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ABSTRACT

Current and exemplary teaching practices in the politics of education are analyzed and documented. The booklet is comprised of five different articles: "The Politics of Education in the Curriculum of Educational Administration" (Donald H. Layton); "Teaching Politics of Education Course: Content and Topics" (Jay D. Scribner); "What Our Students Read: A Study of Readings in Politics of Education Courses" (Richard M. Englert); "The Curricula of Educational Politics and Policy: Promoting the Careers of 81 Syllabi" (Richard G. Townsend); and "Rip Van Winkle and the Politics of Education" (William Lowe Boyd). Appended are (1) a bibliography of required texts for sample syllabi of courses dealing with the politics of education; (2) illustrative case studies in educational administration; (3) a partial listing of political novels, biographies, and autobiographies; and (4) selected papers and documents produced by the Politics of Education Teaching and Research Project Investigators. (SI)

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TEACHING EDUCATIONAL POLITICS AND POLICY

Edited by
Donald H. Layton and
Jay D. Scribner

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MONOGRAPH SERIES
UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

TEACHING EDUCATIONAL POLITICS AND POLICY

UCEA MONOGRAPH SERIES

Edited by
Donald H. Layton
State University of New York at Albany
and
Jay D. Scribner
Temple University

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Frederick C. Wendel
and
Miles T. Bryant

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CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Introduction | 7 |
| <i>Robert T. Stout</i> | |
| Chapter 1 | 11 |
| The Politics of Education in the Curriculum of Educational Administration | |
| <i>Donald H. Layton</i> | |
| Chapter 2 | 27 |
| Teaching Politics of Education Courses: Content and Topics | |
| <i>Jay D. Scribner</i> | |
| Chapter 3 | 41 |
| What Our Students Read: A Study of Readings in Politics of Education Courses | |
| <i>Richard M. Engler</i> | |
| Chapter 4 | 59 |
| The Curricula of Educational Politics and Policy: Promoting the Careers of 81 Syllabi | |
| <i>Richard G. Townsend</i> | |
| Afterword | 79 |
| Rip Van Winkle and the Politics of Education | |
| <i>William Lowe Boyd</i> | |
| Appendix A | 87 |
| Appendix B | 95 |
| Appendix C | 97 |
| Appendix D | 99 |

CONTRIBUTORS

William Lowe Boyd, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Richard M. Englert, *Temple University*

Donald H. Layton, *State University of New York at Albany*

Jay D. Scribner, *Temple University*

Robert T. Stout, *Arizona State University*

Richard G. Townsend, *Ontario Institute for Studies in Education*

PREFACE

This monograph, *Teaching Educational Politics and Policy*, is the principal product to date of the Politics of Education Teaching and Research (POE-TAR) Project. The POE-TAR Project, established in 1986, is based at Temple University in Philadelphia and the State University of New York at Albany. Its objectives are to analyze and document current and exemplary teaching practices in the politics of education (and more broadly, in educational policymaking) and to chronicle new research directions in these politically oriented areas. The project's principal investigators are Richard M. Englert (Temple University), Donald H. Layton (State University of New York at Albany), and Jay D. Scribner (Temple University).

The impetus for the establishment of the Politics of Education Teaching and Research Project was a "course syllabus sharing" initiative by the leadership of the Politics of Education Association (PEA). In early 1986, Professor Layton agreed to coordinate this activity for PEA, an association of academics and practitioners having principal interests in educational politics. The response to this endeavor was impressive, even overwhelming; 67 professors provided some 90 syllabi of the courses they were currently teaching or had recently taught in the politics of education and closely related teaching areas.

While arrangements were made to describe, to reproduce, and to share syllabi among course instructors, the massiveness of the PEA-member submissions could not be overlooked. Clearly these course materials constituted an instant pool of data whose richness and depth shed much insight into contemporary teaching and pedagogy in the politics of education. Professor Layton quickly sought the assistance of his former University of California associates Englert and Scribner to join in an analysis and interpretation of these instructional materials. The collaboration of these three professors, representing two UCEA universities, has proved to be extremely rewarding and profitable.

Thus far the POE-TAR Project team has focused upon the *teaching* of the politics of education. Chief questions which have occupied the research team have been: What is taught in politics of education courses? To what readings are students in these courses exposed? How do politics of education courses fit within the broader higher education curriculum, especially in educational administration? Initial efforts have been to describe what has transpired and what currently transpires within the university setting under a politics of education rubric. But such baseline data are not being compiled as an end but rather as a means through which teachers and researchers can rethink and hopefully improve future politics of education instruction.

Since its inception the POE-TAR Project team has sought forums to disseminate its findings. Professors Englert, Layton, and Scribner presented some preliminary findings and observations about the status of politics of education teaching in North America at

6 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

the annual conference of the Eastern Educational Research Association in February 1987. A follow-up presentation was made at the April 1987 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association with co-sponsorship of the Politics of Education Association. The papers presented in this monograph were derived from a symposium, "On Teaching the Politics of Education: Contents, Concepts, and Techniques," conducted at the first UCEA convention in Charlottesville, Virginia, on November 1, 1987. All of these papers were revised and updated during the summer of 1988.

While Professors Englert, Layton, and Scribner have formed the project's investigators, several other scholars and researchers have contributed to POE-TAR Project panels and other activities. The project team is particularly indebted to Professor Richard G. Townsend of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, for his probing analysis of the course syllabi prepared for the Charlottesville convention and revised for presentation here. Townsend's contribution will be especially valuable for those about to construct or revise syllabi for politics of education classes. His is an outstanding effort indeed. In addition, the project team expresses its appreciation to Professors Martin Burlingame, William L. Boyd, George Michel, Edith K. Mosher, and Robert T. Stout for chairing, contributing to, or reacting to the presentations of the project team for the past two years. Professor Boyd's revised reactions made at the Charlottesville convention are included as the "Afterword" in this monograph. Finally the project team would like to thank colleague and graduate students at Temple and SUNY at Albany for their assistance in various tasks associated with the the course syllabus project.

Readers of this monograph find it useful to have available some of the earlier outputs of the POE-TAR Project. A complete list of project papers and publications is included in Appendix D at the end of the monograph. Of particular interest (if readers have not received copies) is *A Summary of Courses in the Politics of Education* prepared by Professor Layton in early 1987. This mimeographed report summarizes the focus of 83 course syllabi and should be of particular reference value in reading Professor Townsend's chapter. Subject to availability, a copy will be sent free of charge upon request. Write to:

Dr. Donald H. Layton
School of Education
State University of New York at Albany
1400 Washington Avenue
Albany, NY 12222

The *Summary* is also available through ERIC.

The project team welcomes inquiries or reactions to their efforts and, more generally, to the status of the study of educational politics in institutions of higher learning. Please direct your comments either to Professor Layton (address above) or to Professor Jay D. Scribner or Dean Richard M. Englert at Temple University. Their address is College of Education, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

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Introduction

It is not too bold to say that this monograph is one of the most important pieces we have in the field of politics of education. Layton, Englert, and Scribner have made a signal contribution and are due our highest gratitude. By establishing some of the boundaries of our field they have allowed us to review it and they prompt us to look ahead to what we might become.

This is a happy document on two counts. As shown by the papers we have a rich literature. It is extensive, focused at various levels in about equal proportions and seems to be both empirical and theoretical. No single theoretical model dominates and there seems to be a healthy tension among competing models. In some cases (state politics, for example) standard procedures are beginning to emerge. While international and comparative works are not plentiful, enough is there to give us some basic referents. Although the analytic papers in this volume do not make a point of it, I think the work in the field is exciting. Studies of power, influence, political action, struggles over important issues, consequences which affect lives, comprise heady stuff and our literature captures much of it. As important, our literature is home grown. The major contributors are professors in education who have been able to carve out a politics of education which is not derived totally from political science.

