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ABSTRACT

This final report presents and discusses a model for an ethnographic study of a K-12 public educational system. To develop the model the author investigated the structure and process of a small, rural educational system. The purpose of the research was the refinement of educational anthropology observation methods and classroom sampling procedures. The model suggests the use of two classroom observation strategies: (1) cross-sectional observation which defines, describes, and provides an empirical base for conceptualizing and explaining the interrelationships of single units such as classrooms and grade levels; and (2) longitudinal observation which defines, describes, and explains activities and events occurring over time within a single unit. The model also suggests a narrative qualitative method by which the nature of schooling can be more accurately described and presented. For example, the data can be reported in a narrative format communicating a sense of and prosaic feeling for what it's like to "go through" American public schooling. Both behavioral and analytic notes should be presented side by side. Excerpts from the elementary school data collected by the author illustrate this presentation format. The report concludes with a section that summarizes the research project activities and reviews pending research tasks. (RM)

A MODEL FOR THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOLING AS STRUCTURE AND AS PROCESS

FINAL REPORT

"SCHOOLING AS STRUCTURE AND PROCESS: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF A RURAL, MIDWESTERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM"

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A year-long participant observation study of a rural, midwestern educational system formed the basis of a research model for the more comprehensive, ethnographic study of schooling. With a 1974 population of 2,695, Deerfield (pseudonym) is a mixed agricultural/industrial village. This report presents the synthetic research model as well as reviews the on-going analysis of the Deerfield ethnographic data illustrating and supporting the model. The model not only better conceptualizes and gives form to the unit of study we term schooling, but further serves to dramatically illustrate it as such. The research goal is the refinement of educational anthropology observation methods and classroom sampling procedures.

This report is composed of three sections. The first section presents the theoretical framework through which the model is being developed. The final two sections present the model itself. The model suggests, in the second section, a synthetic observation strategy effective in capturing the structural/processural characteristics of schooling. The final section suggests a narrative, qualitative method by which the nature of schooling can be more accurately described and presented. Rather than continuing an educational focus on aspects of schooling,

the present research contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the basic nature and characteristics of schooling as a total situation. Suggested is a research and analytic model generating a more effective ethnographic study of schooling as well as a corresponding descriptive format for the presentation of school process and structure. Both prior and present research efforts are directed toward the future completion of much-needed descriptive case studies illustrating the total classroom sequences comprising American public school education.

The report is unavoidably lengthy. The report represents the working out of a research model at the basis of ethnographic work funded by Spencer grant #B-393. Much of this research is on-going. As a refunding proposal has been entered, the presentation of the theory and method structuring the ethnographic data was deemed important. A description of specific tasks completed during the prior grant, as well as a review of pending research tasks, are to be found in the summary section.

SCHOOLING AS STRUCTURE AND AS PROCESS

Our understanding of the socialization and encul-

turation functions of public educational systems remains inhibited, in part, by the customary manner in which schools and schooling are conceptualized. More often than not, our attention is directed to events and behaviors in school rather than to a consideration of the nature and character of school itself. Schooling is routinely viewed as something that "happens" to students rather than as a discrete situation to be explored in its own right. Our very conception of schools and schooling is in need of reexamination.

Schooling is a twelve-year process the structure of which remains quite difficult to study. As such, more traditional approaches have primarily focused on aspects of schooling such as curriculum, cognition, and pedagogy. As a whole system, the structure and process of schooling are rarely studied. With few exceptions (Eddy 1967; Leacock 1969; Moore 1967; Singleton 1967; Warren 1967), the developmental sequences of classrooms and grade levels comprising schooling have yet to be adequately explored.

The suggestion here is that schooling is more accurately conceptualized as a structure occurring both in time and over space, comprised of on-going socio-culturally patterned processes of events and activities

in a progressive, developmental sequence. The notions of process and structure are useful in researching schools and schooling. As based on the anthropological theories of Raymond Firth (1964), structure refers to those primary patterns of relationship forming a systematic arrangement (such as classroom organization) and which, as such, provide a framework and context for behavior. Metaphorically, the concern is not so much with the action of the play itself, with behavior, but with the nature and characteristics of the stage and setting for the play. As a developmental sequence of classroom and grade levels, schooling also has a characteristic structure organizing internal processes and behaviors. Structure is a heuristic concept abstracted from the sequencing of component stages. To study structure means that we must somehow apprehend preschool through twelfth grade configurations. Structure can be employed to clarify those macrolevel patterns of subgroup relationship functionally organizing on-going microlevel patterns of social relationship.

As elaborated by the anthropologist Evon Vogt (1960), process is the characteristic organization of a series of related behavioral events within a particular structure. Process is progressive sequencing. Thus,

we can conceive of schooling as a process comprised of the sequencing of the discrete, discernable stages we term "grades." The characteristic on-going pattern of routine classroom life is a process within the structure of schooling as a whole. To study the process of schooling means that we must somehow apprehend the progressive sequencing of these component stages. Structure is the characteristic form, the pattern and shape, exhibited by the sequences comprising process. Each grade level comprising schooling possesses its own internal character and organization in addition to a fixed, structural relationship to antecedant and successive grades. As a progressive, developmental sequence of preschool through twelfth grade classrooms and grade levels, traditional public schooling exhibits a character structure organizing and giving form to internal activities and events. Thus, the elements of process (behavior; event; activity) are observable. Structure though, is a heuristic concept abstracted from the cumulative sequential development, over time and space, of component processes. Schooling then, is most accurately conceptualized as a structure comprised of ongoing, culturally patterned processes of behavioral events in developmental sequence.

The concepts of structure and process are common to the natural and physical sciences. Both organic and nonorganic phenomena are approached as whole systems composed of functionally integrated and structurally interrelated parts. Rather than considered in isolation, particular aspects of phenomena are studied in part-to-whole relationship. As such, as a whole system, the process and structure of schooling are rarely studied.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION STRATEGIES

Observation, participant or nonparticipant, is the sine qua non of ethnographic research. The requirement of traditional ethnographic monographs was to apprehend the nature and character of whole sociocultural systems through the study of the pattern of interrelationship of component parts. The application of traditional ethnographic methods to the study of formal educational systems has not reflected this mandate. The most basic ethnographic requirement is that we must observe all the subsystems in the unit and note their manner of articulation. It is only in this sense that we can deduce the nature and character of the whole unit or system.

The argument here is that existing ethnographies of public schooling are not based on an adequate sampling

of constituent components within the unit (schooling) as a whole. So as to compile microethnographic studies of schooling, it is still quite rare for anthropologists to spend extended amounts of time in classrooms (Rist 1975). Customary observation strategies either focus on only one or two grade levels (usually elementary school) for modest amounts of time in individual classrooms. We thus study aspects of schooling rather than schooling itself.

We must ask more holistic, ethnographic questions such as "From day to day, what goes on in classrooms?" "What are the variations as well as the predictable, routine, and generalizable patterns characterizing each classroom and grade level?" "What are the components of this unit or system?" "How do they articulate? What is going on here?" What is meant by the structure, process, and developmental sequence of schooling? How are they best described and studied? How are classrooms, subject areas, and grade levels organized so as to comprise "schooling"?

