notion of youthful ignorance, of wisdom acquired through guided study, of an unformed character in need of social and personal example, is completely hidden in the model of education as a business/service. The question of whether a student is mature enough to make capable decisions shaping his or her education cannot even arise in the modern understanding of education as a service provided to a consumer.

Metrics of the effectiveness of a program

Another debate in academic circles concerns the question of what kind of metric should be applied to determine the effectiveness or success of a department or university. A commonly-employed metric is the number of graduates of the institution who have obtained positions at major research institutions. This metric exists and is used partly because of the model of education as provided mainly for scholars, to create more scholars, to conduct research, to increase the limits of human knowledge, etc.; partly also it is used because it is a simple thing to measure. But across from this there is the model of education for the populace at large, intended to increase the breadth of intellect and knowledge among people generally. In a model with this goal, the measure of the effectiveness of a department is much subtler and harder to ascertain, consisting as it does of intangible matters, such as influences on the ways people think and perhaps behave. There is no easy

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solution to this problem: the simple metric of the former model has its obvious attractions; but to rely only on it is to ignore functions and effects of education which have been considered central by thinkers throughout our history as a nation.

The Market, Competition, and "Edutainment"

One important result of education as a service is the abolition of requirements, with the ramifications described above. The student as client desires a customized education, and a walk through advertisements for schools shows the institutional response to this market demand. A "subsidiary" of New York University, "The Gallatin School of Individualized Study", offers "a custom-designed educational experience." The New School encourages students to "compose your own flexible learning program." (*New York Times Education Life;* November 1998) And so on.

A separate and perhaps more ominous development, however, arises in the context of schools competing for students. Schools seek to develop an image of the education they offer as a pleasant, illuminating, but not demanding "experience." Work does not enter into the frame. "Too many students now choose the pleasurable over the valuable," writes Altschuler. (*New York Times;* April 1999) The desire to avoid mental labor takes them away from intellectual efforts whose rewards are not immediate. Teachers and schools both respond to the pressure to be entertaining; their reputations and ability to attract future students are on the line. As Edmundson writes, course evaluations have had a hand in this. Students writing evaluations are

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"playing the informed consumer, letting the provider know where he's come through and where he's not quite up to snuff." (Edmundson 1997: 39) Edmundson is "disturbed by the serene belief that my function—and, more important, Freud's, or Shakespeare's, or Blake's—is to divert, entertain, and interest." (Ibid.: 40) He connects this development to his observation that "more and more of what's going on in the university is customer driven." The college "buyer's market ... meant creating more comfortable, less challenging environments, places where almost no one failed, everything was enjoyable, and everyone was nice." (Ibid.: 43-4) Thus education becomes a form of entertainment, whose highest aim is to lull the consumer-student into a pleasantly uncritical state.

The Decline of the Nurturant-parent Model; Consequences for Mentorship

The model of professors/the university as nurturant parents, focusing as it does on a cycle of academics nurturing their students and eventual successors, tends to be used most for the image of researchers and academics training more researchers and academics. Since the business model has become dominant, there arises a clash of mappings: this necessary replenishing of the supply of teachers, and increasing of the number of researchers expanding the limits of our knowledge, becomes in the business model a form of the worst tendency of unproductive bureaucracy to expand and become bloated.[91] Such growth of the administration/managerial side of

[91] A forlorn attempt to place mentorship within the business paradigm only highlights the difficulty: "And what of the dividends of faculty-student friendships?" (Bailey; in Lucas 1976: 163)

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the structure is anathema in the business model. Thus the nurturant-parent metaphor has fallen off in use, necessarily unpopular for the undesirable images of unprofitable topheavy production it evokes in the more prevalent business metaphor. In the nurturant parent model, the ratio of parents to offspring is ideally low: the fewer children, the greater care the parent can extend to each child; and so it is with academic mentorship. But the lower the ratio of mentors to protégés is—the closer to the academic ideal—the farther that ratio is from the business world's ideal of increased production. Such a ratio exposes as inefficient the production mechanism of the school, which should have fewer employees/producers per product.

The Status of Graduate Student Instructors

Another issue related to the influence of the business model is the disputed status of Graduate Student Instructors at universities as employees or as teachers-in-training. The debate between the graduate students who seek unionization and the administration centers on whether GSIs are employees, because they carry out a good portion of the teaching capacity of the university for its undergraduates, or whether they are apprentices to the profession of university professors. What rides on this different status of employee or teaching apprentice is the contractual status of the GSIs with regard to the university, and aspects of job security, workload, and compensation. Because these have potential financial and legal impact on the university administration, it is in the interest of the administration to

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show that GSIs are apprentices and not employees.[92] This has the curious effect of making the administration take the opposite rhetorical tack from its usual, highly business-oriented attitude. It is an organizational entity which usually sounds the corporate drum as much and as loudly as it can, but here instead we see it take the old-fashioned line of argument that the university is a collegial guild structure, with professor-masters and graduate student apprentices or journeymen, and that as such the work performed by the graduate students does not equate to employment but to an internship of sorts for the acquisition of the tools of the trade. (The significance of the teaching conducted for the undergraduate population, otherwise conceived of as paying clients, is perhaps problematic but of course is not raised with direct regard to this issue.)

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has come under fire in recent years because it appears to some critics to confound the fair competitive basis of educational admissions. The debate about affirmative action arises primarily because of differing background models held regarding the nature of society and the purpose of education. Society is held on the one hand to be a mechanistic

[92] A radio plug for the University of Oregon vaunts its many small undergraduate courses "taught by full professors." Advertisements for other small colleges in newspapers like the *New York Times* take similar tacks: "Learn from an internationally renowned faculty" (Columbia); "individual attention in small classes" (Dowling); "work with an internationally recognized faculty" (New School for Social Research). The reason these ads strike a curious note is that the notion of professors teaching undergraduates has been a part of our national academic identity. It may well be that a good part of the disinclination of the administration to recognizing graduate instructors as a major element of the teaching workforce is its resistance to admitting how far from this ideal they have strayed.

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system in which there are no internal constraints, pockets of influence, strata—in which there are no particular privileges or disadvantages arising from one's position. On the other side of the debate is a model of society as inherently tending to inequality of privilege and opportunity. The debate about the purpose of education is one we have seen before: the first view regards it as a purely merit-based system which looks only at aptitude and performance at the level of higher education, disregarding prior conditions. The second view takes socio-economic factors into consideration, either with an eye to redressing past or present social injustices, or in the more immediate assumption that a candidate who has performed reasonably well in a difficult situation has effectively more promise than one who has performed very well in a situation of privilege.

The institution of affirmative action is the explicit and concrete rendering of the university as a tool in social reform. It takes as its foundation the assumption that "the social goal of greater minority representation justifies the admission of less or differently qualified applicants into educational programs, particularly in the professions." (Kaplin 1985: 252) The corresponding policies of minority-oriented admissions have especially in recent years become the target of discussion. Critics of affirmative action argue that it is unfair discrimination; proponents argue that it is meant to counter invisible discrimination, as well as to aid by a kind of brute force the creation of a more egalitarian society. Lucas observes that in

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the question of who should go to college, "two ideals, both of them parts of the American way of thinking, ... seem to be in conflict with each other:"

> Reduced to their essentials, one point of view holds that higher learning should be reserved for the few; the other insists that it should be for the many. The former is inspired by the ideal of individual distinction and achievement. The latter invokes the ideal of democracy, of equal rights for all. (Lucas 1996: 91)

These two ideals are also related to our two models of the family. The former is akin to the Strict Father model, in which each individual must succeed on his own merit in competition with others. The latter is akin to the Nurturant Parent, providing the means for a good life to all. It is thus the kind of parent that the university should be which is under debate.

Critics have a model of society as a kind of mechanism with no internal clusters, clumps, groupings, or built-in paths of access and power. Every individual starts off on an equal basis, and their lives are thus what they make of them: effort is everything. Opponents of affirmative action hold to the Horatio Alger myth: they believe that everyone begins with equal assets and possibilities, and that the individual is solely responsible for the situation in which he or she finds himself. The extreme case of this is when absolutely no social context for an action is recognized:

> When I have been asked during these last weeks who caused the riots and the killing in L.A., my answer has been direct and simple: Who is to blame for the riots? The rioters are to blame. Who is to blame for the killings? The killers are to blame. (Vice President J. Danforth Quayle)

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Proponents argue the opposite: it is not that simple; privilege is a transparent but powerful force shaping the lives of individuals. In one summing-up,

> Poor people know poor people and rich people know rich people. It is one of the few things La Rochefoucauld did not say, but then La Rochefoucauld never lived in the Bronx. (Moss Hart[93])

Supporters of affirmative action argue that people are by nature inclined to form alliances to groups based on kinship, social similarity, or other limiting factors, and to distribute their attention, loyalty, and so on within these groups. "One of the lessons of the *Republic* was to propose a way to counter the natural tendency of individuals to pass on to their children the gains they have acquired during their own lives, thereby establishing conditions of inequality for the next generation." (Murphy; in Froomkin 1983: 19) But this is just the beginning, and just the minimum of what can be said of prejudice and privilege. Individuals pass on their gains in streams of privilege which are compounded into their class, creating disparities which over generations become generalized, institutionalized, legalized.

The conservative model of social change as incremental, arising from gradual developments within the mechanism collides with the facts: the fates of individuals are shaped by the socioeconomically defined pockets within which they live. The problem is, as Plato observed, that the natural inclinations of individuals run counter to the goal of equality. Affirmative

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[93] Quoted in May 19, 1997 *Forbes* Magazine.

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action is conceived as one solution to this problem. The role of the university in social change, as we have seen, has been seen at times in our past as critical. Education was the means to a better life; everyone was seen as deserving access to this means; the university was used directly to address social inequity.

Another factor weighing in on the side of affirmative action is the view of education as a service: Americans believe that opportunities should be made available to all; education is a form of opportunity; education should be provided to all who seek it and will benefit from it. "As tools for helping people achieve upward social mobility, universities in concert with lower schools are expected to sustain equality of opportunity." (Lucas 1996: 89) The expectation that education as an opportunity should be made generally accessible underlies public higher education. The notion of public service here collides with that of customer service:[94]

> Many in higher education recoil at the word "customer." They believe that education has a higher purpose than selling products like detergent or garage door openers. Nevertheless, we prefer and use the word ... because we believe that it is an important reminder that higher education is in business to serve others... (Armajami et al.; in Lucas 1996: 210)

The notion of education as a service that should be available to everyone is thus one basis for affirmative action. To the extent that it is the certificate, not the content, of education that matters for what it "gets" the

[94] Education as a "service" has two senses, which are both still common: the older sense of a service to society, the performance of a larger good, and the newer sense of a service provided to the individual. As Lucas notes, "what unites most Americans is a sense that education represents both a personal and a social good." (Lucas 1996: 89)

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student, this view is also connected to the idea of the college or university as a "meal ticket," which was discussed above. Education is that which provides preparation and connections for later life, and as such, no one should be excluded from access to it.

But this is changing. Across the country, affirmative action is being overturned. The discussion increasingly revolves around the competitive basis of admissions, casting affirmative action programs as discrimination.[95] There has been an interesting development in the character of the arguments about affirmative action, however. Once the discussion was shaped as a debate about two kinds of discrimination, about social engineering versus merit and competition from even starting-points. But increasingly, the controversy is about service, with those against affirmative action arguing that education should be extended as a service equally available to all consumers, and that quotas are unfair business practices.