The second source of my happiness over these papers is that the syllabuses suggest that some exciting teaching is going on in the field. Scribner's paper indicates that patterns exist in the offerings and that topics have both relevance and coherence. The students in these courses are learning important things, are going into the field to get dirty with data and events, and are given opportunity to reflect about how political will be their future lives.

For both of the reasons above, I am optimistic and enthusiastic about education politics as a field. These papers give good evidence that we have a strong beginning definition of the field.

But the papers also suggest other reasons for both optimism and pessimism at a somewhat different level. I see in them ample opportunity for debate and conversation about the nature of what we are doing. If we look at reasons for optimism and for pessimism within two major justifications for the field (the analysis of political events and being perceived as "useful" by those who do politics or aspire to do them) a simple fourfold table can be constructed as shown below:

| | OPTIMISM | PESSIMISM |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| SIGNIFICANCE TO ACTORS | Policy Studies and Political Activity | Historic Irrelevance |
| QUALITY OF ANALYSIS | Competing Theories and Methods | Scattered Research Agenda |

8 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

There is evidence in this monograph for all of these perspectives, making for lively debate if we choose to have it. A few examples should suffice to show the logic of the point.

The emergence of policy studies as a sub-field has much promise. While those who were trained in more traditional ways to do evaluation research are discovering many of the tools and orientations long-established in the politics of education literature, those who have been in the field of education politics have already made important contributions. The analyses of school reform efforts, for example, have provided evidence about appropriate and inappropriate strategies. So, too, with research on action and its consequences. The Lannacone-Lutz model, the work on desegregation, the work on community conflict, for example, all provide valuable clues for school administrators and other policy makers. Thus, there is ample reason to be optimistic.

But there is ample room for pessimism on this point. Historically, and even now, policy makers have chosen to, or been allowed to, ignore much of our work. We have not been very good at presenting it to the right audiences, or in right ways or at the right times. Consequently, policy makers have, in our collective view, made serious policy mistakes.

Feelings of optimism and pessimism likewise attach to questions of our analytic work. As the papers in the volume demonstrate we can be optimistic. We have competing theories and methods. We are asking good questions. We have begun to build some comparative frameworks. It is now possible to derive a pretty stable list of the "known" in state and federal education politics.

But much work is not done, prompting me to some pessimism concerning the field's sufficiency of resources to surge ahead. We do not yet have a clear understanding of local politics (although we have some comprehensive analytic models) and the variables which are worth our study. We have very little work on the internal politics of school districts or on the school as a political arena. In this sense, our research focus has been scattered, responding to political events rather than to sustained inquiry into underlying influences. We seem not to have developed the empirical and theoretical richness that might make the literature more coherent than it is. But we are a young field.

In sum, I am more optimistic than pessimistic. The papers in this volume demonstrate that the politics of education is a lively field, with a rich collection of data and perspectives. We have things to say to one another, to policy makers, and most important, to those who aspire to become school administrators. Layton, Englert, and Scribner deserve our praise for gathering up the evidence of our successes and opportunities.

Robert T. Stout

Arizona State University
December 1988

Chapter 1

The Politics of Education in the Curriculum of Educational Administration

Donald H. Layton

One important trend in the academic preparation of educational administrators in the past 25 years has been the inclusion of politics and policy-related content into university-based courses of study. From Stanford to Harvard and from the University of Alberta to the University at Albany curricular reorganizations have enhanced the politics and policy-oriented focus within programs of study in educational administration. In some instances, politics of education materials have been introduced in the format of a single course (or perhaps more) in educational politics or in educational policy making, thus supplementing offerings rooted in specializations such as social psychology, sociology, economics and finance, and law. In a few instances, politics and policy became the underpinning and rationale for total reorganization of the curriculum, and even led to departments of educational administration adding "policy studies" or similar descriptive language to the titles of their administrative units.

Regardless of how piecemeal or comprehensive the new politics and policy thrust was manifested, the new focus and its content were deliberate efforts to make the academic preparation for educational administrators more responsive to the demands and challenges faced by educators by the 1960s. Educational administrators in the United States and Canada had begun to experience increased uncertainty and turbulence in the execution of their administrative responsibilities. As external groups, parents, and community interests heaped demands upon school administrators, these school leaders found it a challenge to balance various conflicting interests and to maintain stable, depoliticized teaching environments in their schools. The administrator's own training

10 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

and professional preparation often seemed to be of little value in coping with the new pressures; new "rules of the game" now governed school administration, but many administrators had difficulty in discerning what those new rules were, let alone how precisely to respond to them.

This chapter examines the impact of politics and policy upon studies in educational administration in North America since the early 1960s. It explores the intensified turbulence of the educational administrator's environment and how these tempestuous times forced professors of educational administration to rethink their curriculum for educational leadership. The chapter also provides examples of how and the extent to which the curriculum of educational administration was altered to incorporate new learnings into courses of study. Finally, the chapter concludes by setting forth an assessment of how pervasive the politics and policy revolution has in fact been upon studies in educational administration and speculates on the future development of this specialization.

The Turbulent World of the 1960s

The politics of education as a serious research and pedagogical endeavor owes much to social and political events in the 1960s and governmental responses to these events. During the decade the United States, in particular, experienced a series of social upheavals and dislocations which have left their legacy to this day. In the 1960s government instituted a number of massively funded programs to address the social problems and malaise afflicting the American society. Citizen expectations regarding government's role and the services it could provide were rising, and school and schooling were subjected to public scrutiny as never before. An awareness and even preoccupation with politics and political phenomena by school administrators not only became fashionable in the 1960s, but it became a *sine qua non* of administrative survival during the decade and the years that followed.

Upheaval in the external environment. During the decade of the 1960s the expectations of minorities and of dispossessed citizens in the United States attained new heights. To be sure, much of the foundation for the new hopes and aspirations had been laid in the 1950s, as witnessed by the *Brown v. Board of Education* and other court decisions, but the 1960s brought massive and uncompromising pressures for societal change.

The evidence of change and for change is not hard to document. Civil rights leaders led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., attempted to goad Americans to fulfill the goal of equality for *all* citizens. Demonstration followed demonstration, and at times the very fabric of American society seemed to be ripping apart. Evening television news broadcasts portrayed parts of America's largest cities (as in Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit) going up in flame and smoke. Throughout the decade three prominent national leaders—President John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and Reverend King himself—were tragically felled by assassins' bullets. As the 1960s progressed, America's expanding involvement in the war in Southeast Asia exacerbated the nation's restlessness. The untimely events at the 1968 National Democratic Party convention in Chicago mirrored the fragility of America's political life generally.

Inevitably these and other tumultuous events impacted upon the school and educational decision making. For much of the decade, the nation had shirked from its responsibilities to implement fully the Supreme Court's edicts in the Brown and other desegregation cases. Decades of segregation had ravaged schools and in spite of the pronouncements of courts and of national leaders, most of American society strongly resisted change. Civil rights spokespersons were especially critical of the education which minority and inner-city children were receiving. These youths, it was argued, would never achieve their academic potential and would be doomed to live their lives in poverty. The schools were central to the solution to these social problems, it was contended, but educators often seemed slow to grasp their personal capabilities and responsibilities to make the schools learning institutions for all children.

Many educators and even board of education members were subjected to spirited attacks over how adequately they had performed and were performing their leadership functions. Some of the harshest public criticism was directed toward educational administrators—school superintendents, principals, and others in supervisory and leadership roles. Why did not these administrators do more to enhance educational quality and opportunity? Were they or were they not in charge? School administrators argued that the flak directed toward them was unjustified. Social and family conditions, not the schools, were the source of the educational deficiencies or so they reasoned. But many critics were not easily placated by these defenses; they demanded a radical reorganization of schools and of school administration.