To satisfy these more ethnographic questions, customary observation protocols must be expanded both in depth and over time. The primary argument here is that our conceptualization, and knowledge, of schooling

cannot remain based on observation samples of only one or two classrooms or of only one or two grade levels. Conceptually and theoretically, delimited observation protocols are of questionable utility. The structure and process of schooling itself cannot be revealed or apprehended through the observation of only one or two constituent units for limited periods of time. We must ethnographically study schools as we have traditionally studied small-scale cultures and societies. Thus, a more valid research design for educational anthropology must reveal, both in time and over space, all of the constituent units and sequences comprising the unit of study.

Research efforts to capture the structure and function of schooling at Deerfield generated a synthetic observation strategy for the microethnographic study of classroom life. Empirically, schooling is composed of classrooms and grade levels existing in an interrelated sequence. Having an initial conception of schooling as process and as a bounded set of experiences, it is not methodologically possible to limit the research to a partial examination of only one or two classrooms or one or two grade levels. The chosen methodological orientation should reveal <u>all</u> of the basic situations

experienced by students while in public school classrooms. The need is to ascertain the organization of schooling as a whole. A most effective observational strategy is the (synthetic) longitudinal and cross-sectional study of the several component units (classrooms and grade levels) comprising schooling as they occur both in time and over space.

The Cross-Sectional Approach

Cross-sectional observation defines, describes, and provides an empirical base for conceptualizing and explaining the interrelationship, as expressed over space, of single, elementary units. Within schools, cross-sectional analysis is most aptly applied to the observational sampling of grade levels and classrooms. As expressed over space, cross-section observations provide a comparative base for studying the interrelationship between individual classrooms and grade levels. One can cross-compare events and activities in terms of an on-going hierarchical context. For example, in a cross-section test of Dreeben's independence/dependence variable, one would note whether architecture and proxemics reinforced gregariousness or isolation and whether task activities emphasized cooperation or individualism (Johnson 1980b). Employing primarily nonparticipant

observation over a four month period, the Deerfield data was gathered cross-sectionally. From preschool through the twelfth grade, every grade level was systematically observed. Two classes, of every level and type, were always observed. More than one room at a grade level was sampled so as to capture norms and ranges of variation over the entire process of schooling. Quite consciously, I chose to observe classroom sessions beginning at the middle of the school year. By beginning daily observations at the beginning of the second marking period, it was felt that the resultant behaviors would better reflect the more salient and established patterns of classroom life. Logically, the beginning of the year is characteristically marked by the establishment of rules, the middle by established routine, and the end by strains against the rules. In this respect, the total school year parallels a single class session. Observing classroom behaviors during the middle of the school year insured that most of the routine patterns would be captured. So as to insure representativeness, each class was observed all day for three randomly selected days. Where possible, the "highest" and the "lowest" classes, as defined by the school, were always observed. Every class in the lower grades

was observed. "Special" classes, as they were called, were observed when students in a regular class visited them. This was also true for other specialized classes such as remedial reading, math improvement, art, and music. All these peripheral activities were observed as they occurred within the context of the larger, ongoing class and grade levels. It had been decided to concentrate on, though not limit attention to, academic classes. The terminology as well as the social organization of the school made a distinction between "academic" classes and "specials." The school gave more emphasis to the academic classes and thus did the observer. Similarly, when it was discovered that much of the social organization of the school was based on reading and math test scores, I concentrated on these particular subject areas and classes. The methodological procedures were continually being revised in light of the inductive character of the research. This protocol closely adhered to Henry's (1960) cross-cultural outline. A deductive taxonomy, the outline comprises twelve categories that organized classroom observation and note taking.

Methodologically, cross-section protocols demand the comparability of constituent units as well as their

representative sampling. Any public school is organized about time and space cycles such as event, activity, hour, day, grade, and grade level. These categories permit school to school comparison. The structure of public schooling is quite predictable.

This strategy is emic and inductive in permitting the data itself to inform those categories structuring etic analysis and explanation. This cross-sectional observational strategy established a holistic perspective revealing patterns of relationship that would otherwise have remained hidden in the isolated particulars of individual classrooms. Rather than monolithic and homogeneous, the character and nature of schooling was revealed to be quite heterogeneous and diverse.

The Longitudinal Approach

A longitudinal observation protocol defines, describes, and explains (variations) activities, events, and activities occurring over time within a single, elementary unit of study. Longitudinal research can be of the whole unit or of representative segments within the unit. Longitudinal observational strategies significantly extend the length and depth of a given study. Traditional ethnographic studies of culture and society are based on observation over a period long enough to perceive complete

cycles, or ranges in variation, of activity. At minimum, one might live with a hunting-gathering band or in a horticultural village for a year in order to study the complete seasonal round of activity. Some cycles, such as ritual ceremonies occurring every 60 years among the Dogon of Mail (West Africa), are impossible to observe. Marriage ceremonies and daily living activities are much more readily observable. The point here is the importance not so much of the events and activities themselves but the apprehension of the socioculturally defined patterns which they form by way of part-to-part and part-to-whole articulation.

In educational systems, the school year itself is an emically (participant) defined cycle. Educational researchers employing participant or nonparticipant observation ought to view the school year as an irreducible unit of study. At Deerfield, observations were made throughout the school year. Each class was observed all day for three randomly selected days. From grade-to-grade, classes were observed in sequence. Further, as expressed over time. all-day observations provide a basis for the more rigorous study of individual school classrooms. Educational researchers employing participant or nonparticipant observation ought to view the school day

as an irreducible unit of study. It is customary for observational protocols to have as their strategy the time sampling of, primarily, student and teacher behavior within the classroom. Sampling times might range from a low of five minutes to a high of half a day or so. Increasingly though, educational anthropologists have recognized the utilize of all-day, longitudinal observation of classrooms. Ray C. Rist (1975:91) notes that

> The single most apparent weakness of the vast majority of the studies on education is that they lack any longitudinal perspective. A number of studies on schooling have utilized a single time frame approach, more closely resembling the description of a still-life painting than an ongoing activity. Similarly, even where there has been attempts at direct observation of classrooms, the time span alloted for observations has been quite short.

Observation strategies now include all-day sampling procedures for a month or longer (Goetz 1976; Smith 1968). As Wolcott (1973) illustrates in his study of an elementary school principal, following a given unit of study

over time reveals the representative behavior of complete cycles. Over space, cross-section observation broadens that which a longitudinal strategy lengthens. In combination, the observational result is a wider, more inclusive and representative empirical observational base for both conceptualizing and generalizing the structure and process of schooling.

A QUALITATIVE/DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH TO SCHOOLING

Both scholarly and popular, the literature on classroom life is rarely based on the systematic, representative, empirical description of actual events, activities, and processes. Usually, the description of actual classroom life is presented as anecdotal appendages to second or third level generalization and explanation. Rarely does the situational life of the classroom itself become the basis of the ethnography. Despite a vast store of information on schooling, most of this data is reductionistic and is not composed of primary empirical evidence. As a result of the mode of presentation, much of the communicated data on schooling are invariably post hoc--after the fact of the situations,

events, and activities that characterize schooling itself (Glazer and Struass 1967). In this sense, it can be said that we know very little about what actually goes on in schools and what little we know is not situationally presented. What we do know are several levels of explanations about what the situations we do not actually have a sense of "mean." Most educational ethnography is generalization. Traditional educational ethnographic monographs do not present the situations on which generalizations and explanations are based. The situation itself must become the subject.