Education as social equalizer versus as commodity for the wealthy

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[95] There is a reading of the forces in affirmative action which encompasses some version of both of these views. Justice Douglas was among those deciding on the 1973 case of a former a law school applicant claiming he was denied admission in favor of less qualified minority applicants. His dissenting opinion exhibits elements of both competition and socioeconomic consideration:

> The equal protection clause did not enact a requirement that law schools employ as the sole criterion for admissions a formula based upon the LSAT and undergraduate grades, nor does it prohibit law schools from evaluating an applicant's prior achievements in light of the barriers that he had to overcome. A black applicant who pulled himself out of the ghetto into a junior college may thereby demonstrate a level of motivation, perseverance, and ability that would lead a fair-minded admissions committee to conclude that he shows more promise for law study than the son of a rich alumnus who achieved better grades at Harvard. That applicant would be offered admission not because he is black but because as an individual he has shown he has the potential.... (Justice Douglas, in *Defunis vs. Odegaard*, 507 P.2d 1169 (1973)

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One of the consequences of the market model of education thus has complex but significant socio-economic ramifications, reshaping one of the fundamental provisions in our society for social mobility. Students are a product of educational institutions; these institutions have to survive and succeed in a competitive market. One important asset of a business is its reputation for putting out products of high quality, and one necessary factor to having a product of high quality is using raw materials of high quality. In education this translates to getting the cream of the crop of available high school graduates, the most successful ones, as we saw above.

> Instead of aid being a form of charity, intended for students who require and merit support, it is increasingly offered as an inducement to able students whose families need little if any help. Often, "merit aid" is a disguise for a discount that might close a deal. (Caplan 1997)

As noted earlier, the school's ability to provide scholarships is limited, and the expense of scholarships must be controlled. "Increasingly, colleges and universities think of student aid as a strategic part of revenue planning," notes one college president. (Janofsky 1999: A12) If the school directs its few scholarships toward a more highly qualified enrollment, needier students are squeezed out of the running. "It used to be [that] providing aid was a charitable operation. Now, it's investment, like brand management." (Ibid.)

Two legal changes to the way that schools may determine aid were made in the last ten years, which parallel the dismantling of protection for less wealthy individuals on other economic fronts in the move to make economic institutions more "competitive." The elite schools' practice of collaborating on student aid offers to reduce costly competition was

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considered by the Government to be price-fixing, and was abolished. And the economic factors considered in financial aid offers were changed. The year after the "price-fixing" ruling,

> Congress eliminated home equity as a family asset in determining eligibility for Federal aid. In effect, that liberalized the definition of need, allowing colleges more flexibility in aid packages. (Ibid.)

This change removed one possibly major distinction between applicants from more wealthy and less well-off families. The "liberalization" was effectively the conversion of need-based scholarships to merit-based ones. The choice of term here clearly reflects the bias toward the free-market tactics increasingly dominating education policy: the institution needs to compete, and the government support of its competitiveness is shown in the removal of protections and provisions for needier would-be students. "The term 'need' is evolving in the highest reaches of academe. Increasingly, these colleges are looking out for their own needs, using financial aid as a competitive tool to enroll the best students." (Gose 1999: A42)

What is less obvious but of singular import is the effect of these shifts on admissions of less successful, meaning usually less privileged, students, and therefore on the social mobility of less privileged socio-economic groups. Even setting aside the question of whether the current metrics of success of high school graduates are accurate predictors of their later performance (and some studies suggest they are not (Cf., e.g. Goodman 1960; 1963), this immediately poses a difficulty for those sectors of the population which are not privileged to have easy access to good elementary and secondary

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education: as less desirable material for admissions offices, they are at a disadvantage—a continuing disadvantage—in the larger system.

And schools which try to maintain socio-economically sensitive admissions policies are at a disadvantage in the larger educational system. Like isolated socialist states surrounded by capitalist countries, they cannot survive for long with generous policies whose benefits are undermined by the profit-driven motives of their neighbors.[96] "We're not militantly egalitarian," concedes one MIT financial aid policy person. "The question is, How long can you maintain that system if you're the only one out there? It wouldn't take long for this whole thing to fall apart if we saw top students going to other places because of merit awards." (Gose 1999: A43) The notorious pressure of the all-consuming market compels even well-meaning admissions officers to conform to the competitive, profit-driven standard.

The increasingly polarized distribution of resources and opportunity which is a result of the corporate model in academia conflicts directly with the deeply held belief that education as a public good should be available to everyone. If we as a society and as a country are to hold true to our ideal of education for all providing the possibility for advancement that is understood

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[96] Businesses suffer the same fate, of course. One example that casts dubious light on the principle that the market will determine what is best is found in a bar owner's economically compelled noncompliance with the California no-smoking law. The owner wanted a smokeless bar, but when competing bars disregarded the law, his customers were drawn away. "We didn't mind losing customers to the law," he said, "but not to other bars." (*San Francisco Chronicle;* April 30 , 1999: A2)

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to be the right of every citizen,[97] we must undertake a fundamental reconsideration of the assumptions of the market system, and the effects these have had upon our educational system and our society as a whole. The kind of analysis I have described above allows us to become aware of the social consequences of formative models and metaphors in our thought. Using and remaining aware of these models at the conscious level permits us as a society to be deliberate in our decision-making regarding social structures. Specifically, policymakers must incorporate such insights when pursuing the reform of social institutions. In the larger scheme of things, such analysis provides for the understanding of systems and institutions that is of fundamental benefit to us in our continuing social endeavor.

Remedial Education

The fundamental issues bringing down affirmative action, the competition model and conservative assumptions about social structure, are also the driving forces in the decline of remedial education programs around the country. The competition model has come to bear upon the issue of remedial education in two ways: the first is via the notion that public schools should be competitive with one another; the second, that students should be competitive.

The assumption that public schools should be competitive rests on the claim that the system of public schools should be treated as a marketplace,

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[97] Cf., e.g., "One purpose of higher education in the American framework is to help realize the dream of individual opportunity." In The Educational Policies Commission's *Higher Education in a Decade of Decision*, 1957: 6.

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with the goal of weeding out the weaker less effective institutions and leaving the strong. This may sound like a fine ideal, but in practice it raises some problems. Consider, for example, the following "story," concerning the hypothetical case of two principals for "Large City, New York." The two are talking after a long day of meetings at an annual convention, and the first is consoling the second on the subject of a recent *Large City Times* article of the following nature:

> Based on average school reading scores released yesterday, P.S. A rose 96 places in the citywide rankings, while P.S. F fell 78 places. Why such vast differences in schools that are otherwise so similar?

"The article went on with pictures and interviews; it was laudatory about the faculty, program, and leadership in School A and critical of faculty, program, and leadership in School F." (Hedges; in Callaway 1990: 205)

The principal of school A describes to the principal of F what he has done. He figured out, he explains, that if he got rid of 50 marginal students, reading averages would improve and the school would rise in the rankings. Further, he could then attract better students from elsewhere, and raise his school's ranking even further. His fellow principal points out that a good number of the 50 students expelled from school A wound up in his own, and that many of those "better students" attracted to the first school were drawn from his own. Hence the source of his own lowered ranking.

The implications of the kind of competition between schools created by a voucher system or other "incentives" are foreboding for the future of education for students whose backgrounds prepare them less for higher

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education. If schools are measured by standards which encourage the selection of abler students, public education as a general social opportunity will suffer.

The second assumption, that students should be competitive, assures that the only criteria for admission to schools should be performance along one set of metrics given to all applicants. Remedial education, as the provision of resources to the undeserving, is seen as educational welfare, encouraging the unworthy and discouraging those who have worked for their position. A common metaphor employed to capture the combination of competition and metrics seen here is taken from athletics: admission is an athletic competition, and those who do not make it did not because they were not qualified. As Patent observes, the metaphor provides no room for extenuating circumstances, for prior conditions determining who gets to apply, for what factors go into making someone a successful candidate. There is only the game, the competition, fit winners and unfit losers.[98]

The unfitness of students for the competition, and for academia, thus becomes a matter of their own preparation, their own effort, and therefore their own fault:

> One board member, George J. Rios, said the plan sounded a "realistic warning bell" that students must be better prepared, and that "we as educators will no longer tolerate mediocrity and failed opportunity." (*CHE* June 1998)

This sounds again like the conversion of structural failure into individual failure that we saw with community colleges. The student's

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failure to be prepared is a personal failure, rather than a reflection of social stratification and restricted opportunity.

Tenure

Tenure, it seems, was an outgrowth of the bureaucratization of universities, and will die by the same means. Hofstadter and Metzger observe the origin of tenure in faculty demands for a more business-like job security:

> The law of supply and demand did not spare the academic market: as the number of available teachers increased, their bargaining power diminished; as more job-hunters came on the scene, job-holders felt less secure. [...] And the demand for academic tenure was, after all, a demand for rules and regulations—for contractual definitions of function, for uniform procedures for dismissal, for definite standards for promotion based on seniority and service—in short, for the definiteness, impersonality, and objectivity that are the essence of bureaucratism. (Hofstadter and Metzger 1955: 454)

But this very model borrowed into academia would eventually make exactly that job security and definiteness which was sought into a thing of the past. The standard business management hierarchy assumes that directors and managers have complete administrative discretion over the employees and the production process. This means being able to hire and fire faculty as the administration sees fit, as they meet or fail to meet production standards. Administrators talk about "the bottom line," "flexibility," and "adaptability:" "Institutions are very concerned about the long-term costs of a tenured appointment and the need in an increasingly volatile environment to maintain flexibility." (Wilson 1998: A12)

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[98] Patent 1997: unpublished paper, UC Berkeley, California.

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The arrangement of the business model conceals entirely the question of why one might want faculty to be independent of the short-term financial strictures of the administration:

> A harder, but unavoidable, question involves tenure. Universities are rapidly reaching the point at which they need to ask not "Can we reform tenure?" or "Dare we?" but rather "How can we go about it?" Some educational institutions have successfully bought out or phased out unproductive faculty members. A few have talked of designing 5-year or 10-year employment contracts to replace tenure. Many more of these approaches can be tried. Just think about the cost of 10 or 15 years of salary and support services for unproductive people, and you will see that you can easily raise the ante in a fair manner to induce their departure and make way for new faculty appointments. (Mahoney, CHE on the Web; Colloquy)

This passage raises the issue of who determines what counts as "productive." More critically it does not touch on or recognize the issue of tenure as a safeguard to academic freedom. Another factor in both tenure and academic freedom is the role of the "consumer" in education. As we saw above, the student as consumer holds a new and often definitive power over curricular content.

> And if what's called tenure reform—which generally just means the abolition of tenure—is broadly enacted, professors will be yet more vulnerable to the whims of their customer-students. Teach what pulls the kids in, or walk. What about entire departments that don't deliver? If the kids say no to Latin and Greek, is it time to dissolve classics? Such questions are being entertained more and more seriously by university administrators. (Edmundson 1997: 45)

Of critical relevance, but too often unrecognized in the discussion about tenure, is the fact that the alternative to tenure in determining faculty positions is constant, unremittant politics, within and between departments. A great deal of institutional time and energy is saved by fixing professorial

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contracts in the manner of tenure now practiced. It has been disregarded that if this practice were abolished, individual academics, departments, and administrations would immediately become embroiled in thick and ongoing politically charged negotiations. Further, the basis of cooperation between faculty, departments, and universities would be completely undermined by the need to compete for funds and support to guarantee continued work.

One president of a major research university has spoken up in defense of tenure for further reasons, pointing out that the kind of job flexibility that corporations seek in their employees does not readily transfer to the academic domain: "Shifting an employee from one corporate department to another might make sense, but imagine trying to retrain a scholar of medieval French literature to teach astrophysics." (Brand 1999) But Brand observes farther-reaching dangers in the abolition of tenure:

> A tenured faculty member will accept lower compensation in exchange for job security—knowing that his or her position is unlikely to be eliminated during downsizing or restructuring. If tenure were eliminated tomorrow, taking academic job security with it, faculty compensation would have to increase. Higher pay would mean increases in tuition or the student/faculty ratio. The first result would curtail access to higher education; the second would decrease its quality. (Ibid.)

