

POWER AND PEDAGOGY: A PROSPECTUS

By

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Man educates himself by aspiring to fulfill ideals. By means of an ideal a man defines a desirable possibility for himself; and with this hope as his guiding light, he disciplines his powers and as the etymology says, he leads himself out of himself. The education of a single person is an extremely complicated system of aspirations, some of which are shed after a tentative trial, others of which are found to be impossible, undesirable, or unpleasing, and a few of which are brought to fruition and become the basis of that person's unique worth. But if the education of a single person is complicated, that of a whole people is far more so. Each person's web of idle hopes, perverse urges, and transcendent aspirations is compounded millions of times; yet something definite and comprehensible still comes forth from that compounding. There is a common, human element to all the aspirations, and the symbolic systems by which each man fashions his peculiar fancies are common systems that are open to all. Furthermore, there is a certain grand hierarchy informing the ideals of men who co-inhabit a particular time and place.

Communities of different sorts exist precisely because diverse persons give their own system of aspirations a similar hierarchy; each accepts common rules. This unifying hierarchy is, at any particular time and place, legitimated by a definite supreme principle. This principle is supreme, it is sovereign, because it is given nearly universal allegiance. At different times, different principles have commanded the allegiance of men: one's city, one's ancestors, one's God, one's Church, one's faith, one's family, one's class, one's nation, and perhaps one's humanity have each in their turn oriented the efforts of diverse persons to give themselves a common character by fulfilling

a particular hierarchy of ideals. The great crises of history have occurred when sovereignty was withdrawn from one principle and transferred, not without difficulties, to the next.

For the past two hundred years the nation-state has been the supreme principle that has given form to education in the West. The nation-state began as an ideal. As facts of life in the eighteenth-century, distinctions of birth were far more significant than those of nationality, and the state in its contemporary guise was far less important than one's estate. Despite these realities, the nation-state served as a powerful guiding ideal. In an effort to realize the manifold possibilities that it defined, men throughout the West used the nation-state to harmonize their activities, to overturn the old order, and to create more humane, more productive communities in which to live. Owing to this effort, the nation-state has become the sovereign reality.

In education, however, realities count for little. Men cannot aspire to become what they are. Hence, the actualization of the nation-state in the industrialized West has meant that the supreme principle, the sovereign ideal, has disappeared in education. Here is the source of the great restlessness and disorientation of youth. Their rebelliousness is far different from the militant demands of those who, in the nineteenth-century, sought to be recognized by the state as equals in rights and privileges. Contemporary rebelliousness is that of those who perceive their future as one devoid of sovereign ideals. Thus, the Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" yields an acronym as moving as the USA or the USSR, for all of them merely mean different ways of making-time. The radical problem of education in the West is to generate aspirations that transcend the nation-state and that can enable us to orient our common lives with a more stirring ideal, a more elevated sovereign principle.

Neither wishful thinking nor official policies will solve this problem. Only diverse, positive efforts undertaken on the personal initiative of many people can possibly aggregate into a solution. These personal efforts must be made largely on faith: in retrospect certain men prove to have been endowed with foresight, but in prospect no one knows the future. At most each of us can explain how he intends to exert his effort and he can state what results he hopes that this effort might possibly achieve. He cannot predict positive success or promise to solve any particular problem. Thus, I offer the following proposal without any promises about its practical significance, but only with the hope that should my diagnosis of present educational difficulties prove accurate, my work may also prove timely.

Most historians of education take the supremacy of the nation-state for granted. Hence, at the outset, the important issues are overlooked. Since the eighteenth century cosmopolitanism and nationalism have been in constant conflict in educational and cultural matters. I propose to make a major study of both the intellectual and practical manifestations of this conflict in order to find why, in the nineteenth-century the national idea triumphed and to gauge the possibilities, in the twentieth-century, of a reversal of fortune for the cosmopolitan idea. Such a work would be a long-term undertaking in which I would use the social, political, economic, and cultural history of the last two hundred years to elucidate how the hierarchy of educational ideals has been changing. My assumption will be that the present hierarchy will not necessarily, or even probably, endure indefinitely, and that throughout the past two hundred years the hierarchy in force at any particular time was the result of how particular men freely solved the intellectual and physical prob-

lems that they encountered in their lives.