Traditional ethnographies of a culture are descriptions of ways of life. In this sense, educational anthropology has not been very ethnographic. As will be developed, actual descriptions of classroom life are rare. Traditional ethnographies (mainly structure/functional) are descriptive, categorical accounts around which explanations are built. We are provided descriptions that orientate us and give us a sense of participating in the culture/society.

There exists demonstrable need for empirical reports on what actually happens in schools, in general, and in classrooms in particular. One must begin in the classroom itself. We do not have a common, descriptive

data base providing a model of the customary routine events, situations, behaviors that comprise the unit of study, schooling and classroom life, that is the subject of much educational anthropology:

> . . . Now that such research has begun it is apparent how little is really known about the impact of schooling on children and on the societies in which they live. Despite the great amount of information that has been collected about schools and students, much of it is not hard data but is interlaced either with generally contested assumptions or with normative judgments that are not clearly recognized as such. There exists then a research task of huge proportions facing comparative educators, particularly since they have taken a world of diverse societies as their field of domain. Such an effort will require greater attention to research strategies, to methodology, and particularly, to the character of fieldwork (Fischer 1979:4).

To permit the more effective communication and understanding of the behaviors, events, and sequences

characteristic of schooling, actual observational data and process data, as well as post hoc generalization, should be ethnographically presented.

> . . . ethnographic data can provide careful description and cultural analysis of what is going on in school . . . about what really goes on as opposed to what we would like to go on.
>
> . . . Any ethnography is a picture of the members of some social [and cultural] group seen in the context in which that life is lived. The ethnographic account ought to answer the question, "What is going on here?", so that an outsider might, at least theoretically, be able to join the group and know how to act as one of its members. A truly ethnographic approach to schooling would take the reader into the classroom to explain the way of life going on there (Wolcott 1974:1).

Goetz and Hansen (1974:5) note that . . . there is very little knowledge available in scientific terms of what actually happens to people in schools." Spindler (1974:1) says that

> . . . it is almost trite to say that we need a body of ethnographic materials from which to draw in our continuing attempts to develop theory as well as in our attempts to communicate the essence of anthropological methods and concepts to education at all levels.

A possible explanation for this state of affairs is that positivistic, theory-building explanations have gained sway over the hearts of educational anthropologists. "Mere description" is not thought to be "scientific." We also don't present field notes and description for fear of judgment of the basis on which our generalizations are made.

But description is also explanation. In Explanation in Social Science (Brown 1963), noted is the correspondence between explanation and description; indeed, description inherently presupposes explanation. An account of how something happened becomes an account of why something happened:

> Our contention has been that any extended account of social behavior will contain and presuppose explanations of some portions of that behavior. The reason we have given is that otherwise there will be no way of indicating the casual connections which hold

> amongst the events in question. The importance of indicating such connections will be obvious when we recall that accounts of social behavior are chiefly concerned, as the phrase suggests, with processes and activities. If we are not shown how one part of a social process is casually related to another part, we are given no analysis of either activity or process. We are certainly given no description of them (Brown 1963:24).

Description is as much mode of relating process as it is verbal portraiture. Most educational ethnographies rely on generalization; they are noticeably devoid of reportage and description:

> . . . to describe something is to tell someone what some state of affairs is like. A successful description enables its auditor to recognize what has been described to him, when he will not otherwise be able to to so. A successful report need not do this; though it may if it includes a description (Brown: 16).

The logical use of description, as well as reportage, is justified by the close relationship between appearance

and behavior:

> Thus, the use of the phrase 'social description' is often quite misleading. It is very rare to find a piece of social research that has in it no reports of arguments and conclusions. To argue, then, that we commonly receive from social scientists 'a mere description of how some people behave in particular circumstances' is to argue falsely if the words 'mere description' are taken in their dictionary meaning (Brown:25).

The point here is that description itself is a mode of explanation and not simply supportive of post hoc generalizations.

A persistent problem in qualitative analysis has thus been the presentation of the evidence on which generalizations are based without resorting to the data reduction inherent in quantification (Becker 1958). In addition to explanation and generalization, the Deerfield data is being written in a format narratively communicating a sense of and prosaic feeling for what it is like to "go through" (preschool through twelfth grade) American public schooling. In the present research, each set of narratively arranged observation

sets include analytic categories on the same page as the behavioral data. Behavioral observations are presented on the left side of each page and the initial categories and middle-level analytic notes on the right side. First-hand observational notes on classroom events and behaviors are presented along with middle-range generalizations. Middle-range generalizations note similarities and differences on the level of the observational data. These middle-level generalizations form the basis for generalizations coming at the end of each section. The generalization, in this instance, relate classrooms life to socialization and enculturation for participation in American national culture and society. My particular emphasis is on schooling as national-level socialization and enculturation.

Hierarchically organized by class and grade level, each data set is preceded by background information on the classrooms and followed by summary analysis and generalization for each level from seventh through the twelfth grade. Background is given on teacher student characteristics and a description of the classroom as a setting. Following is analysis of the observational data on the basis of themes and patterns in American culture that I use as the focus for the study. The

conclusions following each set of observations are on a higher level of generality. Generalizations deductively follow from the initial analysis within the text as well as inductively from the patterns and character of classroom activities and events themselves. The generalizations place the specific behaviors at Deerfield within the larger context of the national culture. Though common to bilingual language readers, this presentation format was modeled after my annotated text of Alice in Wonderland. There, the original Carroll text is printed on one side of the page and the extensive annotations and commentary on the other. Footnotes and relevant literature appeared at the bottom. Thus, one can read at three levels at once. Situationally is preserved. Following is an excerpt from the elementary school data illustrating this particular presentation format:

EXCERPT FROM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DATA

. . . them to art class. The students line up by the door and the aide leads them to art class.	Again, a prevailing emphasis on regimentation.
2:45 P.M. In returning from art	

class, the students are characteristically very orderly and very quiet. They file into the room and immediately go to their seats, take out their materials, and begin working on their previous assignments. The voice and activity levels are at 1. As they finish their work, the students get up and put their papers in a wire basket, on the teacher's desk, labeled "afternoon."

Emphasis on quiet and order.

Expected self-direction; internalization of work routine.

At this grade level, there is individual correction of work.

The teacher and aide are checking some of the students' work. A white female has worked page two of her workbook instead of page three--the assigned page. Visibly angry, the teacher calls the student over to her; she sternly tells the student that she did not listen to the directions and that she did not pay attention while the teacher was writing the assignments on the board. She tells the female to erase all of page two and to sit down and to do page three. Sarcastically and angrily, the teacher loudly dis-

Emphasis on following directions--stressed more in this "high" class.

Punishment by public ridicule.

misses the student by saying she had not done the page wrong anyway.

Most of the students have finished their work. Many students are wandering around the room looking at some of the posters and other visual materials; some are sitting quietly at their desks watching the others; a few have formed small groups and are murmuring in low voices. This random mobility and low voice level seems permitted; the teacher intervenes only when a student interrupts the work of another, talks too loudly, or is not doing their work. As they finish their work, it seems as if they are expected to wait until the others also finish. This continues for about forty-five minutes.

3:15 P.M. The teacher tells the students they can begin putting their work away and prepare to leave for the day. The teacher and aide dismiss their small work groups. There is a general flurry of activity. Clearing

"Free time" as a reward for work; few toys here--developmental de-emphasis of play.

Characteristically, "high" classes are more task oriented.