Across the country, universities and colleges have been replacing tenure-track positions with contract positions;[99] two new institutions have

[99] Wilson reports that "the proportion of full-time professors working on contracts climbed from 19 per cent in 1975 to 28 per cent in 1995, while the proportion of those on the tenure track fell from 29 per cent to 20 per cent." And "in the past several years, two newly created institutions, Florida Gulf Coast University and the Arizona International Campus of the University of Arizona, have hired professors only on annual or multiyear contracts." (Wilson 1998: A12)

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dispensed with tenure entirely. What is noteworthy about this process is its comparative invisibility. As Epstein observes, the "growing number of dismissals for financial reasons rather than on specific charges of misconduct" constitutes an "attack on freedom [that] is not direct." (Epstein 1974: 121) This leads us into the issue of academic freedom, and of the determination of curricular content.[100]

Academic Freedom

The ideal of academic freedom was in its origin closely connected to the metaphor of the community of scholars. Both the independence of the university and its role as a discoverer of new knowledge, and a pursuer of truth, are central to the background of this ideal.

> It was ... in nineteenth century Germany that the modern concept of academic freedom came to be formulated. The idea of the university as a place where scholars are to pursue truth, as well as to formulate and transmit it to students, who at the same time learn to pursue truth for themselves, came to be dominant there. (Baade 1964: 5)

And this ideal of the freedom of ideas has sunk deep into our national ideology, and our Western view of ourselves as a liberal and rational people. "Our nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers

[100] Academic freedom is not solely a matter of professorial job security, as Hofstadter and Metzger point out, observing the dangers of such an equation: "With the emphasis on 'firing' rather than on 'hiring,' the temptation is to make academic freedom coterminous with the security of professors in the gild, rather than with the social necessity of assembling independent men whatever their range of dissent." (Hofstadter and Metzger 1955: 457) But it is the case nevertheless in our modern conception that, "For good or for ill, academic freedom and academic tenure have become inseparably joined." (Ibid.: 456)

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concerned."[101] (*United States vs. Associated Press*, 52 F. Supp. 362, 372; in Kaplin 1985: 182) But academic freedom, as has been observed, is an early and obvious victim to the encroachment of business principles and practices in education. As tenure disappears, professors are no longer assured of permanent positions. As their job security is lost, their inclination to bow to local pressures and interests is increased. The curriculum is increasingly shaped by consumer demand and by political forces. The interpretation of professors as employees in the business hierarchy undermines the independence of faculty from administrative directives; this has also done damage to academic freedom. As the dissenting justices in the Yeshiva case noted, "The notion that a faculty member's professional competence could depend on his undivided loyalty to management is antithetical to the whole concept of academic freedom." (Kaplin 1985: 110)

Education has always been caught between the conflicting interests of an establishment seeking to maintain and promote itself with appeals to entrenched cultural standards of education such as literary canons, and the up-and-coming youth seeking to make their own way, forcing the institution to respond in some degree to their more unformed or different interests. It

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[101] "First, no scientist is absolutely free in every sense. For example, there are times when his judgment would call for an increase in the rate of his work and for an increase in the investment for his work. Often his judgment has to be overridden because there is not money enough, space enough, nor people enough to go around. [This] does not necessarily constitute an improper limitation on his freedom. [...] In an important sense, the question whether restrictions on the resources available to scientists constitute an improper restriction of their area of freedom depends not upon the degree of restriction but upon the propriety of the process by which the decision to restrict was reached." (Kidd 1964:186)

The recognition that academic freedom is always tempered by social, economic, and political conditions is important in any consideration of developments in the subject.

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has also been caught in the tension between the academic world with its slightly dry, dusty tone and relation to the rest of society, and the hum and bustle of in-the-moment business and people's livelihoods. A consideration of these conflicts foregrounds the question of who should determine what is taught and learned in schools. There have even been attempts to defend academic freedom using the logic of the free market. The court ruling cited above continues:

> That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom.... The classroom is peculiarly the "marketplace of ideas." The nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth "out of a multitude of tongues, [rather] than through any kind of authoritative selection." (*United States vs. Associated Press*, 52 F. Supp. 362, 372; in Kaplin 1985: 182)

In this view, the oppression of academic freedom constitutes a regulation of the marketplace which inhibits free trade and therefore harms the consumer, mapped here to the American public (the consumer of academic output).

But this mapping requires the recognition of ideas themselves, the product here, as entities. In the standard mapping of the business model to the university, ideas have no place. Arguments about academic freedom are about what should be taught, who should determine what is taught, and about what research should be conducted. But the exigencies of the market, with its control in the hands of the consumer, offers no basis for the

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Nevertheless it can be observed that the kinds of pressure being brought to bear upon academics are different quantitatively if not strictly qualitatively.

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contemplation of these questions. There is no room within the business model for ideas as independent, considerable actors in the cultural drama.

The exercise of academic freedom takes two forms: freedom of teaching, and freedom of research. Historically both of these have been the object of interference by outside forces, and both have been argued to be critical to the health of a democracy: students need access to a range of ideas, and society needs the benefits of untrammeled research into areas which may be of future or unknown utility.

The role of the consumer in determining the curriculum has already been seen: within this frame, the notion of freedom of teaching is moot. The market supersedes any understanding of a need for academic independence. One former president of a university argues that "to survive in an increasingly competitive global marketplace, universities must shift their focus from faculty members and their specialties to the needs of all kinds of students." (Basinger 1999: A30) And research as well comes under the scythe of the market. The freedom of research is eroded from below by the nature of corporate funding in academia. Kirk observes the influence of academia's increasing dependence on governmental and private sources of funding in the exercise of academic freedom. He points out the dangers of such dependence: "For no proverb is truer than this, that 'The man who pays the piper calls the tune.' If educational institutions become dependent for their increase of reputation, or perhaps even for their existence, upon a few sources of benefaction, ineluctably most administrators and even professors will play

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their pipes accordingly." (Kirk 1964: 177) He examines particular cases of the influence wrought upon institutions by their sources of support. Whole disciplines, he notes, have been affected in this way.

> Perhaps the clearest example of such radical alteration of academic disciplines is the immense growth of 'behavioral studies' in political science and sociology, since World War II. Having determined to back the Behavioralists, foundations like Ford and Carnegie, in effect, have built enormous patronage empires for the behavioristic professors, with a corresponding loss of prestige and funds for scholars who think the study of institutions or of theory should have pride of place over surveys of 'behavior.' (Kirk 1964: 179)

Academic freedom has for most of the history of higher education been a tenuous, occasional creature; many a dissident academic has been darkened by the tragic shadow of Socrates, whose execution for "corrupting the youth" marked early the possibility of oppression in even liberal societies. Bernard of Clairvaux's attempts to have the study of dialectics removed from the curricula of medieval universities represented a notable instance of political manipulation of academia in our history. But in the modern era, it has come to be accepted that institutions of learning and teaching must have a certain independence from political powers in order perhaps to come more easily to longer-term understandings of the social process.

The struggle between academics and their would-be censors has traditionally been framable as an explicit, visible battle between critics and oppressors. But the nature of this conflict is changing in an insidious, tectonic fashion: there is no longer any explicit censorship or oppression; control of academic voices is merely a byproduct of the business model in education. The market does not recognize ideology, it does not recognize

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theory, it does not recognize individual academic positions and differences: it recognizes only what is efficient, what is productive, what sells.

Discussions of academic freedom are as irrelevant as quarrels about the canon, as a result of the influence of the business model. Nobody is seeking to disempower academic voices; it is simply that the mechanism of academia no longer accommodates views which are undesirable to the majority. The market determines in part what is taught, what is disseminated; the market is now students, mostly interested in preparing for their careers, mostly careers in the business world. And the market determines what research is conducted: corporate funders seek profitable results, and academics increasingly dependent on such funding must tailor their research to its demands.

University Governance

American business has had its foot in the door of governance in higher education since the founding of colleges in this country. The first American colleges were modeled on English universities whose governance was conducted by a bicameral body composed of the faculty and the graduates; this very model provided the unintentional cornerstone of business involvement in higher education. As Brubacher notes,

> Naturally, at its founding Harvard had no graduates to form the [graduate half of the governing body]. To overcome this inescapable handicap, an innovation in the control of higher education was instituted, and a board of overseers was appointed. (Brubacher 1966: 437)

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This board of overseers was what would become the Regents, a group of individuals often drawn from the surrounding community. Alternatively, a unicameral system was instituted, notably at Yale, in which the sole governing body was the president and fellows, who acted as a board of trustees, and were increasingly laymen. With the growth and success of business in American life, businessmen filled in larger and larger numbers of positions on these governing boards of universities.

A growing recent debate on governance of the university[102] has focused in particular on the influence of business-style management of a university on the role of faculty in determining policy. The business model only allows for one hierarchy or chain of authority: under it, employees are directed by managers, they do not direct themselves. Since in the business model, faculty are considered employees of the university, this poses a problem for traditional shared governance of administration and faculty working together to design the course of the university. We see this clash observed in the discussion of governance:

> Collegiality, which means shared governance or shared authority, is a casualty of applying corporate management concepts to universities. In response to the call to run colleges and universities like a business, most institutions of higher learning have done just that. And they are run like most businesses. Badly.
>
> Notions such as shared authority, shared responsibility, democratic process, and academic freedom and due process have no place in a corporation where professors are mere employees, as the Board of Regents in South Dakota reminds its professors on every occasion

[102] See, e.g., The Chronicle of Higher Education on the Web: "'Shared Governance' Under Siege: Is It Time to Revive It or Get Rid of It?" February 1998.

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> where democratic equity is raised. The assault against tenure is based upon the divestment of equality and collegiality from the professor's job description. (Newquist, CHE on the Web: "'Shared Governance' Under Siege: Is It Time to Revive It or Get Rid of It?" February 1998)

Indeed the interpretation of faculty within a business model has been of critical importance for legal decisions, with repercussions for the independence of faculty and for academic freedom. "Placing the practicing academician into an organizational context is a study in contradictions," notes Brown:

> The cohesive force that provides the foundation for any organization is generally viewed as dedication to a collective activity. This approach offers little explanation for group response in a university. Academia's principle of integration is more accurately portrayed as dedication to collective values. ... The apparent contradiction of academia is that although faculty devotion is to larger principles, faculty loyalty is not necessarily to the larger institution of the university that appears ... to shelter [those] principles.... (Brown 1982: 40)

But the decision in the case of Yeshiva University faculty seeking independent bargaining rights received no such recognition of the separate goals of faculty and administration. "The Court held that Yeshiva's full-time faculty members were 'managerial employees' and thus excluded from the coverage of the Taft-Hartley Act." (Kaplin 1985) As the business model presses faculty into the mold of employees, no distinction between faculty and institutional interests can be recognized.

This presents an interesting change in the overall focus of the university. In the long view, the university started out as a collection of teachers gathering students, or of students gathering teachers, at first with no fixed location (the "straw schools"). It grew eventually into a more

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institutional structure, associated with buildings and locations; with these came what was considered the necessary evil of administration. This attitude toward the administrators persisted for quite a long while; a common view was expressed by President Butler of Columbia University in 1910: "administration has been defined by someone whose wit does not wholly hide his aspirations for anarchy as 'doing extremely well what had better not be done at all.' " (Knight 1940: 112)

And now we find that the original focal group of the university, the faculty, has been subsumed by what started as a overlaid growth, a convenience, a kind of useful parasite: at the top of the rigid, imposed business hierarchy is the administration.

The Business Metaphor in Other Domains

The encroachment of business-domain thinking on education is striking. But it is not unique to the domain of education. As one observer notes of these changes in education, "nothing is going on here that has not already gone on in government...." (Harvey 1998) And a proponent of more businesslike education has "suggested that higher education undergo the kind of rigorous reorganization that has taken place in health care in recent years." (*Chronicle of Higher Education*; June 19, 1998: A23) This kind of approach has been seen in government for a while already. The model of business which we see in education is not only transforming common reasoning about that domain, but is coming as well to reach into and influence the ways we talk about, think about, and make decisions about all of

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our primary social institutions. It is more advanced in government, but is increasingly visible in the domains of health care and prisons.[103] This is significant for the implications about the widespreadness of this model; its applications in these other domains are examined below.