For the more militant among the activists, many school administrators were deemed to be beyond redemption and most should be replaced. These critics argued that the values and personal characteristics of many school administrators, especially in inner-city schools, made them by definition ineffective school leaders. They contended that more administrators from minority groups should be hired and assigned to inner-city schools—institutions where minority student enrollments were high but where minority teachers and administrators were then sparse. Acrimony, not harmony, thus had begun to characterize school-community relationships in many urban areas in the 1960s. By background, training, and temperament, many educators, and particularly educational administrators, were ill-equipped to deal with the dissonant and often hostile voices directed toward them.

The evolving educational climate of the 1960s challenged assumptions which had long undergirded administrative training programs in education. Educational administration, as taught in North American colleges and universities, had largely been presented in the context of a closed system—one in which administrators significantly set their own agenda. Environmental inputs into school decisions were not totally ignored, but they could be managed and controlled like the school's internal operations. The decade of the 1960s often seemed to turn the worlds of the educational administrator, especially in urban and diverse communities, upside down. Against growing external antagonism and antipathy, school building and school district leadership operated under enormous stress in executing legal and moral responsibilities. Merely maintaining one's administrative or leadership position in many educational institutions became a major challenge; administrative turnover grew by leaps and bounds, enhanced by the rapid early retirements.

Upheavals in programs of study. Academic specializations and fields of study are rarely immune for long from the pressures and chaos of the worlds with which they interface. This is especially true of areas of professional training like educational administration; issues of curriculum relevancy and applicability of course learnings to the "real world" do get raised sooner or later by the takers of the curriculum. Through their university and college registrations students can and often do vote on the merits of preparation programs for themselves and for their career goals. Many faculty also have eyes and ears directed toward the field of practice and are sensitive to the needs of future administrators.

Since their origins in the late Nineteenth Century, the curriculum of and instruction about educational administration have undergone persistent pressures for change. Forces within and without the university have reshaped the content, the method of instruction, and the underlying values implicit and explicit in the teaching of educational administration. Earlier in this century the scientific management movement had a significant impact not only on the practice but also the teaching of educational administration. Before and for several years after World War II the human relations movement impacted significantly upon administrative theory and practice.

In the post-World War II years, the teaching of educational administration could be characterized in part by the following descriptions:

PHASE I - For several years following World War II, the academic preparation for careers in educational administration concentrated upon specific administrative roles and heavily emphasized the tasks of educational administration (e.g., budgeting, personnel management). Courses were usually taught by former practitioners turned professors (or by the current administrators) who tried to teach the "best practices" in the performance of school administration. Little, if any, of the instruction had a systematic research base, but the same observation could have been made for most applied fields in the university in that era.

PHASE II - By the late 1950s the winds of change could be observed in educational administration programs on some campuses, although the above (Phase I) description still characterized much of the academic preparation for launching a career in school administration. Educational administration, had discovered the social sciences and the intellectual foundations of the field of studies were being bolstered. Financial support from the Kellogg Foundation provided a series of "cooperative programs" in educational administration on several campuses in the United States and Canada. Social scientists, notably social psychologists, were enlisted to examine and to research problems related to the practice and teaching of educational administration. One development in this period was the so-called theory movement, an effort to establish theorems and propositions from the social science and educational research literature that were applicable to the roles and activities of school administrators.

PHASE III - This period was ushered into existence in the mid- to late 1960s by the intellectual and social ferment of the times. On the negative side, the period has been characterized by a disenchantment with the theory movement and the assumptions on which the movement was founded. On the positive side, the times have been marked by efforts to make academic preparation for

school administrators more responsive to the national educational priorities (e.g., preparing more minority administrators). As yet, no overarching plan or conceptualization for the preparation of educational administrators has emerged; the teaching and curriculum of educational administration have become very fragmented, with newer specializations and technologies being added to the more traditional areas of study.

The politics of education specialty largely emerged in the Phase III period. Politics of education courses were one example of the specialization and fragmentation occurring in the curriculum of educational administration in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of their promoters thought politics and policy concepts might help to unify and solidify the fragmenting field of educational administration, bringing some overarching frameworks and conceptualizations to the study of this professional field. In the final analysis, the politics of education had little, if any, success in bridging the field, and it became another subject area like school law or educational finance or organizational theory to which prospective school administrators were exposed.

The Politics of Education As a Field of Study

Probably no one can assert with authority when the term, "the politics of education," was first used in the North American context. Even as late as 1959, Thomas H. Eliot in his seminal article, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," dared to raise the question, "But are we permitted to speak of the 'politics' of education?" (p. 1056). Eliot concluded in his piece that the politics of education was a legitimate enterprise for scholarly discourse, even though neither political scientists nor educators had "frequently engaged in the examination of public education from this angle." Educators, it seems, had been more partial to terms like "community relations" as descriptors (or perhaps euphemisms!) for the politics of education. Political scientists, according to Eliot, were more inclined to use terms like "power structures" and "communications" in applying political science paradigms to education.

Eliot's call for more systematic research into school politics was indeed heeded in the 1960s. Research studies and writings on educational politics and policy making proliferated throughout the decade. A landmark event was the publication of the twelve-volume "Economics and Politics of Public Education" series by Syracuse University Press in 1962-63. The first volume in the series, Bailey, Frost, Wood, & Marsh, *Schoolmen and Politics* (1962) was especially influential in debunking the myth that education was apolitical—a myth that had been perpetuated by writers and practitioners of public education for many years. The Carnegie Corporation had provided some of the financial support for the Syracuse studies; other private foundations also lent financial backing to political and policy studies in education during the 1960s. For example, the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis funded studies of school board decision making in several major urban centers in the United States, and in time this project stimulated several books, dissertations, articles, and the like.

The expansion of federal research funds for education in the 1960s also provided the impetus for scholarly investigation of the politics of education. By the mid-1960s

14 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

political scientists like David Minar had begun to examine the local and suburban context of educational politics with federal research funding. The Cooperative Research Program of the U. S. Office of Education financed a number of other projects besides Minar's which documented how political processes and values influenced educational policy making. At the state level an eventual by-product of the federal research largesse was the Educational Governance Project (EGP) funded by Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Based at The Ohio State University, the EGP from 1972-74 produced an impressive number of individual state case studies and synthesis reports whose quantity and quality are not likely to be equalled soon.

The increased federal role in the general funding of education in the 1960s (as typified by the enactment of the 1965 Act) also proved to be a stimulus to policy making (how had such major breakthroughs been possible?) and implementation (how have the new programs worked?) studies. Nonprofit research organizations and think tanks like the Rand Corporation and Stanford's Institute for Finance and Government by the 1980s had produced hundreds of policy making and implementation studies. Today the federally supported Center for Policy Research in Education continues to produce an impressive array of politics of education and policy-oriented studies.

The increasing volume of research and publications on the politics of education and educational policy making has led to a number of syntheses or state-of-the-art analyses of the field. These writings at times praised the growth of new knowledge in the politics of education, but often lamented research gaps and lack of theory development in the specialization. That the politics of education had come a long way, at least in purely quantitative terms, was given substance by Anne Hastings' *The Study of Politics and Education: A Bibliographical Guide to the Research Literature* published in the spring of 1980. The *Guide*, with its 2-3,000 entries demonstrates dramatically the proliferation of writings on educational politics and policy in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s.