"Waiting" is another trait central to contemporary American culture.[9]

Routine procedures.

Again, competitive games--pleasing--the teacher.

their desks, the students sit down and wait until everyone is finished; it is as if they hurry to see who can straighten up their work first. While waiting, the students are very quiet. By name, quietest students first, the teacher calls them to put their crayons on the long table, get their coats, and put their chairs up on the desk. Finally, they go to line up by the hall door. In a loud voice, the teacher emphatically tells them to again be certain their crayons are on the desk. The teacher tells the aide, in front of the students, to check their pockets and to "watch them closely." To the observer, she, in passing, says some students pick out the best crayons and just take them home.

Reinforcement of concept of public/private property.

A white male is balking at the teacher's procedures; he is rather arrogantly saying that he has something to do after school, that his mother is coming to pick him up,

Continuing emphasis on lower-grade egalitarianism.

and that he doesn't want to wait in line. Very pointedly and to his face the teacher firmly tells him that he has to do what everybody else who rode the bus to school has to do. Sulking, but not speaking, he gest back in line.	
3:30 P.M. The aide is giving several students notes to take home. The teacher takes the students down the hall and sees them to the bus; the students are quite noisy and this seems permitted. On the way out the door, the students say good-by and smile at the teacher; she waves and smiles back at them.	Routine separation rituals..
The aide remains in the classroom arranging stray desks and the instructional materials.	Routine task divisions of labor.

Conclusions: First and Second Grades

In summary then, the primary patterns emerging at this level of schooling are: the clear emphasis and value upon mobility; the increasing separation of "work" and "play"; a decided future-time orientation; the

increasing particularization of space; an obvious elaboration of and deference to national celebrations and cultural myths; the gradual lessening of nurturant and accommodating behavior; incipient sexual segregation; incipient status ranking with corresponding differential task expectations; an increasing emphasis upon private property and individualism with the corresponding decrease in earlier communalism and egalitarianism; a stress on self-discipline and direction; an increase in horizontal (peer-to-peer) hostility; increased instances of dependence on teacher approval; continued tolerance of high density and noise levels amid interruptions and distractions; a continued emphasis on propriety and punctuality. Again, it will be seen that these traits are quite functionally related to aspects of American culture.

Our national culture prizes mobility. At this grade level, mobility seems a reward for internalizing the increasingly more obvious school rules. Differential . . .

This descriptive format permits the presentation of <u>the situational context</u> of analysis and generalization. The format permits the point-for-point correlation of primary observational data and secondary analysis (Glaser 1965).

~~This situational approach has been developed in~~ British social anthropology and is an excellent model

for a more descriptive, situational, qualitative study of schooling. J. Van Velsen (1967) gives theoretical expression to these arguments through his concept of situational analysis. His position is in reaction to the emphasis on custom and the synchronic strain toward consistency characteristic of structural-functional analysis. Along with Max Gluckman (1964) and Victor Turner (1957), Van Velsen is concerned with the fact that social life was being approached and characterized in a quite static fashion. Van Velsen wanted to view social life dichronically. This methodology focuses on the actions of individuals within the process of sociocultural life. The criticism is that structural-functionalism abstracts normative consistency from the often inconsistent and irregular behavior of real life. More to the point, a structural-functional orientation only presents abstracted conclusions in its monographs. The real actions of real people remain buried in fieldnotes.

More importantly perhaps, and in terms of the present research, is the emphasis situational analysis gives to making descriptions of actual behavior a characteristic part of ethnographic monographs:

This approach calls not only for the recording and presentation of the 'imponderabilia of actual life,' but also for coordinated accounts of the actions of specified individuals . . . Thus records of actual situations and particular behavior have found their way from the fieldworker's notebooks into his analytic descriptions, not as 'apt illustrations' . . . of the author's abstract formulations but as a constituent part of the analysis . . . I have called this way of presenting and handling [my italics] ethnographic data 'situational analysis.' By this method the ethnographer not only presents the reader with abstractions and inferences from his field material but also provides some of the material itself. This puts the reader in a better position to evaluate the ethnographic analysis not only on the basis of the internal consistency of the argument, but also by comparing the ethnographic data with the inferences drawn from them. Particularly when several or more of the actors

> in the author's case material appear again and again in different situations, the inclusion of such data should reduce the chance of such cases becoming mere apt illustration (Van Velsen 1967:140).

By thus including the observational data on which my generalizations are based, a means is provided for the independent falsification of conclusions. The data also provides an observational/behavioral model against which data from other types of schools can be compared. Situational context is illustrated and preserved. In providing an alternative to quantative reduction, these qualitative methods of data analysis and presentation lead to enhanced conceptual clarity and understanding of the process and structure of schooling.

The structure and process of schooling as a whole system are best illustrated and presented as narrative. Anyone who has systematically observed classroom processes was probably struck by the dramatic quality of many of the events and activities. One can literally see students learning basic life patterns. A greater concern with the systemization and legitimization of alternative conceptual, theoretical, and analytic tools would serve to exercise and flex the ethnographer's

more dormant, affective abilities:

> A good writer must be a good ethnographer. He must carefully observe and record situations, events, behaviors, and ideas. Most of all, his characters and their actions must be believable. They must make sense to the person who knows the culture an author is writing about. A good writer is able to convey to the reader the meaning of all those taken-for-granted aspects of experience. He must, in other words, have an understanding of the culture his characters are using to organize their behavior. Ethnographic research results in a wealth of detailed cultural information that can be easily become the basis for other kinds of writing in addition to a scientific research paper (Spradley and McCurdy 1972:4).

Such an orientation would also bring our concern back to real people doing real things in the real world. Hopefully, educational anthropologists will include more narratively arranged behavioral data sets in their ethnographies as well as write dramatic renditions of

their fieldnotes.

The use of narrative as both illustration of and communication of process is a powerful tool because of the dramatic form and emphasis it can give to the most ordinary events and activities.

In his article on "Expression and Generalization in History and Anthropology," Conkling (1975) reminds us that the problem is not so much what anthropologists know as how what is known is organized, translated and, if at all, communicated. The question of ethnography-as-writing is deserving of attentive consideration. The present research serves to illustrate an ethnographic methodology using such literary concepts and techniques as narrative, dialogue, drama, denouement, connotation, foreshadowing, and understatement as both part of the research design and as vehicle for the presentation of the data itself. Conkling (1975) that ethnography as written history involves critical, often literary, processes of translation and communication. To communicate schooling as process then, narrative, drama, and other literary techniques become valuable modes lending coherence and felt substance to random streams of classroom behavior.

The work of Oscar Lewis is here relevant owing to

his concern with writing and presentation as well as with the development of portrait and literary descriptions of the day-to-day life of Puerto Ricans. Lewis (1965:xv) felt that readers, both lay and professional, would better respond to this presentation of their way of life:

> Indeed, it was my dissatisfaction with the high level of abstraction inherent in the concept of culture patterns which led me to turn away from anthropological community studies to the intensive studies of families. It seemed to me that descriptions of a way of life on an abstract level of culture patterns left out the very heart and soul of the phenomena we are concerned with, namely, the individual human being . . . The use of the day as the unit of study has been a common device of the novelist . . . it has as many advantages for science as for literature, and provides an excellent medium for combining the scientific and humanistic aspects of anthropology.