Government

We have come a long way from the time in which Ruskin recognized that there must be social expenditures which do not bear returns:

> Nor have we the least right to complain about our governments being expensive, so long as we set the government *to do precisely the work which brings no return.* (Ruskin 1907: 275)

Other thinkers have noted that there must be a force which is larger than the individual and looks out for the good of all, and that such a force must necessarily arise from the goodwill of citizens:

> [The State is] the sum of all the negations of the individual liberty of all its members; or rather that of the sacrifices which all its members make, in renouncing one portion of their liberty to the profit of the common good. (Bakunin, *Oeuvres*, Vol. I: 143)

In our time, the default assumption has become that any government expense which does not directly benefit the middle-class taxpayer is an unwanted burden on that taxpayer. This thinking is in good part a result of the increasing tendency to model government on business.

The roots of corporate involvement in American government are deep.

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[103] These accounts of the business model in government, prisons, and health care are sketches; they are not intended to be, nor is it feasible to have them be, complete thorough analyses of developments in these domains. I intend them as the subjects of future research.

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> Independent undertakings and individual or group migrations from colony to colony, significant as they were in colonial beginnings, had relatively little influence on the rise of self-governing colonies. It was under companies and proprietors holding grants of land subject to the English Crown that systematic colonization on a large scale was made possible. [...] Crown, companies, proprietors—their work in colonization was to have from the outset a profound influence on the course of affairs which eventuated in the formation of the continental United States. (Beard 1944: 9-10)

And the domain government does invite, to some clamor for, a re-vision in new terms which make it more comprehensible. The operations of the government are of incredibly complex nature, and its divisions elude simple classification:

> Because of their diversity, federal programs, which now exceed 1,200 in number, cannot be readily sorted into natural administrative clusters. One could imagine administration by target group (children, the handicapped), by the character of the service provided (education, income security), by social institution (families, communities, health maintenance organizations), by the end sought (economic development, delinquency prevention), by facility (hospitals, prisons, highways), or by hybrid schemes of various sorts (children, youth, and families; education for the handicapped). Small, self-contained, relatively autonomous bureaus have given way to sprawling agglomerations of loosely related categorical programs. Inevitably, the scope of larger administrative units tends to be both arbitrary and overlapping, making the task of general management that much more difficult. (Lynn 1981: 12)

The problems of envisioning government are evident. The hierarchies of authority, administration, and direction are not clear. Goals are not clear. Means of determining effectiveness are not clear, and the measurement of costs and reckoning of accountability are not clear. The form of the organization is fundamentally blurred; its endeavor vague; the client or beneficiary, undefined. The prototype of business offers solutions to each of these problems. The chain of command is unmistakable; the

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organizational motive of profit makes an obvious orientational goal; costs and productivity provide straightforward means of determining effectiveness; and accountability is easily rendered in financial terms. The organization is a business; its purpose is service; its customer, the taxpayer.

The appeal of the business model here is the more rigorous and goal-directed organization it would impose; this is clear. Those who see the government as a bloated bureaucracy which needs trimming believe that a more business-like government have found support in public attitudes about government. The Republican "Contract with America" is a recent example illustrating both the attempts to revise government as business and the resonance these attempts have had in the public sentiment. The term "contract" bears an obvious association to the kinds of explicit and binding agreements familiar in the business domain. And the expressed purpose of the platform was "returning accountability" to "the American people." (Gillespie and Schellhas 1994: 4) The authors wrote that their "vision seeks to renew the American Dream ... through limited and effective government [and] high standards of performance." (Ibid.: 5) The *Contract* "forces the House of Representatives to operate under the same rules and budget constraints as businesses and households do." (Ibid.: 6) Government is thus understood as a business providing a service to its customers, who are of course the taxpayers, the only kind of citizen rendered significant within the economic domain.

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But the full consequences of this transformation have not been adequately considered. If the taxpayer is the customer, what is the fate of those in poverty? If service is the government's business, who is to be served, and how? Under such circumstances, what would be the fate of organizations such as the NEH? The scheme does away with any such notions as social goals, public goods, of organizations which provide for social needs of the poor, the sick, the aged.[104]

Health Care

Hospitals providing health care to the poor and ailing had their beginning, like universities, under the auspices of medieval monasteries.[105] As with other social services, health care was taken up as a cause of the government in the Progressive era.

There is no doubt that the bureaucratic system of health care in the United States has become cumbersome. The expense associated with health care has risen dramatically in the past several decades. A major cause of this has been the rise of insurance, and the distinction it brought between the consumer and the payer. "Only about 8 percent of hospital costs are paid directly by consumers. This high level of coverage means that there is no consumer resistance to price increases...." (Pauly 1985: 4) But of course insurance is a business, and as such, passes costs on to the recipient of the

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[104] Barzelay and Lakoff (in unpublished work) have looked at the ways in which government and bureaucracy are understood, analysing in particular the several metaphors of government as a service industry. The different mappings involved in these metaphors have consequences for, e.g., who is considered to be the customer, what kind of service is provided, and so on.

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health care: "consumers did have to pay the full cost indirectly, in the form of higher premiums for private insurance, and in the form of higher taxes for the public insurances." (Pauly 1985: 6) This era coincided with a situation of stable long-term employment with generally good benefits which aided in constructing a system in which consumers were not aware of costs, while employer-paid insurers collected increasingly large payments. But the era of full benefits and covered insurance declined with the growth of leaner business enterprises in the 1980s and after,[106] however, and the consumers began to feel the financial pressure of the increased health care costs. Eventually there arose among health care consumers and regulators a call for accountability in the business, for a more visible and effective control of costs.

This desire for accountability opened the door to a growing influence of business in health care, most obviously through process of privatization. Thus arose managed care: "health care delivered by third parties [after provider and patient]" who determine and control costs. The direct relationship between patient and doctor was replaced by a middleman arrangement, and as one article notes, this had a profound effect on the actors involved. The addition of the third party "has brought with it a new set of distinct interests. While some of these interests mutually reinforce the

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[105] Williams and van der Reis 1997: 151ff.

[106] Pauly notes that a factor in the emergence of the cost control devices in the private sector was "the softening of the labor market which accompanied the twin recessions of 1981 and 1983. Not only did this strengthen the hand of management relative to labor, it also made it possible for management the attack the most rapidly escalating part of its 'automatic' wage increase program—the cost of employer-paid health insurance." (Pauly 1985: 14)

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interests of the other actors, many do not." (Williams and van der Reis 1997: 28)

It is these interests of the third party which do not coincide with those of the patient or the provider which concern us here: the consequences of making health care into a profitable venture. The chief concern voiced by critics of privatized health care is the future of provisions for poor people: already there have been repercussions for the uninsured which confirm these fears.[107]

There are other factors in the practice of health care which are related to the business model, among them the mechanistic view of the person. Western medicine has been criticized for taking as its model a view in which the body is a machine, and ailments involve situations in which some repair is necessary, or some part needs replacing. The person goes to a mechanic, the problem is fixed, and his normal working life resumes. This model ignores the involvement of psychological conditions with physical conditions. It also overlooks the "family doctor" understanding of a particular patient's health that may come only with familiarity with the person's history, individual situation, and so on.

Prisons

There are a number of problems associated with the privatization of prisons. The foremost of these is the consequence that profit-driven

[107] One such incident reported in the *New York Times* is the case in which a hospital refused treatment of a 15-year-old gunshot victim because of a presumed inability to pay. (*New York Times*, March 13, 1999: A28)

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penitentiary institutions will be motivated to maximize and to increase the number of prisoners in the system. As Shichor writes,

> One of the major concerns voiced is that private companies will have a vested interest in keeping their prisons filled to capacity to receive maximum payments. It may lead to strong lobbying efforts in the legislatures to follow strict incapacitation-oriented penal policies, and to the neglect of rehabilitative programs that may advocated earlier release from confinement. It also can lead to attempts to influence the length of incarceration through the prison discipline process, which would result in the reduction of good time, thus making sure that longer periods of incarcerations would be the rule rather than the exceptions. (Shichor 1995: 158)

And indeed these concerns have not gone unsupported by developments in privatized areas. One of the early sectors in which privatization of corrections was advocated and instantiated was the juvenile justice system. As has been observed, the reforms predicted by advocates in the 1970s did not, in fact, result from the privatization:

> It was argued that smaller, privately operated programs could provide improved care to troubled youth. [...] Some now question whether this development represented significant progress. For example, private facilities traditionally spend less per youth than public facilities and youth reside in private programs much longer than in public facilities. Most important, the growth in the private correctional admissions did not offset growth in the public sector. (Krisberg et al. 1986: 28)

The developments with regard to this history of privatization should carry some lessons for the larger system. Indeed the three kinds of failure reported here are exactly those relevant to contemporary proposals to privatize. The profit-seeking nature of the organization leads to cost-cutting measures which detract from the public mission of the institution; the interest in continuing profit tends to discourage institutional interest in

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reformation/rehabilitation, so that prisoners will spend more time in the institution; and the need for constant growth leads to an increase in the overall population of prisoners.

The lack of motivation for correctional institutions to rehabilitate prisoners is reinforced by problematic assumptions which form the background of our penitentiary system, central among these the rational-actor model and the notion of the person as independent from and unconstrained by social and physical circumstances. These are discussed further below.

Proponents of tougher laws argue that the increase in the inmate population is directly behind the decline in crime rates seen in the United States over the past seven years.[108] Even if this is true, however, there are some serious questions to be raised here regarding the goals of imprisonment. In the case of violent crime the arguments for locking up offenders are less debated; but 72 per cent of the increase in the number of federal inmates has been due to drug convictions, and at least two criticisms are raised against this. The predictions of a deterrent effect of the tougher policies have not been borne out by the data: there has been no drop in drug use, although "arrests of people who use drugs has hit an all-time high." (*New York Times*, March 7, 1999: Section 4: 5) And this increasingly punitive "solution" to what in many countries is seen as a social and not a criminal problem has attracted a great deal of criticism. The punitive model has become standard in our national treatment of social problems, including drug use and mental illness.

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[108] *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1999: A2.

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Central to this model is a notion of the person as a rational actor, which is close kin to the business-model rendition of the person, *Homo economicus* (discussed below), the individual rationally calculating his self-interest, fully aware of the consequences of his actions, of cause and effect relations, and having that awareness modify his behavior, i.e. in control of himself. The physical and psychological problems of addiction and mental illness would be best addressed in rehabilitation and other treatment methods, but the punitive model and its rational-actor basis provide no accommodation for these methods.[109]

One critic observes that part of the resistance to privatization of prisons may spring from a deep-rooted sense that "the provision of laws, punishment and crime control constitute a unique and privileged realm of activity that should be provided by the State." (Matthews 1989: 1)

> One of the essential characteristics of the State is its claim to exercise a monopoly over the use of legitimate force. The dispersal of this coercive power amongst private agencies is seen as threatening the impartiality and universality of law enforcement and thereby undermining normative structures. (Ibid.)

The nature of the social contract is fundamentally that we give up the right to retributive justice to the state in return for its protection; this contract is threatened by the private franchising of such basic actions of the state. "The

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[109] A further problem associated with this model of the individual has been the tendency of the prison-internal punishment of solitary confinement to lead into a vicious cycle of prisoner hostility and increased periods of isolation. The standard prison-system view of the individual does not recognize the fundamentally social nature of people, and thus fails to consider the effects of removing the socializing influence of other people. The assumption is simply that misbehavior should be met by punishment, that the conscious rational prisoner will reform his ways as a result, and proper behavior will follow. This has not however been the rule in isolation cases.

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exercise of coercive power and the distribution of punishment are held to have profound social and symbolic implications which cannot safely be discharged to private and particularistic interests."[110] (Ibid.)