Probably the 1980s have been less supportive of funding politics of education research as both government and private foundations have altered their funding priorities of earlier years. The diminished federal support for education has made the policy arena somewhat less attractive as a research focus in recent years. On the other hand, the increased power of the states, including the state governors, has attracted considerable attention by research scholars. The 1980s educational reforms, most of which were state initiated, have served as a focal point for a rich array of politics of education research. The 1980s also find some politics of education scholars involved with broader policy research rather than a more limited politics of education focus. In any event, the politics of education as a specialization is currently alive and well, and its vitality is likely to continue.

Politics in the Curriculum

The study of the politics of education occurs in different places within the curriculum of the university. A few political science faculties offer classes and seminars on the topic; sometimes these courses are cross-registered with programs in schools of education. Courses in educational politics and policy making are also to be found in educational studies programs (often today called "educational policy studies") which

occasionally have political scientists on their multidisciplinary faculties. However, the most usual home for politics of education courses is in departments and programs of educational administration. The politics of education, including educational policy making and policy analysis, is an established part of the educational administration curriculum on many North American campuses.

Why is this so? Why is the politics of education more likely to be taught in educational administration programs and not elsewhere, such as in teacher education programs? In part, the answer is probably due as much to happenstance and precedent as to logical imperatives or well-thought out rationales. A key consideration is that the politics of education does indeed seem more pertinent to the concerns of educational leadership—those who manage and direct the schools—than to other educational professionals. In recent years, the curriculum of teacher education programs has taken more notice of political and policy considerations in education, but this curriculum is normally far more driven by instructional and pedagogical imperatives, i.e., how to prepare young graduates to take on and to survive the challenges of day-to-day classroom teaching. Administrators must have political savvy from the first day on the job, but teachers usually do not develop defined political interests until much later into their careers.

The infrequent offerings of politics of education courses by political science faculties seem to be explained by the traditional way that political science courses tend to be structured. Typically these courses are organized around political processes and concepts which cut across programmatic (e.g., education) areas. The politics of education (or the politics of other governmental services) is not the right fit for the political science curriculum. Political scientists are usually reluctant to specialize in a service or functional area like education, which may be seen as too limiting to their calling as political scientists. As a consequence, political science curricula provide few models for the organization and content of politics of education courses, and ultimately it is the curriculum of educational administration that one must look for the bulk of courses in the politics of education.

Alternative curricular patterns. The politics of education has been incorporated into preparation programs in educational administration in different ways and with varying degrees of intensity. At a handful of universities not only are several politics of education courses offered but politics and policy perspectives underpin much of the educational administration curriculum. Elsewhere, in other university settings the politics of education has hardly touched the conventional educational administration teaching. There is no authoritative way to predict how central or peripheral politics of education coursework will be to an individual educational administration curriculum or program, but, as will be more fully developed later, the presence and the type of politics of education offerings may be associated with the nature of the university, the scope and size of the educational administration program, the policy research activities on campus, and other variables.

The following continuum exhibits the range of possibilities regarding the extent to which and how the politics of education content is and can be included into the educational administration curriculum. While these categories have been developed as much logically as empirically, examples can be found to illustrate each of the five

| A | B | C | D | E |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Dominant Programmatic Framework | Segments/ Course Sequences | Electives, Individual Courses | Dispersal of Content | Little or No Impact |

Figure 1. Degrees of Impact of Politics of Education upon Programs for Preparing Educational Administrators

In (A) above, the politics of education (or more likely, a broader policy studies/policy analysis) framework underlies an entire program or curriculum in educational administration. There are, in reality, not many instances of this, but one finds strong policy/politics emphases at a few elite, research-oriented universities. Usually if a framework permeates a course of administrative studies in education today, it is likely to be derived from social psychology or organizational studies (organizational theory and behavior). Programs which use politics/policy as the dominant programmatic framework view the administrator's political role as the most critical function of administration.

In (B), which is a more common pattern than (A), politics of education courses are included as parts of core or required courses, along with such courses perhaps as educational law or educational finance. Commonly one course in the politics of education or policy making is required to meet a degree or certification requirement, though a two-course sequence may form a core as well. Politics of education coursework is thus seen as essential to the total academic preparation of educational administrators, and it cannot be avoided. But it could hardly be characterized as the dominant framework.

Perhaps the more prevalent pattern of politics of education courses in educational administration curricula is for these courses to be offered as electives (see C above). As electives, they may, however, serve different programmatic functions. Sometimes politics and policy courses can be used to meet requirements for a prescribed number of credits in the social and behavioral sciences or some other course category. Or the courses may be used to meet a general elective category. In these programs, the specific contributions of educational politics courses to the well-rounded education of school administrators may not be made explicit.

In some programs (D above), what instruction there is in the politics of education is conveyed in other courses. One reason is that among any given faculty there may be no one who views him/herself as truly qualified to teach politics, or if there is, that instructor must devote instructional time to more pressing (often more practical) instructional imperatives. Much of the content of many educational administration courses—e.g., school law, finance, community relations, collective bargaining—is potentially political in nature and (if the instructor is so inclined) provides the opportunity for the exploration of a number of political concepts and propositions.

Finally, there is no systematic or defined politics of education content in some programs of education administration (E above). Obviously issues related to politics and policy making are not and cannot be entirely avoided, for some of these issues inevitably intrude into the instructional program. But such issues are usually dealt with in a peripheral or off-hand fashion; the emphasis in this type of curriculum is often upon the more instrumental aspect (or tasks) of educational administration.

Illustrative Programs. In association with the Politics of Education Teaching and Research Project, course materials, primarily course syllabi, were submitted for about 90 courses in educational politics and policy. In addition, several instructors in educational administration programs responded to a request for additional materials, including program statements, course descriptions, and college catalogs. When all of these items were analyzed, it was possible to assess how and the extent to which the politics of education fits within the overall curriculum design of many educational administration programs.

Only at a few institutions has the politics of education (or the broader field of educational policy) become the *dominant* framework for programs of study in educational administration. Educational administration has been somewhat more eclectic than other specializations within the study of education have been; a number of disciplines, for example, at least are marginally relevant to the task areas which have shaped much of the content involved in the study of educational administration. Obviously the existence and especially the extent of dominant theoretical and conceptual frameworks are not always easy to assess, even with the considerable documentary materials at the POE-TAR team's disposal. Many curricula and programs of study, including those in educational administration, are little more than the collections of individual courses based upon the faculty resources present at any given time. These programs of study are likely to be as much the product of intra- and interdepartmental politics as they are derived from a coherent rationale arising from a particular discipline or set of disciplines.

Nevertheless, a few examples of thoroughly politics or policy-oriented programs (see A above) in educational administration can be cited. In the early 1970s the Urban Educational Policy and Planning (UEPP) program was created at UCLA to prepare educational administrators who were already working or intended to work in an urban setting, notably Los Angeles. A new core of required courses and a set of electives were developed for the new program. A three-quarter core of courses in "educational policy formation" was developed for the doctoral program; these included "The School in a Federal System," "The School in the Community Setting," and "The School in a Bureaucratic Setting." This core as well as many electives drew heavily upon political concepts and elements of policy analysis. Interestingly, the newly established UEPP program coexisted with a somewhat traditionally oriented program in educational administration. While a few UEPP graduates opted for policy analyst or related careers, most did resume or assume administrative careers in the Los Angeles Unified School District.

UCLA's UEPP program was terminated as a distinct program later in the 1970s after external funding for the experimental venture ended and several faculty left. A greater than normal policy emphasis continues to characterize UCLA study in educational administration. Perhaps the dominant model (A) today is most closely approximated by graduate programs in educational administration at institutions like Harvard and Stanford. At Harvard University, the long-established Administrative Career Program, a nationally oriented doctoral program for educational practitioners, was merged into the more broadly based Programs in Administration, Planning and Social Policy (APSP) in the 1970s.