This last sentence, of course, reflects views and values endemic to the present research. Here though, note that

this orientation complements the literary technique termed "slice of life" writing. This technique was largely developed and promulgated, within fiction, to better reflect the realities of time and process. Robert Redfield (1959:7) adds that

> . . . the reporting [my italics] of such a total provision for humanity is not unlike a novel or a biography or a study of an individual's character . . .

In reference to Lewis again, both Valentine (1968) and Leacock (1971) draw attention to a seeming fault in this scheme. Valentine notes that the bulk of Lewis' work remains raw, unanalyzed data. That is, it is difficult to determine the representativeness and reliability of the data. As per my format though, by having descriptive illustrations and processes included in the report, there is always available to others the data from which generalizations and conclusions were made. Valentine's disclaimer is negated by the very fact that he can go to the data itself in order to discount Lewis' explanations: In ethnographic writing, this is often not the case:

> A basic epistemological assumption underlies my selection of direct observation as the primary research strategy employed in

> this study. Succinctly, I believe that direct observation can make positive contributions to the study of the context of human behavior. Granted the problems of bais or preconception may be critical to the interpretation given the data, nonetheless, there will exist an account of the behavior relatively independent of the interpretation drawn from that account (Rist 1975:92).

This is important. By writing descriptive ethnographies, one not only realizes all of the previously discussed humanistic advantages but inherently provides the means for the scientific falsification of one's conclusions.

In summary then, the methodology of the present study serves to demarcate, describe, explain, and present in a dramatic fashion the characteristic activities and events comprising schooling. My aim here is to give form to certain persistent processes and to dramatically communicate them as such. I have sought to dramatically recreate the process of schooling in such fashion as to require of the reader powers of both intellect and affect for its meaningful comprehension. Literary concepts such as plot, narration, drama, and

dialogue are vehicles for the more effective presentation of schooling. This model of data presentation leads to greater conceptual clarity and understanding of schooling. Descriptive, nonreductionistic ethnographs illustrating the nature and characteristics of schooling are necessary to the continued development of educational anthropology.

Ethnographically, the descriptive studies of schooling are scant. Such studies take the reader into the classroom so as to who us what goes on there. Such studies are concerned with illustrating the process of schooling and presenting what classroom life is like from day-to-day.

> Was and Wax (1971:3) note that . . . only a few of the many researchers and critics have had the patience, fortified by the faith in ethnographic empiricism, to observe the social processes actually occurring in relation to the schools.

From 1962 to 1964, the Teacher Education Project at Hunter College sponsored the Teachers and Resources for Urban education project. This project resulted in several relevant publications. Dr. Elizabeth Eddy, the project Director, authored Walk the White Line: A

Profile of Urban Education (1967). Together with Realities of the Urban Classroom: Observations in Elementary Schools by G. Alexander Moore (1967), a member of the TRUE project, these studies are rare examples and models of the longitudinal, cross-sectional, and descriptive study of classroom life.

The purpose of project TRUE, and its resultant studies, was the development of curriculum materials to be employed in the training of teachers and attendant personnel for work in inner city schools. These studies resulted in the descriptive illustration of the classroom processes in those schools. The implication here is that neither prospective teachers or administrators, let alone other scholars, knew anything about the day-to-day life in public school classrooms. In a separate volume, Becoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status, Dr. Eddy (1969) elaborates this point. Walk the White Line centers on the extraordinary degree of ordering of behaviors characteristic of schooling in general and inner city schools in particular. It was found that such ordering, especially in the lower grades, was also characteristic of Deerfield. (Dr. Eddy illustrates this pattern through classroom observations in nine public schools.)

Walk the White Line shows the reader how classrooms order the behavior of students, there are no post hoc arguments here. The orientation of the book is with the school as a socializing agency and its functional relationship with the surrounding community. The book was specifically written for educators.

Realities of the Urban Classroom is an extended case study of one of the nine schools in the project TRUE study. Moore shows us more of what goes on in the classroom Eddy focuses on the structural. Moore's more longitudinal study provides the reader with a clear picture of classroom processes. It is written for the lay reader:

> Interested layment . . . may never enter such classrooms. For them this book serves as a substitute tour, and a timely one, for the general public ought to have a knowledge of the daily routine in the lives of the many persons claimed by our great urban corporate school systems . . . But in fact the general public knows little about the urban schools (Moore 1967:1).

Or, as I contend, schools in general. Moore's presentation corresponds to that of the present research. His

book is centered around the longitudinal observation of elementary school classrooms. His sample though, is composed of three suburban school systems; he looks at first through fourth grades on various ability levels. Interspersed with his observations is analysis of behavior.

Neither Walk the White Line or Realities of the Urban Classroom provide ethnographic, community-specific information. The observations are sometimes anecdotal and do not encompass all-day events and activities. Eddy's presentation was a synthesis of observations made in the nine schools studied. Observations were made from the first through the ninth grade:

> From the beginning, an attempt was made to see all the classes on one grade in the elementary schools and several classes, of varying ability levels, within each of the grades in the junior high school. The chosen classes were then observed for an entire school day by one of the observers (Eddy 1967:x).

I sought to extend these efforts by gathering, in total, descriptive material from preschool through the twelfth grade. It is sequence rather than specific representa-

tiveness that is most important. Not only were all-day observations made of various ability groups, but observations were made on every grade level as well.

Realities of the Urban Classroom is singular in its dramatic impact and readability. Uninterrupted descriptions of classroom processes were presented as such that the reader is literally drawn into the narrative much like a play or a novel. It is this existential and dramatic quality that was sought in the present research. I have posited that drama and narrative, as both content and context, is quite legitimate and indeed suitable for anthropological concerns and expressions. In Realities of the Urban Classroom, you will not though, find the imitation of an action, a stage, or conflict resolution. You will though, see a story, there will be dialogue and rising action, denouement, and conflicting human emotions. Classroom behavior is not drama but it is dramatic. As content and context, such behaviors can be organized, written about, and presented so as to engender emotional responses.

Similar to the present research, Moore appends his analysis much like annotations to the text of a play. The dramatic presentations are always primary and are never disturbed. Moore also provides discussion ques-

tions at the end of each chapter. Each set of observations is forwarded by a sketch on the background of the class.

> In this book, classroom life will be examined in all its aspects. These selections are not to be treated as 'problems,' but rather to be seen as setting the stage in which the reader can project himself. The problem for the imaginative reader then becomes, 'How can I fit in here?' (Moore 1967:8).

Moore's presentation is unique in its impact. It served as a guiding influence on the writing and, format of my observations.

Another relevant work is Martin Mayer's The Schools. This book is based on observations in one hundred and fifty schools; not by a team of investigators, but by the author himself. Some fifteen hundred informal interviews were made. The author collected six thousand pages of notes and read fifty linear feet of related background literature. His observations carried him from Helsinki to San Francisco. What motivated such a prodigious task?

> We know very little about the process of education . . . Unfortunately, education is a political question, and like other political questions, it is usually paraded forth in the full paraphernalia of intellectual dishonesty . . . The voices of children are overpowered by hollow manufactured speeches about national purpose, democratic values, elitism, discipline, liberal arts . . . It was because I had some sense of the unreality of the 'great controversy' in education that I wanted to write this book . . . The critic shouts that the schools are lazy and the educators are fools; the educator shouts back that the critics are reactionaries and their criticisms are ignorant . . . In their desire to score debating points, however, the controversialists rapidly rise above the vulgar question of what is actually happening in the schools . . . I decided to see for myself what was going on in the schools (Mayer 1961:xii-xiii).