But symbolism aside, the complications and changes brought about by privatization are foreseeable. Advocates usually have in mind qualities associated with business including a more streamlined operation They do not necessarily seek the consequences arising from the entailments of the business model which we have seen: the need for growth which leads prison industry profiteers to toughening laws so that more people wind up in prison, and for longer; the exigencies of cost-control introduced by the profit motive and usually passed on to the system in the form of leaner provisions; the lack of a motivation for rehabilitation programs, and so on.

Considerations of these shifts

The benefits predicted by privatization are catchwords of political platforms: greater choice for the consumer, a lowered burden on the taxpayer, more efficient deliveries of services. They all rely critically on the assumption of the invisible hand's accidental justice: that the balance of individual self-interests competing in the market will work to the advantage

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[110] In *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego,* Freud discusses the relations among siblings, group members, and citizens as sharing the basis of common sacrifice and equal treatment. It is the rivalry among siblings which leads to the desire for justice, for equal treatment before the law. "No one must want to put himself forward, every one must be the same and have the same. ... This demand for equality is the root of social conscience and the sense of duty." (Freud 1960: 67) Perhaps at the basis of this uneasiness about privatization of prisons is a similar sentiment. The state is the parent, a metaphor we have seen before; the citizens are its children, and desire equal status. The ability to punish confers a power to its holder which should, in the aim of equality, only be given to the state.

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of all. As we have seen, however, Smith's system did not encompass corporations, private monopolies, and the effects of the need for constant growth for the success of capitalism.

State involvement in social welfare is a fairly recent matter. "Within the fields of health care, education, transport and communications, [it was] in the post-war period [that] the State [came] to be seen ... as the natural provider." (Matthews 1989) Before the nineteenth century "government at all levels was engaged primarily in providing services directly to the general population or to specific client groups." (Lynn 1981: 9-10)

> The Progressive era's response to the emerging social and economic problems of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the Depression era reaction to economic disaster permanently altered this pattern .... People began to expect and allow government to assume responsibility for the social welfare of Americans in need. (Lynn 1981: 10)

A major change is underway in the role of government in social institutions, with considerable repercussions for those institutions. In the normal mode of business, if the cost of providing some product to some sector of the population is too high, the business will not do it: quite reasonably, as a profit-based entity has no reason to go out of its way to do anything more costly for less benefit. In the normal state of affairs this may be mildly unfortunate for those concerned, but not critical. However, when the business is health care, the problem becomes more complicated: as with education, health care is perceived as a basic societal need. More than education, health care in times of health crisis is by definition a critical service. And when the business is a monopoly, the problem becomes grave.

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The conflict that arises when a business is profit-driven but also provides a necessary social service is intractable.

But a more basic and less evident problem of this trend is the tenacity of private concerns when in place. Once a set of interests have been created and have developed their place in the financial food chain, it is not a simple matter to extract them again. Critics have observed the growth of the "prison industrial complex," with political and economic influence.[111] Although the mechanistic model we have of social and economic institutions and their functions would imply such a system can be set up for testing and dismantled if drawbacks are discovered, it's not that straightforward: what's done is not so easily undone.

Another outgrowth of the free market ideology is the property of a self-governing structure. Since the system provides its own internal balances in the interaction of self-interested individuals, no single person or group is in control of the system. Since there is no locus of control, there is no need for a general social 'theory' of how society should be constructed, of what needs to be done. This apparent freedom from ideology appeals to the American mind, reinforced by the anti-intellectual tendencies Tocqueville observed arising from American egalitarianism as well as the lack of interest in general

[111] *New York Times*, March 7, 1999. The article notes that "the stock price of Corrections Corporation of America, the nation's largest private jailer, has increased tenfold since 1994. ... [It] has created a popular real estate investment fund to get a return on all those new prisons being built at the rate of one a week." It is also noted that "unions representing prison guards are the fastest-growing public employee associations in many states."

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theories (discussed in Part 2 above). Furthermore, there is a deep suspicion of the natural ideological inclinations of political institutions and figures.

Americans rest more easily with the idea of corporations directing economic domains, as these are presumed to be governed and contained by competition, and driven by simple self-interest, a motivation which is easily understood and allowed in this individualistic culture; the natural balance of the market will take care of things. Americans prefer thus to leave decisions to the financially driven sector, which is presumed to be ideologically neutral.[112] But once we discover that the invisible hand is not just, that the market does not work to the advantage of all, we have to suspect ideological aims of corporate interests, and investigate more closely the consequences of the corporatization of our social world.

Critique of the Business Model

The borrowing of models from business to shape and understand other social domains has not been without its critics. Even many in the business world, it seems, are aware of a certain disparity between what businesses traditionally expect of people and what people are like. John Cleese, speaking to a conference of businesspeople in his incarnation as a management

[112] As Terry Eagleton notes, "hostility to theory usually means an opposition to other people's theories and an oblivion of one's own." (Eagleton 1983: viii) Or in Keynes' words, "practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." (Keynes 1936: 383) There is no distinction to be made in this case between theory and ideology: as those who claim to operate without theory are simply ignoring their theoretical basis, so it is with ideology. Indeed, upon examination we see that this involves a double standard if one considers that corporations will want to control their markets and consumers at least as much as, if not more than, public institutions; but the model of the free market is strong enough that it overrides this possible realization.

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consultant, noted the "widely held, but misguided, beliefs that being decisive means making decisions quickly, that fast is always better and that we should think of our minds as being like computers."

> "Does anyone here seriously think that any of those statements are true?" he asked the audience.... "Does anyone work for an organization that doesn't behave as though they were?" The first question was met with silence, the second with knowing laughs. (Bryant 1999)

But these are only the tip of the iceberg. A number of aspects of the business model beg the question of whether such a basis for understanding human institutions is appropriate. These include the notion of the individual, the model of the free market, the need of capital for growth in the market, the assumptions about a lack of regulation, and so on.[113] These are examined below.

On the individual

The business model assumes a model of the individual with a number of characteristics which are problematic for a socially oriented institution. The individual is assumed to be a rational actor; this assumption rests on what Tocqueville observed to be the American "very high and often thoroughly exaggerated conception of human reason." (Tocqueville 1969: 434) From the exaggeration of reason arise a number of misleading conclusions about the nature of the person. One of these is that individuals are independent beings, not social, and that they are in competition with one

[113] There exist already a number of related criticisms of aspects of business and the market which people before me have done better and more thoroughly: I do not attempt here to be comprehensive, but to give a sketch of some of the problems. Such criticisms deal with our

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another. One outgrowth of this is the Horatio Alger myth which has long held a firm place in the American psyche, although it continues to be countered by the facts:

> In most other countries, a man's place was largely determined by his birth; no matter how hard he might work, he could not and did not expect to rise far economically and socially. In the United States, the Puritan heritage and the ethic of self-help emphasized quite the opposite. Here the belief was widespread that hard work paid off. With diligent and persistent effort a man could rise to a higher level than his parents. Many modern studies have shown statistically that few men really did move very far above the status they possessed at birth, but that is not the point. Expectation and possibility, not reality, excited the imagination. (Freidel, Pollack and Crunden, eds. 1972: 1-2)

In the extreme form of the mechanistically independent individual, descended from the post-Cartesian mechanistic view and entrenched in the Industrial Revolution, men are parts of a larger machine, cogs, machines themselves: the entailments of this is that they are all alike, replaceable, interchangeable, expendable, independent from any system. The great industrialist Josiah Wedgwood strove to "make such machines of men as cannot err." (Burke 1987: 142)

> Wedgwood and his efficiency-minded colleagues intended only the benefit of their workers; but as Adam Smith and his close colleague Adam Ferguson soon began to fear, the division of labor and "rationalization" of production which they sought might be purchased at the serious cost of creating a class of uninformed and alienated workers. Ferguson complained that the mechanical arts "succeed best under a total suppression of sentiment and reason; and ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition." (Ibid.)

Another assumption which the economic model makes of individuals is that they are by nature consumers, as Schor observes:

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notion of the individual (e.g. Schor 1993); or with the problematic nature of the assumed need

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> The discipline of economics has traditionally represented human beings by the construct of Homo economicus, or economic man. Homo economicus is a simple fellow. He has a set of preferences. And he aims to maximize his well-being (defined as "utility"). His behavior is cool and rational, unlike "psychoanalytic man" (who is driven by compulsion) or "sociological man" (who is confined by social norms). Homo economicus is an individual, acting alone, who does what he does because he believes it is the course of action that will bring him the most utility. For my purposes, the most important personality trait of H.e. is that he can never be satiated. He will always prefer more to less.... (Schor 1993: 136)

If the individual has insatiable tastes for consumption, markets can grow infinitely; this of course is an assumption with its own complications.[114] But the fundamental problem raised by this notion of the individual is that it recognizes no distinction between wants and needs, as Lux observes:

> In economics, "need" is a non-word. Economics can say much which is useful about desires, preferences, and demands. ... But the assertion of absolute economic "need"—in contrast to desire, preference, demand—is nonsense. (Allen 1982; in Lux 1990: 8)

When the notion of need is lost, so is the conception in a social system of necessary social services—government, schools, hospitals, fire departments—as something that should be provided to all citizens regardless of their income or other constraints.

On the system

There are a number of assumptions about the market and about society deriving from the economic model which bear consideration. Primarily, the

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for constant growth in the economy, versus sustainability (e.g. Hawken 1993), etc.

[114] As Lux points out, "It appears that economics has construed itself so as to attempt to accomplish the impossible: to satisfy that which cannot be satisfied. Wants as a class are insatiable, and yet the aim of economic activity is to try to satiate wants. From this we can start to see that economics, even at the level of its theory, may have something to do with why we are destroying our natural world." (Lux 1990: 9)

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view of society as a simple mechanism hides the forces of privilege, class, opportunity, and so on, as seen above in the discussion of affirmative action.

But more than that, the view of society as a structure of competing individuals, as a natural system based on the abstracted tenets of Smith and Darwin, makes self-interest a virtue and completely does away with any notion of social responsibility. A version of this view is visible in the move to make public schools competitive, placing the burden of larger social failures on individual schools, giving parents the "choice" of schools.

> Put more concretely and even more cynically, choice programs offer disillusioned parents an escape from the public school system while absolving them of all responsibility for it. The aim is to escape troubled schools and their problems, rather than to address them. "What's in it for me?" is what matters first and foremost. (Bullough; in Must 1992: 302)

The abolition of regulators

A deeply significant shift brought about with the Darwinian view of the natural world was the notion of an inherent balance brought about by the normal The critical casualty to this development was the role of a creator of the system. In a sense, the natural world ICM disallows a creator, any external force or authority which originates and guides the development of the system. The necessarily internally-governed balance makes the figure of a creator-regulator not just a bad idea, but against the law, as it were. "Darwin's extension of natural law to organic life, following upon its extension to the heavens and to the history of the earth, seemed to exclude divine and ideal ends from the whole theater of existence." (Hofstadter and Metzger 1955: 325)

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This has an important consequence for our understanding of the business world and the market. In economic terms, the absence, the disallowance, of a creator-figure translates to a view of a planned economy as constituting interference which is antithetical to the natural processes of the market. And although there is not and has never been a market free in this utter sense, the image holds powerful sway over the American mind.

Smith himself was not a proponent of the true free market:

> Adam Smith did not believe in the abdication, by the governments, of the power of so co-ordinating the movements of the individual members of a society, as to enable all to become more productive. His successors do--the result exhibiting itself in the fact, that 'markets have become fields of battle,' strewed with the corpses of slaves and paupers.... (Schlesinger 1963: 117)

But this matters little now, for what has become of his work.