The new program areas at Harvard stressed competencies in "policy analysis and formulation," "organizational behavior and intervention theory," and "educational planning, including economics and systems analysis." Today administrative preparation in education at Harvard continues under the aegis of the APSP faculty. After a set of core courses during their first year of study, which has some emphasis on politics and policy, doctoral students in administration select one of three concentrations for their second year: management, policy studies, and community and urban education. One of the principal politics courses in the Harvard program is the "Education and Politics of Public Organizations."

At Stanford, extensive deliberations by the faculty of education led to a redesign of the educational administration curriculum in 1973. The result was the establishment of a new program, Administration and Policy Analysis, which provides three principal majors: elementary and secondary administration, higher education policy, and policy analysis. A set of four core courses draws largely upon the disciplines of economics, political science, sociology, and history. In addition, there is a two-quarter sequence in decision analysis in the Administration and Policy Analysis program. Students' subsequent coursework at Stanford is likely to reflect interests and preparation associated with their majors.

Several other university-based programs in educational administration like Berkeley and Chicago evidence a stronger than usual politics and policy emphasis. Clearly the presence of a politics and policy ethos in these programs is due more than to a course or set of courses devoted to teaching political concepts and frameworks. It is as much the result of the national orientations of the programs which have been discussed here. It is influenced by the more diverse and cosmopolitan students which these institutions draw. The political orientation is further shaped by the research and policy resources available throughout the university and to which most students are exposed. On a handful of nationally oriented campuses the presence of a distinct educational policy analysis major is also likely to influence the content and shape of the educational administration curriculum since the two programs are likely to be taught by the same faculty and involve considerable course overlap.

A more frequent pattern (see B above) is the inclusion of a politics or policy course (or set of courses) into a required core for an educational administration major, whether at the masters, certificate, or doctoral level. Further, in a few states the politics of education may be a requirement for one of the administrative certificates supervised by state authorities. The POE-TAR Project materials indicate that politics and policy have been defined by education faculties as areas to be mastered by degree- or certificate-oriented students in a number of universities. Over the past two decades, politics has joined required courses in fields like organizational theory/behavior, economics/finance, law, and even history as a "foundations" course which may precede enrollment in more applied courses.

A required or core-course status for the politics of education in educational administration has been more likely to occur at larger and often "flagship" public institutions and better-known private universities with well-developed and more highly specialized programs in educational administration. The University of Alberta's program provides an example of the inclusion of politics as a core course in the educational administration doctoral program. The core doctoral course involves a

collaborative effort between a professor of educational administration and a professor from Alberta's political science faculty. The Alberta course design allows students to benefit from the differing backgrounds of the two instructors and thus exposes students to perspectives which a political scientist or professor educational administration alone might not have. Nova University provides a second example of a program which requires exposure to educational politics and policy by all its doctoral students in educational administration. "Educational Policy Systems" is one of eight substantive areas that are deemed necessary to the professional development of school administrators. The other areas include, among others, curriculum development, evaluation, and school finance and budgeting.

Sometimes the politics of education attains the status of a de facto core requirement, even though technically the course may not be required. This is currently the case at the University of Oregon as a result of a new one-day-a-week residency program for the doctoral degree. The courses taught in the program during the 1988-89 start-up year include the history, sociology, economics, and politics of education. In some states like California and Ohio, competency or coursework in the politics of education is required to meet particular administrative certification requirements.

If required politics and policy courses are to be competently staffed, faculty members with significant training and background in political science and the other social sciences are needed. The elevation of politics and policy content to core or required status thus has critical staffing implications for programs in educational administration. No doubt the unavailability of such staff, or difficulty in locating such individuals, is one of the constraints upon the further growth of the politics specialization within educational administration curricula. Political scientists often have the background but rarely the inclination to make major commitments to teaching educational administrators. Current or former practitioners may be able to share knowledge about practical politics but may lack exposure to scholarship and research in the politics of education.

A third model for the inclusion of politics of education courses in the curriculum of educational administration is as electives (C above). The documents of the POE-TAR project suggest that politics of education courses are more likely to be offered as electives than requirements in educational administration programs. This is hardly surprising, given the later development of the politics of education than many traditional "core" areas of educational administration. Also, the politics of education has not evolved the body of practical knowledge and concepts which characterize many of the applied teaching areas in educational administration. A practical or applied approach still dominates most educational administration programs in the United States.

The attainment of elective status in the curriculum of educational administration is nevertheless significant and makes an important statement for the politics of education. It demonstrates that politics, along with other courses of study, has been deemed to be of value to the education of school administrators. Where popular instructors are in charge, politics of education classes, even as electives, can draw significant numbers of students and can contribute much substance to educational administration programs. The very presence of politics of education courses, so titled, in the curriculum raises student awareness of the linkages between politics and school administration. At the same time an elective status for political and policy offerings does convey the message that other fields are deemed to be of more value in the education of administrators and that political knowledge may not be of highest priority.

20 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

So many educational administration programs offer electives in the politics of education that a listing of these programs would be unwieldy. These courses may fulfill a general elective requirement in the programs or their successful completion can be used to satisfy more specific (but still rather loosely defined) requirements. At the State University of New York at Albany, politics of education courses can be applied to meet "support discipline" requirements for the MS and the EdD degrees. Discipline-based courses in education law, the economics of education, educational sociology, and other fields can also be used in a similar fashion.

The designation of politics of education courses as electives has some advantages for programs and for curriculum developers. This status gives the individual institution and educational administration program some flexibility concerning when and how often politics courses shall be offered. The POE-TAR Project feedback made clear that not much could be assumed from a politics of education course listing in a college catalog. Some of these courses are given only on an irregular basis and not that often. Courses continue to be listed in college catalogs long after the instructors responsible for their creation have left. In submitting course syllabi for policy-related courses, one Southwestern professor warned:

I believe that it is fair to say our program does not emphasize these courses as a central focus of concern. Our major program emphasis is on school improvement and a holistic approach in a school context In a small department, we have to be generalists by necessity and that seems to be why our politics/policy courses are regarded almost as secondary.

A fourth pattern of the integration of politics and policy content into the educational administration curriculum perhaps can be characterized as indirect or "through the back door" (D above). For various reasons explicitly entitled courses in the politics of education or educational policy making may not appear in the educational administration program. The program may be regarded as too small to offer this degree of specialization, trained faculty may not be available, or other factors may militate against the offering of such courses. This does not necessarily mean that there is no reference to political and policy frameworks in other, nonpolitics courses offered by a faculty. Political and policy perspectives may indeed occur in some of the curriculum ostensibly related to other content areas.

A few examples hopefully will illustrate the point of how policy and politics content may infuse other courses of study. The field of school law is one that has been particularly amenable to political and policy frameworks; education law courses with policy in their titles have become more numerous. Some leading education law textbooks include politically oriented as well as legal content. Only a few years ago school law was likely to focus upon contracts and torts and areas of law not having great policy and social implications. Now school law courses are offered which treat the relationship of contextual and environmental variables to the substance and implementation of legal principles. School law courses are more likely to teach about how law impacts on individuals, to weigh the benefits and disadvantages of particular legal doctrines, and to consider possible changes in the law. This orientation is quite at variance with a strictly nuts-and-bolts approach to education law still popular in a number of educational administration programs.

Educational finance is another specialization in the educational administration curriculum which is amenable to policy and political perspectives. As in school law, some leading finance textbooks are overtly political in their content and policy frameworks are employed to excellent advantage. The nexus between politics and educational finance is hardly a mystery: the funding of public enterprises is by definition a political enterprise. Similarly collective bargaining courses present great opportunities to explore political concepts and issues, and much course content can be profitably couched in policy and politics language. Courses in community and public relations are often courses in local school politics. Even courses in the superintendency, as has occurred at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, can be taught from a political frame of reference.