This intent parallels that of the present research. Mr.

Mayer is a journalist. He has though, provided a detailed work revealing the complete sequence of experiences termed schooling. Not receiving any help from scholars, academics, or educators, Mayer went off on his own to see what was going on. Mr. Mayer realized not only his own isolation from this central institution, but also that policy decisions are continually being made concerning that of which few have any detailed knowledge. The strident debate and passion spilled over the schools is sterile.

The Schools though, only generalizes from schooling as it exists in the Western hemisphere. He is mainly concerned with Europe and the United States. The "school" is treated as a given. Though about education, the book's conception does not include enculturation. In any case, The Schools provides a valuable description of the social organization of schooling in the Western hemisphere; on other levels of sociocultural integration, cross-cultural comparisons are all the more available.

Mr. Mayer is concerned with presenting descriptions on, and the social organization of, the entire public school system. The book focuses on schooling as a total process and event. The Schools is five hundred pages long. The price of a longitudinal cross-sectional study.

His aim is to reduce the rhetoric and generalizations about schooling to a view of the specific human activities they comprise:

> The first part of this book is therefore given over to an attempt to establish a background--physical, national, historical, psychological, and social--against which the different schools and their programs may be placed. The second part describes detail work, following the child along the normal thirteen year program of the American public school system, both chronologically and through the consideration of key subjects. The third part deals with what seem to me the most immediate, real issues in American education. The emphasis throughout is on the public schools of the United States. But where comparison seems relevant, I have presented the American public schools and their problems by comparison with the European schools and the private schools. In the first two parts, the line is frequently broken by vignettes from the classroom. The

> purpose is to recall both author and reader from the world of abstractions where everything is relatively simple to the world of human events where everything is infinitely complicated (Mayer 1961:xv).

The intent and design of The Schools parallels that of the present research. The book is about schools as well as what goes on in classrooms. Of particular importance is the emphasis Mayer gives to the longitudinal, cross-sectional, and descriptive study of schooling.

The Schools exhibits a lack of context. It is not an ethnography. One can read the book and still not feel the impact of a particular school. Like secondary characters in a melodrama, his teachers and students remain shadowy and indistinct. The events do not speak for themselves--reflect their own drama.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Several monographs in the Holt, Rinehart and Winston series Case Studies in Education and Culture were relevant to the present research. The series is specifically designed to illustrate the process of schooling and enculturation within specific, cross-cultural contexts.

The studies in this series reflect the orientation of the present research. It is only through a direct, longitudinal, and cross-sectional consideration of classroom life that the total process termed schooling can be conceptualized. Here also, schooling is conceived as a process of cultural transmission:

> Education is a cultural process. Each new member of a society or a group must learn to act appropriately as a member and contribute to its maintenance and, occasionally, to its improvement. Education, in every cultural setting, is an instrument for survival (Peshkin 1972:ix).

In Education in Rebhausen: A German Village, Richard L. Warren (1967) shows how the school acts as a stabilizing influence in reflecting the more traditional values of a village challenged by the impact of rapid industrialization. Warren observed each classroom in each grade so as to see if and how the ethods of industrialism was actualized. The concern here was also with depicting a representative view of classroom life, on various grade lvels, so as to compare that organizational pattern against the more normative organizational patterns found in the

community. Did schooling reflect traditional village patterns and norms or the emergent ethos and patterns of industrialism? Warren concludes that the teachers themselves act as maintainers of the traditional culture. As is Deerfield, Rebhausen is a state school. State schools and teachers, through bureaucratic and certification exigencies, also act as unifying agents for an emergent ethos.

Warren is concerned with the close analysis of the rites of passage that link school with village life. The monograph presents detailed descriptions of classroom life, daily routine, and school organization (see also Warren 1974).

Alan Peshkin's research is concerned with structuring an extended comparison between the enculturative functions of both the school and the family. In Kanuri Schoolchildren: Education and Social Mobility in Nigeria, Peshkin (1972:129), says that

> . . . the four Kanuri students and their families have been depicted within the format of a single, compositely organized day based on four weeks of intensive observations. Second, the case studies are meant to illuminate the contact between

> agencies for socialization that, in the context of a traditional society undergoing accelerating social change, theoretically conflict--the 'modern' primary school and the 'traditional' home.

This methodology is similar to Oscar Lewis' previously mentioned work. The orientation is also reminiscent of Jules Henry's (1972:52) admonition that

> . . . by studying the same child over a wide range of his activities we get a more complete idea of what helps him and hinders him in learning. When the same child is studied for two years in the home, in kintergarten, in the first grade with peers, one obtains a better picture than when one studies him in only one of these situations.

This approach though, is ripe for psychological interpretation and would seem to impede representativeness and generality. My research is more concerned with the general character of schooling than with the network analysis of the schooled.

Peshkin's emphasis on narrative description, and a format similar to Moore's study, makes Kanuri School-

children particularly relevant to the present research. Peshkin is concerned with the illustration, not the abstraction, of patterns of enculturation.

> Each case study presents one Kanuri schoolchild in a compositely organized day based on observation notes recorded daily for one month. Each day opens with an introductory description of the child's parents, who also came under observation, and leads on the the child himself; it concentrates on his activities from the time he awakens in the morning until he goes to sleep (Peshkin 1972:8).

It should be noted that Peshkin himself did not carry out these observations. Bilingual Kanuri students at the Bornu Training College made the observations and collected the data. Peshkin acted as planner, director, and analyzer. Further, the narrative descriptions presented are not actual events; they are composites. In the literary sense, Peshkin creates a fiction:

> To illustrate the socialization theme it was judged best, accordingly, to prepare a synthetic day which drew on the events and interviews of the entiremonth. While each case study is in a sense a fictional product,

> the only truly fictional aspects are the juxtaposition of events from different days and the very transitional sections that connect them (Peshkin:7).

In a sense, Peshkin's presentation is in line with the experimental work in the nonfiction novel associated with Norman Mailer and Truman Capote.

Note that Peshkin's emphasis is on the narrative description of enculturative processes. His account can be read as either investigative journalism, literature, or ethnography. It is deemed important to present the descriptions of enculturative events as well as its explanatory counterpart. Peshkin can legitimize the second-hand nature of Kanuri Schoolchildren by noting that his concern was not with illustrating the developmental cycles of schooling per se, but with finding out if structural conflict existed between Kanuri schoolchildren and their families.

Despite the differences, Kanuri Schoolchildren remains a fine example of how descriptions of actual classroom behavior can be narratively and dramatically presented along with the conclusions they illustrate. The format of the book reflects a readability often limited to the more popular literature on education. The discip-

lined use of dialogue and narrative puts the reader into the situation being discussed.

John Singleton's case study, Nichū: A Japanese School (1967), provides further insight into the social organization of enculturation at the state level. Here again, the school is seen as a reflex of national mandates and needs:

> Many of the observations subsumed in this study are related to national political and educational issues. Education in every modern society is in some degree an instrument of national policy . . . This is clearly evident in Japan (Singleton 1967:2).

Because both are nationally mandated enculturation instruments, the schools at Deerfield and Nichū would have similar enough patterns of organization and activity to be recognized as a "school" by each differing cultural group. So to speak, a school is a school by any other name. Deerfielders could go to Nichū and recognize its school.