This theoretical framework which construes regulation as unwanted interference dovetails perfectly with the American dislike of government, a persistent current in American sentiments. The *New York Times* reported recently that "most Americans still deeply distrust the Federal Government, despite the end of the cold war, the robust economy and the highest level of satisfaction in their own lives in 30 years." (*New York Times*, March 10, 1998: A15)

Implications of the business model

Rank individual competition, back-stabbing, and utter selfishness crop up universally in human society; these are not new. But a system which places self-interest in its center as a cardinal virtue leads to the loss of

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community and the destruction of the natural world. Lasch has written of the ways in which the forms of success in this culture promote narcissism:

> The narcissist has many traits that make for success in bureaucratic institutions, which put a premium on the manipulation of interpersonal relations, discourage the formation of deep personal attachments, and at the same time provide the narcissist with the approval he needs in order to validate his self-esteem. (Lasch 1978)

The individual is the primary figure in this corporate culture; and "as a recent textbook for managers puts it, success today means 'not simply getting ahead' but 'getting ahead of others.'" (Ibid.) The competition which is fundamental to the operation of the market has permeated all of our social experience as well.

The understanding of the market as the be-all and end-all of our economic and political lives makes invisible two issues that are becoming critical in our time. The first of these concerns the limits of resources in the natural world: the world of business does not see anything outside of producer, product, and consumer. The possibility of limited raw materials does not enter the picture. And the idea of costs in business does not even approach an inclusion of the effects of pollution and waste on our environment. In business there is no natural world, no environment, no understanding of consequences on anything except profit.[115]

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[115] This failure to see consequences on the larger system is illustrated in an article in the *New York Times* about a man who "develops investment products," "likes to think of himself as an '*über*consumer'," and clearly has notions about his value to society:

> Besides the rippling economic effects of tipping waitresses and buying drinks for his friends ... Mr. Potter's spending returns sales taxes to city coffers. Yet he asks little of the city...; he rarely even rides the subway. (*New York Times*, 9/19/97)

Are we to suppose this man who "spent his bonus on a 50-inch TV and a $3,500 Rolex watch" walks around the city? So he drives, using roads, polluting the air, adding to traffic

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Reconsiderations in business

The economic model is obviously compelling, and we see it used in our time to describe phenomena from pollinating bees[116] to legal cases.[117] Obviously it has not been all bad for us, either. There are the obvious advantages; as Lux points out,

> the market-driven system has produced an economy of abundance which has raised the standard of living of vast numbers of people and given many others at least the hope that they too could share in this abundance. (Lux 1990: 97)

But it is also clear that the standard business model has limitations, and these are coming to be reconsidered in our time. We have seen that these limitations arise principally from the asocial nature of traditional cut-throat competitive business: the individual is a machine-like, independent, isolated unit in competition with all other individuals within a system founded solely on self-interest, which recognizes no social need, and no

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congestion, and so on. But the extent of the "environment" recognized here is the public transportation system, here seen only as a burden on the taxpayer.

Part of what is involved here is the glorification of both consumer and businessman in our modern mythology. Partly because a "healthy economy" is the be-all and end-all of national effort, and partly because of the constant American correlation of wealth to virtue, the man of business is increasingly a positive icon. As Orville Schell recently observed, "business has become the engine of so much of our lives and influences us in so many ways that nobody's accounted for. It has entered our culture, our sense of what is heroic, ... what we esteem and aspire to be...." (Schoch 1998: 25)

[116] A *New York Times Magazine* article from May 10, 1998, titled "Building a Better Bee," describes attempts to develop and introduce bees other than the honeybee into the pollination cycle of fruit trees and other crops, because of worries about the dangers of having a single-species dependence, the fragility of monoculture, etc. The author cites Stephen Buchmann, a biologist at the Carl Hayden Bee Research Center in Tucson, describing the efforts to broaden the kinds of bees used as "diversifying the pollinator portfolio."

[117] This example was conveyed to me by the head of copyright litigations in Europe for a rather large software company. She noted that this group describes their litigation cases (almost always regarding pirated software) as "products;" "marketing" is the process of making potential legal clients who may have pirated software aware of the finding as a threat of what could befall them. The resulting sales of licensed software to the properly fearful are called "investment returns."

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means larger than the individual for working toward a greater social good. We will see, however, that these aspects of standard business are drawing criticism from several quarters, with resulting attempts to create more socially aware business practices. There has been a reanalysis of the traditional model in the business world: forward-looking companies are increasingly trying to encourage loyalty by giving employees better benefits, improved working conditions, an interest in ownership, and other practices which make the job more attractive and employees more secure. Efforts to improve the corporate community by such means as at-work daycare centers and schools are on the rise.[118]

Often such efforts are justified by straining to fit them into the familiar structure of business's goals of profitability and productivity. Proponents cast the new considerations as economically desirable, as in a newspaper article whose tagline reads "Yes, helping workers aids the bottom line."[119]

The notion of capital, once restricted to machines and industrial outlay, has gradually broadened in the past century or more to include ever more intangible features of a larger socio-economic system:

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[118] The move away from the traditional understanding of business is visible in recent shifts of terminology: one company advertisement running in the *New York Times* has the tagline, "We Don't Have Employees—We Have Associates." The smaller print expands on this: "At Prudential Resources Management, you won't be considered just another employee, you'll be a valued Associate. A respected member of our team. Someone who is an integral part of our company and our success." (*New York Times*, August 24, 1997: 28) One university dean observes that schools are adopting this terminology even as it is being discarded in the business domain: "It is interesting that just now when we have learned to call our students 'customers,' the major department stores have 'sales associates' to serve their 'guests.' " (Certain, CHE on the Web; 10/13/97)

[119] *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 17, 1999. The article reports a number of cases involving the development of "a broad move among enlightened companies toward measuring the nonfinancial factors that contribute to profits."

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> Professor Gunnemann traces the recent expansion of the concept of capital among economists. Environmental economists, for example, have come to talk about "natural capital" in reference to fossil fuels, soil, plants, animals and ecological systems generally. And then there is the even more widespread notion of "human capital," a term employed in analysis of how investments in education and training increase productivity. This, of course, has given rise to talk of "social capital" or "cultural capital," referring to all the social, communal and moral resources that hold a society together and make it productive. (Steinfels 1999)

As "consumers" and "taxpayers" become aware of greater factors that influence their financial lives, the scope of the "market" is expanding. One group calling itself the "School to Work Foundation" advocates targeting the "at risk" population in schools to lower the dropout rate, using the argument that dropouts constitute an eventual expense for everyone. Their logic renders a moral argument into a purely financial one:

> If the dropout rate could be decreased by 70% nationwide, balancing the federal budget would become an easy task. The cost of a high school dropout is approaching $50,000 per year. This figure includes the rising need for increased law enforcement, expanded prison populations, increased welfare roles, expanding drug prevention and treatment programs and increased medical care. Considering that there are at least 10 million dropouts per year, this translates into a cost to the taxpayer of $350,000,000,000 per year. (70% x 10 million x $50,000) In other words: "save a child and you save the world and the burden to the American taxpayer." (Excerpted from http://www.stwnews.org/smc.html)

One may see this in a positive light, as an attempt by this once Cartesian system to absorb intangibles into its calculations, as we become increasingly aware of their involvement in our lives. Perhaps again it is economic constraints which fuel this change: the once limitless-seeming resources of the natural world no longer appear so infinitely bountiful; our sightless production of waste and pollution has had repercussions which are

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only now becoming tangible. The world is groaning under the weight of our industrial machinery and consumption, but worse than that, there is a danger of the loss of profits in rising costs from exhausted resources if our wasteful practices are not curbed. The economic model may change only under duress, but it is changing nonetheless. And in the process of this change, it is becoming more social in nature.

Reconsiderations of the relation of business to the community

Businesses too are becoming aware of factors outside those acknowledged in the standard model of business. A set of entailments which follow from the free-market model is that businesses are independent, unconnected entities which compete with one another within a system. The model does not recognize anything along the lines of a dependency of the business upon its environment, or the need to cooperate with other organizations. But some in the business world are coming to understand that other forces have a role in business than competition.

Businesses are becoming more aware of their relation to community, and the influences of community stability and security on the success of the business. The correlation between education and social security has long been recognized in forwarded as a reason for promoting education generally in the population. Horace Mann, in his efforts to persuade businessmen and middle-class citizens to support common public education, spoke of the role of common education in decreasing crime and increasing

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Observations of this sort persist in our time. Some proponents of general education argue that the goals of business leaders who seek economic and technological progress and those who seek healthier, longer, better lives for everyone are united. They propose that business has an interest in education to contribute to the improvement of lives in general, an investment with direct returns for the economy and national welfare:

> The oppressed are not merely a goad to conscience, a nagging discomfort, an inconvenience; they are a threat to the stability, the well-being, the growth potential of society as a whole. (Clark 1969; in Hook 1971: 150)

Clark notes that "business and industry have a great deal at stake in this enterprise." (Ibid.) Business and industry also have a stake in universities in another form. In one common view, universities are seen as a beneficial economic addition to a community, as a kind of "seed for business." This makes a university attractive to a community; hence the competition among locations courting the tenth University of California campus. The large and complex needs of the academic plant and population bring a great deal of economic drive to their location. Further, some advocates of closer university-business partnerships note that schools "seed entrepreneurship:" "Institutions can create local business hot spots by developing ties with area development officials, business executives, and venture capitalists." (Melcher 1998: 96) But at least one critic suggests that the relation that businesses have with universities should be more considered:

> It is highly important that corporations, therefore, reevaluate their social investment in higher education based, as many corporate leaders

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> have suggested, on a concern for the viability of the society in which they must operate and on the valuation of business and industry by the society. ...This thinking cannot be related solely to current profit and loss, to public relations, or to employee relations. It can only be related to a long-term evaluation of where society is going and the role that industry will play in its development. (Hester; in Connery 1970: 37)

What these developments tell us is that even the university seeing itself as a business is best served by understanding that it has a responsibility to society at a larger level. It is in the university's interest, and the interest of business, to aid in the larger social effort of general education and well-being.

The lag-time between source change and target reflection

It may be that some aspects of corporate behavior are undergoing change; but this does not mean that we will soon see these changes reflected in the business model within academia. There is a lag, often long, between changes in the source domain and the reflection of these changes in the target domain. Social models are abstracted and disseminated versions of an institution which must become entrenched in the culture, then slowly trickle into general social consciousness as a model, usually in simplified form, before it will be used to shape other domains.

As an example of such a lag, consider the following:

> The first-grader was taking a simple test. One item showed two drawings, one of a man chopping wood, the other of a man reading a book. She was required to circle the picture that showed "a man at work." She circled the reader and was marked wrong. .... What the teacher didn't know was that the child's father was a college professor who read books at work and chopped wood for fun. (Changing Times; in Callaway 1990: 210)

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It has been a while already since most Americans were employed in jobs consisting primarily of physical labor, yet this prototype of what "work" is persists.

A more serious lag has been our overoptimistic failure to take note of the limits on our natural resources. "Thomas Jefferson and others among the revolutionary generation guessed it would take a thousand years to reach the Pacific." (Trachtenberg 1982: 11) Within three generations there was no longer a frontier; there were no longer any western wilds to be conquered and to form that basis of inexhaustible wealth in land which had so shaped the American conception of a permanently brighter future. But the frontier mentality prevails, and with it the sense of an endless expanse available to independent-minded individuals. The standard business model, as we have seen, is critically dependent on an assumption of unlimited natural resources.

Alternatives to the Standard Business Model

It is clear that the general drift of the metaphors has been from more socially based to more economically based construals. As we have seen, the economic construal of education hides the fundamentally social nature of teaching, learning, research, and the university community. The strengths of the university cannot be rendered in purely economic terms.

> Those items of human intelligence and initiative that go to make up the pursuit of knowledge, and that are embodied in systematic form in its conclusions, do not lend themselves to quantitative statement, and can not be made to appear on a balance-sheet. (Veblen 1965: 86)

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One means of preserving this nature of the university, taking what has been observed and learned by those criticizing the standard business model, is to improve upon that model, by creating a more socially responsible economic model.

If the academic endeavor must be placed within a framework of business and the marketplace—and given the increasing financial pressures on higher education in the United States, it seems it must—there are two possible developments which will preserve those social aspects of the university endangered by the standard business model.