The degree to which these nonpolitics of education courses utilize political frameworks and indeed may be transformed into de facto politics courses is principally dependent upon the instructor and the instructor's background and purposes for a course. Many courses do clearly offer the occasion for presenting political perspectives, but course instructors may or may not seize the opportunity.

Finally, some educational administration programs have neither added courses in the politics of education as requirements or electives nor do their other courses incorporate political or policy content to any degree (see E above). Unavoidably practical school politics may be discussed from time to time, but in an atheoretical context without the benefit of much conceptualization or generalization. For the most part these are the highly applied programs, geared to expounding the tricks of the trade of school administration for those seeking to master the trade. The students are largely locally oriented, and administrative certification may be the singular objective of most of the enrollees.

This analysis of the place and nature of the politics of education in the curriculum of educational administration has illustrated the considerable variety in how and the extent to which political and policy frameworks are in reality incorporated into educational administration programs. The analysis has hinted at, but not sufficiently emphasized, the broad differences in what passes for politics of education instruction among different individual programs in educational administration. One major dichotomy which exists in the programs is along the theory versus practice continuum; politics of education courses do exhibit a considerable range from the anecdotal "this-is-how-I-survived-in-my-school district" approach to the more scholarly and conceptually challenging seminars which may be cross-registered with political science or other social science faculties. What this illustrates is the diverse purposes which often guide teaching in the politics of education as well as in other fields.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that politics of education courses are many splended things. Take the politics of education course taught by a retired school administrator in a remote rural area as part of a master's or certification program. The instructor may not have ever had a college course in political science and, if so, it is likely to have been 35 or 40 years ago. By contrast, consider the politics seminar cross-registered in the political science and educational administration faculties of a nationally renown, private research university. The instructor holds a PhD in political science from one of the nation's leading programs in that area. Each of these hypothetical courses bear "politics of education" in its title, but there is little overlap in the contents of the two classes.

22 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

Obviously these two courses serve different types of students and meet different needs. Perhaps this diversity, which mirrors that of higher education generally, is a good thing or perhaps it is not. But there is little doubt that this diversity will continue to characterize the field for many years to come.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that the politics of education has become a significant component of preparation programs for educational administrators at many (but not all) colleges and universities. The following contributions to this monograph will further demonstrate the impact of politics and policy specializations upon the curriculum of educational administration. Several broad generalizations would appear to follow from this exploratory examination of the teaching of politics and policy in programs geared to prepare educational administrators.

1. *The politics of education has largely stabilized as a specific field of study within the educational administration curriculum.*

Most of the evidence suggests that the politics of education has achieved a secure place in many educational administration programs, but its heady growth in the late 1960s and early 1970s has long ago slowed. As courses of study, politics and policy are still not so popular within educational administration as specialized studies in organizational theory and behavior, school finance, or school law, let alone role-based courses in the principalship, superintendency, and the like. And barring unanticipated turmoil in the environment of school administration, the politics of education is unlikely to eclipse these other fields at any time in the immediate future.

Yet educational politics and policy have generally been able to hold their ground against new curricular thrusts and fads. When the politics of education vanishes from a particular program of study, the reason is usually attributable to the departure of a trained politics specialist, not because of a collective decision that politics of education content is no longer relevant. Usually, the disappearance of the politics of education from one program of study is balanced out by its emergence (or re-emergence) elsewhere in another program. The politics of education's continued presence in educational administration programs therefore seems assured, an enduring legacy of the new trends in the 1960s.

2. *The politics of education is still more likely to be taught in particular types of academic settings than in others.*

The POE-TAR Project revealed that the teaching of educational politics and policy is more popular in some forms of academic environments than in others. In general, the politics of education is more likely to be taught in major national research universities and to be offered by large educational administration faculties than by smaller ones. Many of these departments and programs incorporate "policy" and "policy studies" into their titles, and educational politics and policy courses are often integral to their overall curriculum for educational administrators.

Universities stronger in educational politics and policy offerings also often have or educational policy research institutes on their campuses; the institutes provide

faculty and other resources which strengthen the teaching of politics of education and may provide jobs for administration majors. Politics and policy offerings have been particularly attractive to younger, less experienced graduate students in educational administration who may be somewhat less prepared than more experienced students for enrollment in practice-based and practically oriented courses. Indeed, a small number of institutions have put together "policy" or "policy analysis" majors within larger educational administration programs.

3. *Considerable politics and political content is presented in coursework which is not specifically labelled "politics of education."*

Currently politics of education content and concepts are incorporated not only into courses with "politics" or "policy" in their titles, but also in other educational administration courses such as "school-community relations," "collective bargaining," and "educational finance." Even school law, a traditionally highly applied or nuts-and-bolts teaching field, is currently taught within a policy framework on a number of campuses; when this is the case, school law is likely to borrow heavily from understandings and concepts generated from politics of education and educational policy research. The point is that, to make a complete assessment of the curricular strength of the politics of education in programs of educational administration, the investigator must look at the total curriculum. Specialized studies spill over into one another, and linkages can be found everywhere.

4. *Political scientists remain somewhat peripheral to politics of education teaching within programs of educational administration.*

Since the politics of education is obviously tied to the conceptualizations and research bases of political science, one might expect that faculties of educational administration would employ or at least "borrow" political scientists to teach the politics of education. Generally, this has not happened to any great extent, though there are some noteworthy examples of the participation of political scientists in teaching politics to aspiring or current educational administrators (as at the University of Alberta, where professors of educational administration and political science collaborate in politics courses in the educational administration program). The politics of education tends to be taught by persons with degrees in educational administration who often are responsible for other areas of content within the educational administration curriculum. Apparently few departments feel that they can spare a full-time or part-time position for a political scientist to join their faculty. Political scientists, too, are likely to wish to remain close to their discipline bases and orientations.

5. *Many universities and colleges have yet to include in any systematic fashion the politics of education into their teaching programs on educational administration.*

As a teaching specialization within educational administration, the politics of education has not attained the popularity of a number of other fields like law or the principalship or finance. And in colleges and universities where staffs are small, courses in the politics of education may not be taught at all. Many programs in educational administration, especially the smaller ones, continue to have full-time or retired teachers as the mainstay of their teaching curricula, and typically these instructors

teach skill areas and more applied areas of administrative knowledge. Few advocates of the politics of education as a teaching field would argue that it should supplant these other teaching areas, but there is a genuine interest that political and policy content and concepts are better represented in many programs in educational administration. This will remain a challenge for politics of education enthusiasts; possibly more compelling rationales for the politics of education will need to be developed and a repackaging of political content may be required to enhance the attractiveness of the politics of education for curriculum planners in faculties of education.

What, then, can or should be said of the future of the politics of education? Is the politics of education likely to achieve greater prominence in the curriculum of educational administration at some time in the future? Or has the field peaked and will decline set in? Not surprisingly, the answer to these questions seems to be that it depends upon circumstances and events which are not yet known. First, the future strength of the politics of education as a teaching field is dependent upon the field's continuing vigor as a research focus. What current vitality politics of education research has will need to be sustained and augmented by a constant outpouring of new research—research which is well conceived, well executed, and well presented. The findings of politics of education researchers in the future must be seen to be relevant for and offer insights to practitioners of educational administration.