It would be premature to guess how I will, in the finished work, weight various factors. Thus I would not want to estimate whether the cosmopolitan ideal was most obstructed from developing fully in the nineteenth-century by the decline in the European class structure or by the dissolution of faith in a universal God and a natural law. Both possibilities are examples of the phenomena I intend to investigate, and I do not want to bias my findings by guessing at the results. Investigation, however, needs to take place within a structure; and hence I offer the following working outline with the understanding that it is meant solely to block out areas of inquiry; and as that inquiry proceeds, my conception of the finished work may require serious revision.

I envisage a three volume work. Throughout the whole study, the interplay between theory and activity will be my central concern. However, the first and last volumes will be primarily intellectual history, whereas the second will be more institutional. Volume One might be called "Cosmopolitanism versus Nationalism: 1715-1848," and in it I would try to explain the conceptual development of two alternative hierarchies, one structured by the cosmopolitan ideal, the other by the national. Volume Two, perhaps "The Triumph of the Nation-State: 1787-1914," would explain what physical and intellectual factors conduced in the nineteenth-century to the dominance of the national ideal. In Volume Three, tentatively "The Humanistic Transcendence of the Nation: 1870-1970" I would explicate the technological and theoretical grounds for structuring our educational and cultural endeavors on the basis of a non-national, humanistic ideal. This outline will serve to indicate the scope of the work planned, although it will undoubtedly be revised substantially in the course of the study.

It will take, I estimate, eight to ten years to complete the study. Assuming that I could begin serious work, as I hope to do, in the Fall of 1968, the following time-table would seem possible.

- 1968-9: General reading; laying out of overall theses; blocking out areas for research.
- 1969-1970: Collection of material in Europe. Developing an overall working outline.
- 1970-71: Work on Volume I.
- 1971-72: Work on Volume I.
- 1972-73: Work on Volume II.
- 1973-74: Work on Volume II.
- 1974-75: Work on Volume III.
- 1975-76: Work on Volume III.

Should the study stretch out to ten years, it would probably be because of an additional year of work on Volumes II and III.

The following proposed budget, based on an eight year schedule, will give an idea of the cost of the study. It is a very rough estimate and it does not include overhead charges.

Power and Pedagogy -- Budget

Year	Salary	Books	Travel	Research Assistance	Secretarial	Totals
1968-69	Sum. 3000	500			500	4000
1969-70	Year 15000	2500	2000			19500
1970-71	Sum. 3000	500		7500	1000	12000
1971-72	1/2+S 10000	500		7500	1500	19500
1972-73	Sum. 3500	1500	2000	7500	1000	15500
1973-74	1/2+S 11000	500		7500	1500	20500
1974-75	Sum. 3500	1500	2000	7500	1000	15500
1975-76	1/2+S 12000	500		7500	1500	21500
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Description of Proposed Research and Relevance to Education.

A central, transnational problem in education in coming decades will be to find ways to make education function effectively in a civic environment characterized by affluence, mobility, new modes of communication, the questioning of tradition. It is unlikely that any nation, even one as powerful as the United States, can chart an autarkic course through these developments; these are post-industrial, Western phenomena that are most likely to yield to a Western solution. We need to be in a position to learn from European successes and failures in grappling with such developments, yet the intellectual foundations for understanding the European efforts are not possessed by many American educators.

Basic research in modern European educational theory is badly needed. There are a few descriptive and quantitative studies of European school systems, but there is little fundamental work on educational theory and cultural criticism, showing what men conceived the cultural problems of their times to be and how they proposed to deal with these problems through educative activities. My long-term goal is to fill this gap through a sustained study of "culture in Europe" from the French Revolution to the present, with particular emphasis on the twentieth century. I will be particularly concerned with how men perceived the problems of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, work and leisure, tradition and innovation.

Over-all, this study will require many years. During the next two years, I will be working primarily on the German tradition. I will be particularly interested in understanding how the traditions of German humanism and German nationalism became intertwined in the nineteenth century, in following the remarkable flowering of German pedagogical theory in the first third of the twentieth century, and in ascertaining what is living and what is dead in these traditions in contemporary Germany. Throughout, I will be asking what the German past and present has to contribute to a Western, post-industrial future. As a result of these inquiries we will be better able, I believe, to plan our own efforts to come to terms pedagogically with such a future.