The first of these is developments which preserve the diversification of institutions of higher education, and allow them to avoid the pressures to standardize and compete which are often imposed by the unidimensional market. Vocational training, traditionally the province of trade schools and technical schools, could be relegated in great part to these, and increasingly perhaps to the company-sponsored modern-day guilds that are cropping up around the country.[120] Institutions like the University of Phoenix are beginning to draw off students who are explicitly interested only in "what

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[120] One such organization is the Michigan Virtual Automotive College, MVAC, whose stated mission is "to become the essential hub for auto-industry training:"

> The essential idea behind MVAC—that an industry group can combine to produce its own education enterprise, entry-level through lifelong learning, and cease reliance on a "cottage industry" of existing campuses—has strong appeal among corporate execs, expecially where dissatisfaction with traditional higher education is high. [...] Already the money has come together for like-minded start-ups in plastics, furniture, and tourism. Could health care, teacher education, accounting, or information technology be next? (*AAHE Bulletin;* May 1998)

As one participant in a *Chronicle of Higher Education on the Web* discussion asks: "Why doesn't Monsanto train its own employees and stop using the educational system to do the job for them? If we could rid ourselves of professional training for big business then we could get back to our historical roots of a liberal education." (Skelcher; CHE on the Web; 1997: 10/15)

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education will do for their careers." Thus the university will be partially freed from these two common forces which diminish the resources allocable to the central functions of a university: a broad liberal undergraduate curriculum, advanced graduate studies, and research.

Small colleges are able to remain viable in their niche providing a rich liberal-arts education with small classes and an intellectually nurturant atmosphere. Colleges of this sort are already beginning to make use of this distinction from larger and more impersonal schools; and many students deliberately seek this sort of education in contrast to the more anonymous and elective education available elsewhere. In one article about the University of Chicago, a student notes the attraction of the nurturant school which fosters intellectual curiosity, and questions administration plans to restructure this kind of education to be more "competitive" with other schools:

> Why change Chicago's academic fabric, its uniqueness, which is its appeal, and make it like any other institution? ... Why not market that, accentuate that? They're putting their emphasis on issues on which we can't compete. (Bronner 1998: A18)

Even schools, rather than all converging into one mass-production model, can seek out "brand differentiation" and niche markets, to the advantage of the larger educational system.

The second development is the university's cultivation of its image as a nurturant locus of teaching, academic training, and research. The university has three great strengths, historically and in our time: the

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nurturance of the intellect (education); knowledge production (research); and community (cooperation of independent individuals in a common endeavor).

It is these three strengths which attracted business to the university in the first place. Businesses desired the kind of able, critical thinkers who emerge from nurturant and demanding liberal education.[121] Students, the "customers" in undergraduate education, are seeking out anew schools which provide not just a service, but a guiding parental authority. According to Roiphe, "students now want universities to act 'in loco parentis' again." (Roiphe 1999) The parent figure she describes is however not the authoritarian Strict Father, but the gentler authority of the Nurturant Parent.[122] Corporations have formed partnerships with research units at universities to tap the knowledge production facilities for which universities are renowned; and the model of creative individuals in cooperation which forms the ideal of the university has been copied in business. But the standard business model hides these things: teaching has no part in it; research without obvious application is a waste of effort; and cooperation does not exist. In the attempt to make the university profitable, as we saw above, the general, basic, broad research that is so useful to business is lost. In the effort to streamline the production of education and of students, the

[121] Two major business consulting firms in the country are known for seeking out liberal arts graduates.

[122] Roiphe writes: "Rules give order to our chaos; they give us some sort of structure for our wildness so that it doesn't feel so scary. [...] There must be a way to create some sort of structure without romanticizing or fetishizing the 50's. There must be a way of bringing back an

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creation of critical thinkers is lost. To apply this model to the university in an attempt to make the production of golden eggs more "efficient" is to kill the goose: it destroys exactly what business is trying to get in the university.

The development of a more socially comprehensive model provides a way of understanding higher education which preserves these key features of the university. The closest model in business is that of the knowledge industry, of a business whose product is knowledge. We have also seen that those elements critically foregrounded in the earlier metaphors which are not recognized by the standard business model are of a fundamentally social nature: the need for teaching and nurturance of the intellect, the interdependence of people on one another, the need for each generation to train its successors. The model for the university as a nurturant, socially situated version of the knowledge industry recognizes the social nature of people and institutions in the ways that businesses are beginning to recognize these things. The teaching of graduate students, for example, has no place in the standard business model; but in the nurturant knowledge-industry model, graduate education is the production of future knowledge-producers, who will be a critical part of the university effort.

Lakoff and Johnson have written that the rational-choice model upon which the free-market economic model is based "is not just *de*scriptive of

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adult presence on college campuses without treating students like children, a way of correcting

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natural behavior; rather, it has been made *pre*scriptive, with markets tailored so that such models can be most effectively used." (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 531) By choosing a model of the individual which is socially situated, and of the system which recognizes social priorities, we can thus actively shape those, in the process making them more descriptive, more reflective of social values rather than of artificial, abstracted, economic priorities. We can thus obviate the development of education into a service for consumers, available only to those who can afford it, and sweetened to minimum demandingness to keep those customers consuming. Not only is the rigorous education that produces a society's critical thinkers lost in this process, but education is transformed in the public conception from a social need to a service for the decreasing numbers of those with privileged economic access. As Edmundson notes, "a good liberal-arts education" allows us to enrich ourselves, personally and socially. But more than that, it provides the foundation and constant necessary renewal of a democratic society:

> Genius isn't just a personal standard; genius can also have political effect. To me, one of the best things about democratic thinking is the conviction that genius can spring up anywhere. Walt Whitman is born into the working class and thirty-six years later we have a poetic image of America that gives a passionate dimension to the legalistic brilliance of the Constitution. (Edmundson 1997: 48)

Certainly some reconsideration of the underpinnings of the standard business model is called for. Heilbroner has noted the misunderstandings of Adam Smith's proposals for the market and government, and his fears of the consequences of a purely industrial world.

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the excesses of the sexual revolution without throwing away all of its benefits." (Roiphe 1999)

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> And yet Adam Smith is not necessarily opposed — as his posthumous admirers made him out to be — to *all* governmental action that has as its end the promotion of the general welfare. He warns, for example, of the stultifying effect of mass production — 'the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed in their employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations . . . generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become' — and prophesies a decline in the manly virtues of the laborer, 'unless the government takes some pains to prevent it.' Similarly he is in favor of public education to raise the citizenry above the level of mere uncomprehending cogs in a vast machine. (Heilbroner 1980: 67)

The shades of *Modern Times* remain with us. The increasing prevalence of language and reforms originating in business in educational issues such as tenure, academic freedom, affirmative action, and so on, show us that the business model is behind thoroughgoing and widespread changes throughout education, public and private, primary, secondary, and post-secondary. The developments of privatization and calls for competitiveness and accountability in other social domains show us that the changes in education are not an isolated case. Some final considerations on this matter are presented in the following section.

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Wie Schiffer sind wir, die ihr Schiff auf offener See umbauen müssen.

Otto Neurath[123]

Conclusion

The changes in those forces which shape education have reflected larger social models which, as we have seen, influence many institutions in our society. The most recent, and now by far the predominant, influence in education is from the domain of business. What began as an almost implicit, subtle process has now become explicit: suggestions directly from business now shape proposals for reforming education and educational institutions across the country.

So we must consider what it means when we say we want some domain to be more like a business. There are, as we have seen, a number of consequences of understanding something as a business which these mostly well-meaning policymakers might not wish to invoke. A happenstance juxtaposition of two articles on the front page of a *San Francisco Chronicle* business section will perhaps illustrate the pitfalls of disparity between our ideal version of business and the less ideal aspects of the real thing. The top

[123] "We are like sailors who must rebuild their ship on the open sea."

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story's headline is "Lifeboats Lined With Gold: When firms merge, top executives get fabulous compensation packages—whether they stay or leave." It reads:

> When ships sink, sea captains are the last to bail out. But when companies submerge following a takeover, captains of industry are often the first overboard. Their lifeboats are the equivalent of corporate yachts, equipped with a growing array of payments and perks. (*San Francisco Chronicle*: September 8, 1998: B1)

The article continues with a description of the exorbitant severance packages of several CEOs, which are defended as "performance based," while critics point out that the CEO is not solely responsible for the success of the company, but that other employees receive no recognition, let alone reward, for their contributions.

The article at the bottom of the page is titled, "Would Kids Be Better Off If Schools Were Run Like Businesses?" It follows with the plan of a Silicon Valley executive to reform public schools:

> Turn the bureaucrats out of office and run local schools like independent business franchises... Abolish teacher tenure to prune the deadwood, just as the Valley does with engineers who can't cut it. (Ibid.)

How about cutting teacher pay and outlays on facilities, or giving principals pay raises based on their schools' rankings? Or keeping textbook costs to a minimum to turn over as much profit as possible to the stockholders?

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Businesses are simple in structure; that is their appeal. But education is complicated. A university serves many purposes. It educates citizens, it provides trained workers to businesses, it employs researchers and academics whose goal is to expand the limits of human knowledge which shape our intellectual world and to make technological advances which structure our physical world. As Clark Kerr notes,

> The multiversity is an inconsistent institution. It is not one community but several — the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist, and the community of the scientist; the communities of the professional schools; the community of all the nonacademic personnel; the community of the administrators. Its edges are fuzzy — it reaches out to alumni, legislators, farmers, businessmen, who are all related to one or more of these internal communities. As an institution, it looks far into the past and far into the future, and is often at odds with the present. (Kerr 1963: 18)

A social institution, like a language, is partly formed by the streamlining force of social necessity, and partly by the uneven and not necessarily transparent influences of convention. Education has been in a chaotic state, with the conflicting purposes of different educators, policymakers, administrators, businesspeople, and politicians all feeding into an arena of churning intentions and interests. Those who would have it become more unified in aim and effect might well subscribe to the image of a business, which is held together and driven by the interest of profit, of a kind of progress. The ideals of profit, of economic efficiency, of competitiveness and survival, might seem readily transferable to the education domain.

Generally, public institutions become complex because they are public, and the interests of the public are necessarily manifold. Government, as a

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prime example, is an organization of singular importance, yet without any single purpose agreed upon by all who are affected by it. This combination leads to great contention. Likewise prisons, with the differing interests of punishment, retribution and rehabilitation, are conflicted social institutions. Education falls squarely into this group of public organizations which suffer from conflicting expectations and desires of those involved in it and affected by it, which is a good portion of any population which supports public education through taxation, and which relies on an educated labor pool for the majority of its workforce.

Some conceive of the central aim of a university as research; others as education of undergraduates; others as the education of graduate students in a process providing for the future of scholarship; others yet as an arena for the development of social criticism meant to forward the goals of society at large. Those who would have education provide a technically skilled workforce would consider universities to benefit from closer partnerships with businesses; those who would have education be the locus of social criticism, independent of immediate socio-economic influences, would obviously object to such partnerships. Those who would have education be a minimal streamlined service-provider of education to the consumer-student would like to see universities trim away major expenditures of effort and funding in performing research and in training graduate students to become academics; those who see the future of solid university education as founded on the

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continuation of the critical endeavor in the mentoring of graduates would faint at these suggestions.

The nature and role of education in our society have changed dramatically in recent times. We see these changes most evidently in a case like the University of Phoenix, created from the ground up under this dominant paradigm of the business model, and consequently geared entirely toward the student as consumer, with education, the product, provided in convenient packaged units, identical from one campus/outlet to another. But we see them more subtly throughout education in this country. As we saw in Frankel's observation quoted above, educators have seen curricula, course teaching methods, student appraisal methods, and educational priorities all become more and more determined by the 'market', more shaped by 'consumer choice'.

From the domain of the learned, shaped by their vision of what citizens and students must know, education has become a market of institutions seeking to attract and cater to student interests. From being a fundamentally social institution which was conceived of as a right of the citizen and as a duty of the government to provide and monitor, it has become, first and foremost, a product.