In the past decade or more, the luster of the politics of education has been slightly tarnished by the arrival of new training emphases and specializations in education administration. This had been inevitable, given the politics of curriculum development. Future revitalization of politics of education research will require a number of things if it is to occur. First, there must be a critical mass of productive researchers whose interests are squarely directed to politics of education research and educational policy concerns. Second, among these researchers must be significant numbers of seasoned scholars drawn from political and other social sciences as well as education. Third, substantial amounts of governmental as well as private funding will be required to conduct politically oriented studies in education in the future. Governmental funding, in particular, has been scarce for politics of education research in the 1980s and may have diminished the quantity of the output of research on educational politics and policy making.

External events will inevitably shape the future environment for the politics of education as field of study. These events may provide a renewed energy for and interest in political questions and issues in education, or the future conditions may create or sustain competing curricular priorities in educational administration. For example, after years of moderate development in the 1970s, the politics of education was energized enormously by the educational reform movement of the 1980s. Many of the "how-to-reform" questions faced by politicians and educators in the decade's reform efforts were as much political as technical in nature. These emerging reform imperatives called into demand the insights, understandings, and knowledge base politics of education research had generated over the past three decades. At the same time politics of education researchers were provided with new and exciting research agendas which approximated the research and policy opportunities of the expanding federal governmental role in education 25 years ago. Certainly the newly launched yearbook series of the Politics of Education Association (PEA) is reflective of a renewed scholarly energy in the politics of education.

The PEA yearbook series is perhaps suggestive of the most critical variable of all upon which the future of the politics of education as a field of study is dependent: the future leadership of the politics of education interest in educational administration and, more broadly, within the university community. In the 1960s, a group of young men and women, interested in promoting the politics of education (and undoubtedly their own academic careers!) organized the special interest group on the politics of education within the American Educational Research Association (in 1978, the group also assumed an identity as the Politics of Education Association). PEA, which has drawn its preponderant leadership from educational administration faculties, has served to promote and extend the politics of education interest in a number of ways. It provides an important focal point for the analysis and further development of teaching about research into the politics of education. Through its AERA connection PEA advances knowledge and understanding about the politics of education to the broader educational research community. When the AERA politics of education special interest group was established almost 20 years ago, most educational researchers were insufficiently sensitized to how political variables impeded or facilitated the fulfillment of educational objectives. This is much less the case today.

In the future, the politics of education can and will thrive as it translates its research findings into knowledge and concepts to which educational practitioners can relate. Everyone readily concedes that political savvy has become more urgent for educational administrators; indeed, their professional survival is increasingly linked to their degree of political understanding and sophistication. Yet the politics of education as a teaching and research field has not been too successful in the past of transforming political theories and concepts into clear guidelines for administrative behavior. Instructional relevancy does not mean reducing research-based political knowledge to its lowest levels of generality or teaching the nuts and bolts of educational politics to educational administrators. Courses should be conceptually and theoretically rigorous, but too many politics of education courses in educational administration programs remain excessively academic and somewhat remote from the professional imperatives of the students who choose or are obliged to enroll in them.

Yet the present condition of the politics of education is no cause for despair. Many other specializations within educational administration suffer from similar problems, and one must be realistic about what any university-based professional study can be expected to accomplish. If one believes that universities are best able to provide for the intellectual dimension of training, then the politics of education surely has attained a sufficient level of development to contribute meaningfully to the study of educational administration. And there is little reason to doubt the contributions of educational politics and policy to the total education of school administrators in the 21st century.

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Chapter 2

Teaching Politics of Education Courses: Content and Topics

Jay D. Scribner

The influence of political science, as part of the behavioral movement in educational administration, is a fairly recent phenomenon. From the late 1880s into the early part of this century, Ellwood Cubberley (1922) wrote textbooks and taught courses in which the origins and practice of "good" school government were set forth. But not until the mid-1960s were there courses that introduced behavioral science perspectives of policy and politics in education. Many of these courses combined the normative, good government approach adhered to in Cubberley's days with the new behavioral revolution that was advancing throughout the social sciences since the late 1950s. It is common today throughout the nation to find politics of education and educational policy courses among the array of required and elective courses for school administrators.

That the politics of education field has become an integral part of an evolving knowledge base of preparation programs clearly is underscored in the recent *Handbook of Research on Educational Administration* (1988) which dedicates five chapters to educational politics and policy. Griffiths (1988) further claims this book has the potential for providing "a research base for the reconstitution of curricula for preparing school administrators across the country." If politics and policy are a significant area of inquiry and practice in preparation programs for school administrators, then it follows that we need to know what is currently being taught in politics of education courses.

This chapter presents findings from a study designed to provide a baseline of what is taught in politics of education courses. Using course syllabi as the primary data source, the writer presents a methodology for systematic analysis of course content, of the organization of topic themes, and of different course orientations. Specifically, an

attempt was made to establish conceptual parameters for establishing a structure of knowledge in the politics of education, a subfield of educational administration.

Using Course Syllabi as the Primary Data Source

To suggest that the use of course syllabi as the primary data source would lead us to a "structure" of knowledge (Donald, 1983) in the politics of education not only oversimplifies the task, but also presumptuously suggests that what we refer to as the politics of education is, indeed, a discipline. It is not. It is an evolving and applied field of study. Moreover, the knowledge shared among those teaching in this field and the theories, conceptual frameworks and ideas guiding their research appear to be limited, fragile and subject to change.

Each professor brings a unique paradigm to the course material assembled for the student. Professors need paradigms as guides for their teaching, just as they do to guide their research. This premise alone limits potential generalizability either of an individual instructor's course syllabus or the collective efforts of those instructors contributing to this study.

Sixty-one instructors contributed 89 course syllabi and reading materials, of which 77 were usable for analysis in this chapter. These syllabi contain ideas, understandings, topics, and themes presented to graduate students, primarily in educational administration programs, but also an occasional course for an undergraduate student in teacher education or for a graduate student in political science, the foundations of education and higher education programs. From these syllabi one can infer a loosely connected set of assumptions about what knowledge is important to a selected group of professors and about the unique perspective of the individual professor. It is this combination of shared knowledge and unique perspective that orient the learner's attitudes and sensitivities toward major concepts and ideas taught in this field. Consequently, when reviewing a syllabus, one is viewing the politics of education through a professor's perspective of what is important to know (shared knowledge) and what ought to be taught (individual perspective) in the politics of education.

Each of the 77 usable syllabi were reviewed by 3 graduate students and the principal investigator. Summaries, notes, and lists of course objectives, assignments, activities, evaluation procedures, and topics were prepared as raw data. Since in their initial form these raw notes and lists meant little to anyone other than the person writing them, thorough discussions took place between the principal investigator and research assistants. Final write-ups were prepared and made available for further analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

An early decision was made to focus this study on the topics taught in the politics of education field, as represented in the course syllabi. Because of the unstructured nature of these data, an inductive approach was used in bounding similar topics and topic categories. How these topics were bounded within a rudimentary, descriptive framework and assigned to "data bins" within the framework is discussed later in "Data Reduction: Analysis of Topics and Themes" section of this chapter.

Participating Institutions and Course Orientations

The participating universities were classified tentatively for this analysis in accordance with the Carnegie Commission's 1976 scheme: Research Universities, Doctoral Granting Universities, and Comprehensive Universities and Colleges. Since the Australian, Canadian, and Great Britain universities contributing to this study were excluded from Carnegie's classification scheme, they were assigned on the basis of advice received from a member of the research team who has taught, visited and is familiar with several of these universities. Clearly, a classification, such as this, does not stay fixed. As the Carnegie report (1976) contended, not only are colleges and universities continually changing their status, some "enter the universe of institutions of higher education every year, others go out of existence."