Nichū presents a detailed description of classroom developmental cycles; the characteristic organization of schooling is described (Singleton 1968). Through such cross-cultural comparisons, it can be seen that Nichū is not that different from Deerfield; they both are schools. Both are organized in terms of hierarchical

sequences, both are held in isolated buildings, both separate teachers from students, both stress deference and obedience, and so on. In Japan, it is seen how many of the grade-to-grade changes in organization and activity are rite of passage transitions reflecting elaborate patterns of self-government, autonomy, and responsibility characteristic of the larger community. This contrasts with the extreme dependency characteristic of American schooling. In both instances, teachers have had to contend with strains toward consistency. Seemingly, in a direct contest between th teacher and national values, the teacher invariably loses.

All of the monographs previously discussed are concerned with the degree and pattern of interaction between the school and the community in largely homogeneous national settings. John Collier Jr.'s case study is concerned with the school as mediating interface between two distinct cultural traditions. Alaskan Eskimo Education: A Film Analysis of Cultural Confrontation in the Schools (Collier 1973:viii)

> . . . is an account of White education for Brown people as taught by White teachers imported into the Arctic.

Here, teachers are not native to the culture of their

students. As such, Collier is concerned with discovering the nature and role and impact of these teachers. He sees formal Eskimo education as helping students not to be able to live in either world--the Eskimo world or the white world.

Collier's case study is related to the present research by his emphasis on the presentation of descriptive data. The book then does not discuss circumstances theoretically, but rather describes them correctly as recorded on film. Education, as it takes place in the classroom, is presented directly to the reader for his evaluation. Collier goes into classrooms to describe the actualities underlying his contentions. He and a team of researchers took twenty hours of film in different schools, grades, and subject areas. Content analysis was then employed from categories quite similar to those of the present research:

> General impression of the class; Aesthetic look and tone of the classroom; Physical layout; Relationship between staff and child; Relationship between child and child; Character of the communicational situations--verbal/nonverbal; Is the teacher orientated toward individuals or the group (Collier:56).

As compared with written description of classroom events and activities, film analysis has both advantages and disadvantages. A researcher should not attempt to be a camera nor a film crew attempt what an alert observer can capture with his other senses. From its unidirectional point of view, the camera can obviously capture more non-verbal behavior than can the human eye. A single camera though, is not omnidirectional; it lacks the depth perception of the human eye. The human eye is bound by selective subjectivity; film is more nonselective and objective. It has greater observer bias; a single observer sitting unobtrusively in a corner cannot be compared to a well-equipped film crew. To be effective, the reader of any film analysis would have to see the original film in order to flesh out the writer's generalizations. Collier presents little of the actual situation as we do not see his film. In this respect, a written description is still the communication link between writer and reader. For a reader interested in schooling, film has to be written about and therefore conveys as much as traditional ethnographic description. An effectively written description based on film analysis would seem to be the most effective technique for conveying this way of life to a reader.

Alaskan Eskimo Education informs the conception and rationale of the present research in its concern with the cross-sectional and longitudinal study of schooling as well as the detailed description of the natural cycles of classroom events and activities.

SUMMARY

The purpose of the present study is to test and extend a structural/processural theory of schooling by epxanding upon prior research to systematically describe and illustrate the processes and developmental sequence comprising the structure of public schooling from preschool through the twelfth grade. The proposed study is based on a year-long ethnographic study sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health. In part, research resulted in a descriptive data set on primary (preschool through sixth grades) schooling as well as an analytic model, previously described, for the structural study of schooling (Johnson 1976). Research suggests that primary school structure and process are a source of contextual reinforcement of such cultural norms as individualism, task orientation, and mobility. The structural features of primary schooling include the organization

of the learning process into hierarchically distinct levels as well as a discernable trend from an egalitarian, homogeneous, integrated early grade environment to an individualistic, heterogeneous, and somewhat fragmented later grade environment:

SUMMARY OF SOME PRIMARY SCHOOL STRUCTURAL FEATURES

Preschool/Kindergarten Grades:

- Holistic learning environment
- Architecture emphasizes accessibility and informality
- Proxemic patterns of participation, gregariousness, sharing, communalism, and mobility
- Patterned, integration of work and play activities

First/Second Grades:

- Task orientated activities
- Incipient sexual segregation
- Decrease in proxemic patterns of accommodating and nurturant behavior
- Increasing separation of work and play activities

Third/Fourth Grades:

- Formal stratification; status clusterings
- Spacial segregation; isolation and individualism
- Increasing horizontal (student-student) competition
- Subject-centered task orientation

Fifth/Six Grades:

- Sustained social stratification, status ranking, and ability grouping
- Fragmentated learning environment; particularization of time and space
- Architectural emphasis on regimentation
- Formalized transience; mobility

Important to this study is Julian Steward's (1972) distinction between local and national cultures. In applying the concept of levels of sociocultural integration to the study of contemporary complex society, Steward suggests that national institutions and values are structurally at odds with the local systems of individual communities. More to the point of the present research, national mandates often undercut and envelop local values. It is not axiomatic, as in traditional societies, that local culture and enculturative processes be synonymous. The requirements of the local and national culture are often dissimilar.

In traditional societies, enculturation is learning the ways of the local group. In state societies, enculturation is unlearning the ways of the local group. In traditional societies, enculturation is wedded to most other aspects of life. In state societies, enculturation is relegated to the spatial isolation of the school. As a matter of course, anthropologists have long studied such traditional enculturation mechanisms as child socialization processes, apprenticeship, age and sex grades, rites of passage and other symbolic transitions. There though, enculturation was the study of local groups. At the state level, and in schools,

enculturation exists apart from the local group. Mandated institutions, such as the public school, are the interface between local and national cultures. The public school must enculturate and level local subcultural differences just enough so as to allow the persistence of the national culture. Whether of continuity or discontinuity, schooling is most effectively conceived/conceptualized as a process of sociocultural transmission.

Cohen (1970; 1971; 1975) conceptualizes public schooling as an adaptive mechanism for socialization into state societies within civilizational networks. An important sociocultural function of schooling, it is argued, has been to "disavow" a "particularistic" (local community) orientation so as to transmit the "universalistic" (national) orientation of education. By socialization Cohen means the transmission and inculcation of individual cognitive and motivational patterns through spontaneous interaction with parents, siblings, kinfolk, and significant others in a local community. Socialization processes emphasize such values and behaviors as communalism, reciprocity, and interdependence. On the other hand, education is defined as the transmission and inculcation of more

standardized and stereotyped knowledge, values and attitudes. Education processes are recognized by an emphasis on rote and cathetical procedures, standardization, replicability, and predictability.

Similarly, Dreeben (1967; 1968) views the school as a link mediating sociocultural orientations associated with (nuclear) family life on the one hand and sociocultural orientations associated with (industrial) bureaucratic structures on the other. The argument is that schooling "weans" children from a "particularistic (local community) family orientation emphasizing interdependence and mutuality so as to reinforce a bureaucratic (national) orientation emphasizing independence, individualism, task orientation, and achievement. Structure is revealed when the process of schooling is seen in the context of a developmental cycle beginning with children just leaving their families to enter school and ending with young adults just leaving school to (hopefully) participate in the world of work. The structure and process of schooling exhibit unique socialization properties. Dreeben (1967; 1968) argues that the developmental sequence we term schooling illustrates movement away from a "particularistic," "family-like" sociocultural orientation. This sociocultural shift

also has been noted by Henry (1963) in his study of education in American culture. Family "values" such as communalism and sharing compete, through the structure and process of schooling, with national "drives" such as independence, individualism, and competition. Earlier, Parsons (1955) had described the social system of the public school classroom as socialization from a "family centered" orientation to a more universalistic, national orientation. Schooling is structured so as to de-emphasize the particularistic traits we associate with family life.