Conservatives and liberals alike state their ideal as the availability of education to all citizens. On the one side we find:

> Quality public schools are the foundation of a democracy and a free enterprise economic system. The public school concept is fundamentally American: most of the fifty U.S. states have a provision

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> in their state constitution for free, public education. These statutes reflect a commitment to the idea that all children, regardless of their academic readiness, race, socioeconomic status, language proficiency, or special education needs, have equal access to a quality K-12 education, and a chance to develop to their maximum potential. (From the U.S. Department of Education's publication "What Really Matters in American Education", written by from Clinton-appointed Secretary of Education Riley, September 23, 1997)
>
> And on the other:
>
> All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost. This promise means that all children by virtue of their own efforts, competently guided, can hope to attain the mature and informed judgment needed to secure gainful employment, and to manage their own lives, thereby serving not only their own interests but also the progress of society itself. (From the Reagan administration 1983 publication "A Nation at Risk")

While we see that conservatives emphasize the need for education to provide preparedness for competition in the market, while liberals emphasize the need for educated citizens, their goals are the same: to provide the opportunity for education to every American citizen. But we have come to see, as shown above, a very different attitude about education: it should be a standardized product efficiently produced and designed to be of specific practical use to the student-consumer in his or her career. As is noted by Traub in "Drive-Thru U.", "the institution that sees itself as the steward of intellectual culture is becoming increasingly marginal; the others are racing to accommodate the new student."

The notion of education as a product offered in a competitive market relies upon the tenet, long held in capitalist thought, that market forces will provide a natural balance in society (the 'invisible hand'). But is this true? A

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closer examination of the models employed to validate the free market and the ideal of competition reveals a number of problematic aspects. Measuring values in monetary terms reduces all social exchange to commodity, all benefactors to producers, and all beneficiaries to consumers. This forced homogeneity of social reciprocation disguises the critical distinction between wants and needs, and thus undermines the basis of our understanding of public goods. Where schools become market-driven, the value of knowledge is measured by its relevance to the business world; need-based scholarships equate to price-fixing and thus become unthinkable, and the ideal of education available to all is lost.

But it is not only in our institutions that we find evidence of business thinking. The business metaphor has seeped under our skin. It has shaped social values: the successful executive is more esteemed than the diplomat.[124] In our modern conception, income equates to social value.[125] A more

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[124] In an article on the immunity granted to diplomats over parking tickets, the New York Times quotes the reaction of one New Yorker, "the president of a technology firm, who had been shouting into his cellular phone just moments before about the horror of having his BMW towed:"
"I think it's an absolute joke.... Why is somebody, a prima donna diplomat, supposed to get something over us?"
Maybe it helps them in their quest to save the world?
"That's baloney," he shot back. "I work hard. I probably make more money than the whole U.N." (*New York Times;* 4/12/97)

[125] Lakoff provides an example of this in the following:

> Dan Quayle, in his acceptance speech at the 1992 Republican convention, attacked the idea of progressive taxation, in which the rich are taxed at a higher rate than the poor. His argument went like this: "Why," he asked, "should the best people be punished?" The line brought thunderous applause.
>
> It should now be clear why, from the conservative world-view, the rich should be seen as "the best people". They are the model citizens, those who, through self-discipline

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familiar aspect of business is the importance of the consumer: the customer is king, is number one, comes first, has it his way: the slogans both arise from and reinforce the national consciousness, and have engorged the narcissism which already lards a culture of consumption. Advertising urges Americans to feel no guilt about our habits of consumption and self-interest. The consequent movement of self-validation has brought the intense scale of narcissism and of self-esteem "issues" into the courts, in the form of hyperactive litigation. In recent decades the United States has seen an explosion in court cases of litigated complaint: lawsuits about recommendations, about grades, about evaluations in any form.

Thus there are consequences not only of economic and social significance, but of cultural scope as well, from this broadening of the business model. This "culture of complaint," as Hughes has called it, arises as a consequence of business in culture. Galbraith described the contortions of the automobile industry to create new interest and new markets; as the American economy has become predominantly one of service industries, these contortions increasingly involve the stroking of consumer egos to invigorate demand in flagging markets. The near rabid efforts of fiercely competing seekers of market-share combine to produce a nation of überconsumers. An analysis of the underpinnings of these developments offers us some means of understanding how such conditions arise.

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and hard work, have achieved the American Dream. They have earned what they have and deserve to keep it. Because they are the best people — people whose investments create jobs and wealth for others — they should be rewarded. (Lakoff 1996: 189)

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This study also provides the basis for certain predictions about what will come to pass in education. The implications of the future developments of the business model are several. For one, the changes we saw above which are percolating through business will eventually come to be reflected in the model as it is used in other domains. This will not be for a while yet; but older changes in business and manufacturing models are just coming to be seen in education. As an example, Toffler has described how advances in production methods have permitted individual variability in products without the increase in cost previously associated with this, via, e.g., computer-aided design and manufacture. Toffler predicted a change in the common industrial model as a result of this, from completely standardized production, to individually tailored products more specifically suiting particular consumer demands and tastes. Harvey observes this general shift as constituting a change from economies of scale to economies of scope.[126]

The prediction for education to be drawn from this is that as this model becomes increasingly standard in the industrial and business domains, it will gain a hold in the social imagination of business, and (after the usual lag time) come to be applied in the target domains of business. Preliminary versions of this more recent model can be seen in those institutions which are completely new, most notable the University of Phoenix, which boasts a set of courses which can be tailored to the individual student's needs. Indeed,

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[126] Toffler 1970: *Future Shock;* and Harvey 1989: *The Condition of Postmodernity.*

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an April 1999 advertisement in the *New York Times* presents exactly this view for the future of education: "Just-in-Time" Education. Just-in-time manufacturing was developed in the seventies by corporations seeking to prevent oversupply of their products; this is now trickling into the educational world. "In the industrial world, Just-in-Time Manufacturing relies on a careful balance of internal supply and external demand. Instead of warehousing huge inventories of product, just-in-time manufacturers emphasize processing efficiency.... Similarly, tomorrow's professionals will require Just-in-Time "On-Going" Education to enhance their abilities and ensure lasting productivity." (*New York Times*, April 19, 1999: A27)

To many critics of the business model, history is demonstrating its limits: natural resources are being diminished and the need for growth of markets and increase of consumption is proving more and more to be an unsustainable means of economic strategy. What metaphor analysis does in this situation is show us more clearly the consequences of our actions, and of the models we employ in reasoning about institutions and our future.

The parallel between Lakoff's theory of metaphors and their central role in our reasoning, and its ideological predecessor, Freud's theory of the unconscious and its role in conscious thought and behavior, is not striking without reason. The Lakovian construct is in many ways a refinement and modernization of what is still a robust and compelling account of the psyche. The problematic nature of Freud's optimistic "Where id was, there shall ego

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be" transfers as well to metaphor theory. But one can have faith of a more moderate Freudian nature: if we seek to understand the sources of our beliefs and actions, and desire to do what we believe is right, and to educate ourselves toward that aim, then such an account of conceptual models will be of great service to us in this endeavor.

History is guided by greater forces than individuals consciously using models to shape institutions. Change is not a simple matter. Since such a large part of metaphorical thought is unconscious, we cannot simply reform our ways of considering a domain such as education, or health care, or prisons. But since so much of unconscious thought is metaphorical, the effort is not hopeless either. Once circumstances produce the need for change, we are aided by theories of how to direct that change in the most conscious and useful way.

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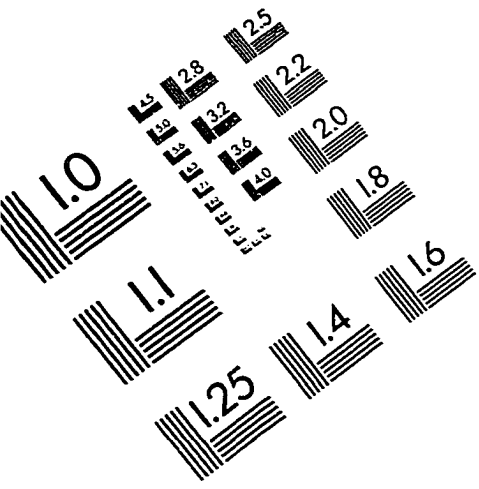
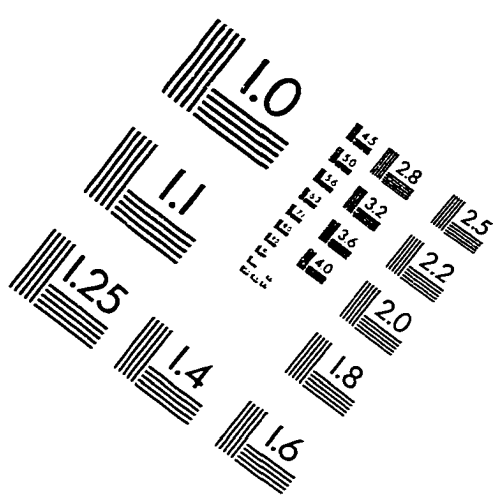
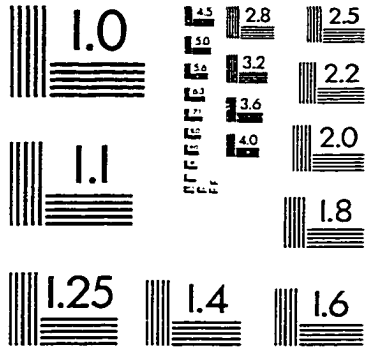
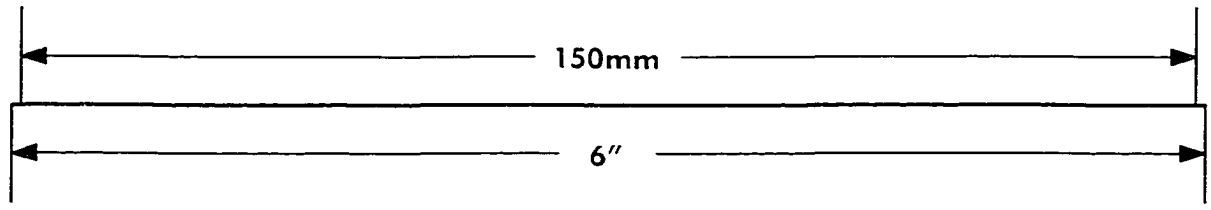
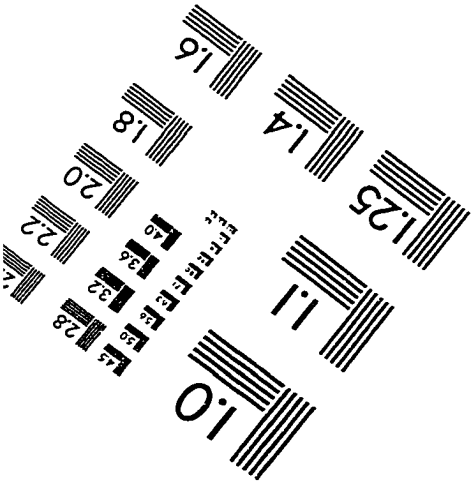
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

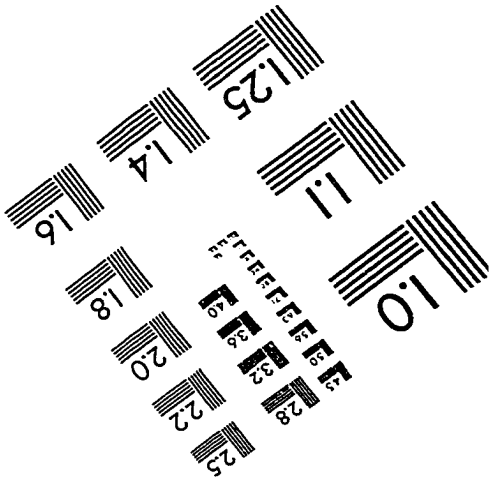












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