The purpose of the initial Spencer project was to test and develop a structural/processural model of public schooling through the description and illustration of the process and developmental sequence comprising preschool through twelfth grade activity. Classroom process notes and data on middle (seventh through eighth grades) and secondary (ninth through twelfth grades) schooling had yet to be transcribed, categorized, and analyzed. The research proposed to address the following questions through the following procedures:

1. What are the primary events and activities characterizing seventh through twelfth grade classroom and grade level processes; what are their routine

and predictable patterns?

A. Transcribe into narrative form @ 800 pages of field data notes and twenty-one audio tapes.

Results: The transcription of field and audio data was completed.

2. What are the predominant structural features of seventh through twelfth grade schooling?

B. As based on the elementary school analytic model, develop structural categories for the qualitative analysis of seventh through twelfth grade schooling.

Results: initial structural categories were begun but not completed. Comparison of the elementary and secondary data tended to result in the refinement of the elementary school analytic categories.

3. What are the structural similarities and differences between elementary and secondary schooling?

   C. Compare and contrast elementary and secondary sets?

Results: The secondary data set analytic categories are not developed enough to permit comparative work. Further, the answer to this question will depend on the further refinement of the elementary data set that is the basis of comparison.

4. To what extent is it a truism that all schools are structurally the same. To what extent is the structure of schooling a "hidden curriculum" itself contributing to the latent reinforcement of cultural norms?

   D. Pilot test preschool through twelfth grade structural categories in a local school system.

Results: This proposal was deemed inappropriate as transcription and initial analysis of the secondary

data set was carried out. There is a developing body of literature, as indicated in the previous sections of this report, on the sociocultural transmission aspects of public schooling. This literature has been used to test many of the conclusions generated by the data. Further I have written several papers, based on the elementary school data set, that were concerned with modes by which "hidden curriculums" occur. One paper, "The Material Culture of Public School Classrooms: The Symbolic Integration of Local Schools and National Society" has been accepted by the Anthropology and Education Quarterly. Another paper, "School Space and Architecture: The Proxetics of Sociocultural Transmission" is presently being reviewed by the Harvard Educational Review.

5. How does the developmental sequence of schooling illustrate the theoretical shift from a "family-like" to a "bureaucratic-like" orientation?

E. Analyze data and data categories to refine the structural approach to schooling.

Results: The secondary data set does not bear upon this question. The secondary data for the most part

continues a shift in sociocultural orientation begun in the elementary school. Refinement of my theory and method will be through the further consideration of the secondary school data set.

Future Plans

I have made application for the refunding and continued Spencer support of this research project. Owing to teaching demands, time was not available for the completion of proposed activities. Thus, more than half the prior funding will revert back to the foundation.

As based on on-going colleague and critic review of my work, the present refunding proposal reflects a change in emphasis from the initial Spencer grant. As noted, the initial funded task was to transcribe, categorize, and begin the analysis of seventh through twelfth grade data for incorporation into existing primary grade data. The aim was the production of a single, comprehensive preschool through twelfth grade data-based monograph. Colleagues have pointed out the unwieldiness of such a monograph. My elementary school draft is about five hundred pages. Almost three hundred pages of secondary school classroom observation notes alone were transcribed. It has been suggested that two monographs would prove more effective. That is, a separate monograph on preschool through sixth grade activity and a separate monograph on

seventh through twelfth grade activity. As it is most near final completion (see the appended proposal), it has been suggested that I concentrate attention on the completion, for more immediate publication, of the dissertation-based elementary school data then turn attention to the completion of the secondary school data. Secondly, colleagues felt that I unduly deemphasized the theoretical and methodological importance of my work. Instead of merely testing the structural/functional approach of Dreeben (1968), Henry (1963) and Mayer (1961), my format ought to make more prominent my own theory, method, and presentation scheme, as previously described, as to the best approach to apprehending and illustrating the socialization and enculturation aspects of public schooling. Here it was felt that extant elementary school data provided a better model of my approach rather than did the hypothesis testing format employed in the approach to the secondary school data. Related to this point, readers felt that I ought to better stress the relationship of public schooling to selected themes and patterns in American culture over the theoretical emphasis on the relationship of schooling to the structure of state-level societies. Finally, colleagues suggested that more thorough and classroom-specific references to ethnographic studies of schooling

in cultures such as Japan and Germany would provide interesting counterpoints to some selected American themes and patterns emphasized in my data.

On the basis of this feedback, the work proposed here involves a shift of emphasis from the secondary to the elementary school data set. The goal is preparation of the elementary school data set for publication. Revision and rewriting of the dissertaion-based data set is ongoing. If awarded, continued Spencer funding will be used to supplement the support of a period of time in which to exclusively revise, rewrite, edit, and complete the preparation of the preschool through sixth grade material. The goal is the completion of this publication-submission manuscript by June 1, 1981.

Further, prepublication interest in my work has been expressed by Professor George Spindle (Holt, Rinehart and Winston-Case Studies in Education and Culture) and by Ms. Marlie Wasserman, senior editor at Rutgers University Press. These publishers though, indicate the need for reviewing the completed manuscript. Dr. John Ogbu has been reviewing my work and will review this final report. The final report will be rewritten and submitted (in this order) to the Anthropology and Education Quarterly, The Sociology of Education, and the Journal of Educational

Research.

As witnessed by the preceeding sections, this grant period, though only partially completed, has enabled me to rethink, expand, and refine my original theoretical, methodological, and presentation format. Transcription of the secondary school data set further served to enhance rethinking and refinement of data analysis categories for the analysis of classroom observations. The objectives of my continuing research are (1) to refine and expand upon an analytic perspective, structure-functional theory, and microethnographic method for the study of schooling not sufficiently elaborated in educational research, and (2) to demonstrate the utility of anthropological concepts and models for the more effective study and presentation of the process and structure of schooling by (3) developing comprehensive case studies illustrating the total sequence of preschool through twelfth grade classroom events and activities characterizing "schooling". The research focus is on clarifying the nature of public schooling as a mechanism for the (mostly latent) transmission of national social norms and cultural values.

My anthropological interest is in mechanisms by and through which cultures are integrated and organized; mechanisms by which culture (values; beliefs; meanings;

orientations) are transmitted. Customarily, this has been studied through such manifest situations as child-raising and language learning. My interest is in the latent, environmental, contextual means by which culture is transmitted. Secondly, I am interested in the relationship between the material artifacts and objects that humans produce and the ideas and beliefs that govern human life. My work in the Grenadines, British West Indies will be to study informal learning and apprenticeship systems among boatbuilders. Again, the interest is in how culture is transmitted through material means such as the ritual processes involved in building and inhabiting boats. Boats and buildings teach just as parents teach. What this research line will do is provide ethnographic as well as theoretical material on the nonbehavioral aspects of education as sociocultural transmission.

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