Based on a slight variation of the Carnegie scheme, institutions participating in this study were combined into three groups. The first group includes universities whose reputations represent high quality research and doctoral training. The second group includes universities and colleges that offer fewer doctoral degrees, have less financial support for research, and are either aspiring to or have recently emerged since Carnegie's earlier classification into the first group. Finally, the third group includes institutions that offered liberal arts programs, a few professional programs and master's degree programs that typically were the terminal degree or an extremely limited doctoral program. Table 2-1 illustrates how institutions included in this study were grouped.

Table 2-1
Frequency of courses taught in three institutional groups

| GROUP | Frequencies | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| | Absolute | Percentage | CUM Frequency |
| First | 28 | 49 | 49 |
| Second | 22 | 29 | 78 |
| Third | 17 | 22 | 100 |
| | 77 | 100 | |

In Englert's study (1987) of what is written in the politics of education, Hastings (1980) bibliographic guide to the research literature in this field was used to codify eleven categories of course syllabi. These categories were reduced to four major course orientations, as shown in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2

Major orientation of courses taught in the politics of education

| ORIENTATION | Frequencies | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| | Absolute | Percentage | CUM Frequency |
| Political Behavior | 26 | 34 | 34 |
| Policy Analysis | 14 | 18 | 52 |
| Organization & Governance | 14 | 18 | 70 |
| Combination of Above | 23 | 30 | 100 |
| Total | 77 | 100 | |

Data Reduction: Analysis of Topics and Themes

The analytical approach combined a process for simplifying, abstracting, and transforming random data with a more focused technique of removing duplicated and redundant information to arrive at a manageable set of relevant variables. As Mintzberg (1979) suggests, this approach, whether qualitative or quantitative, begins as "detective work, the tracking down of patterns, consistencies." The first phase began with a topic analysis (Holsti, 1968) of each syllabus involving the following steps:

Topic Analysis

Step 1: Topic identification—each syllabus was identified by number, broken down into topics as the basic unit of analysis and lists of topics were recorded from each of the 77 usable syllabi.

Step 2: Cluster formation—topics were reduced to a manageable number by reviewing the topics listed in the first twenty syllabi, making intermediate judgments about topic themes, and forming the following five clusters of similar topics: course origins, theoretical perspectives, structures, processes, and culture and change.

Step 3: Category formation—within the five clusters further subcategorization of the topic themes was undertaken, resulting in thirteen theme categories or variables which were used in the second phase of data reduction.

In summary, five clusters and thirteen topic themes emerged from the topic analysis of the study. These clusters and themes were used as units of analysis (variables)

in establishing the conceptual boundaries of the politics of education field as shown in Figure 2-1.

Topic Themes

The thirteen topic themes (V_1 - V_{13}) shown in Figure 1 were derived from an initial review and content analysis of twenty syllabi. Subsequently, all 77 syllabi were analyzed to determine the presence or absence of each of these thirteen variables. An attempt was made to further reduce these topic themes into fewer more abstract factors containing information found in the initial set of thirteen variables (Kachigan, 1982). By using the rotated factor matrix for course topic themes indicated in Table 2-3, high loading variables (factors $> .40$) were examined to interpret relationships between the topic themes found in each of the four factors. Consequently, factor names assigned to the high loading variables (see Table 2-4) become the lowest common denominator of the topics taught in all the politics of education courses included in this study. In the paragraphs that follow each of these four major themes is discussed.

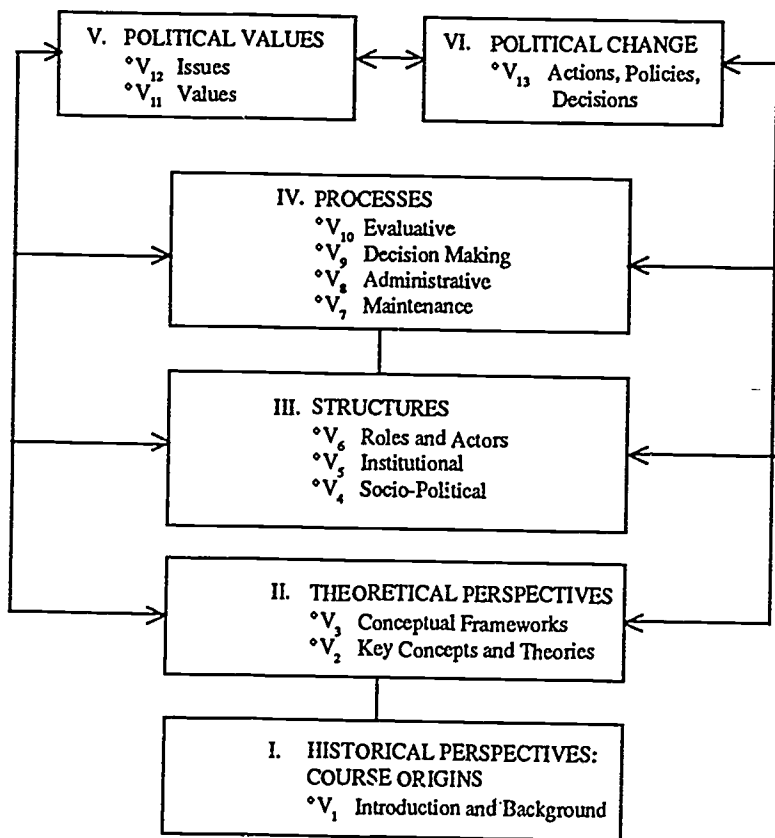


Figure 2-1. Conceptual Boundaries of The Politics of Education Field

Table 2-3
Rotated Factor Matrix for Course Topic Themes

| Input Variables | Extracted Factors and Their Loadings | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Varimax Factor Loadings | I | II | III | IV |
| Course Origins | .05 | (.48) | .03 | .14 |
| Concepts and Theories | .02 | (.58) | -.13 | .26 |
| Conceptual Frameworks | .15 | .33 | -.02 | .04 |
| Socio-political Structures | .22 | .33 | -.05 | -.05 |
| Institutional Structures | -.09 | -.06 | .36 | .35 |
| Roles and Actors | -.26 | .19 | .14 | (.66) |
| Maintenance Processes | -.33 | (.48) | .09 | -.17 |
| Administrative Processes | .10 | -.00 | -.08 | (.50) |
| Decisionmaking Processes | (.79) | -.01 | .06 | -.03 |
| Evaluative Processes | (.48) | .40 | .04 | .27 |
| Values | .02 | (.43) | -.12 | -.20 |
| Issues | .03 | -.09 | (.92) | -.07 |
| Actions, Policies, Decision | (.59) | .19 | .10 | -.15 |

Loadings greater than .40 in parentheses.

Table 2-4
Summary of a Factor Analysis

| Factor names and the high loading variables | Factor Loadings |
|--|-----------------|
| FACTOR I: POLICY PROCESS | |
| Decision Making Processes | .79 |
| Actions, Policies, Decisions | .59 |
| Evaluative Processes | .48 |
| FACTOR II: POLITICAL NATURE OF EDUCATION | |
| Concepts and Theories | .58 |
| Course Origins | .48 |
| Maintenance Processes | .58 |
| Values | .43 |
| FACTOR III: POLICY ISSUES & INSTITUTIONS | |
| Issues | .92 |
| Institutional Structures | .36 |
| FACTOR IV: POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF STAKEHOLDERS | |
| Roles and Actors | .66 |
| Administrative Processes | .50 |

.40 used as lower bounds of meaningful loadings; the inclusion of the .36 loading was on logical grounds.

Theme I: The Policy Processes and Results. Two topic themes loading relatively high on Factor I, .59 and .79 respectively, were decision making processes, and actions/policies/decisions. The third factor, evaluative processes, loaded moderately at .48. Factor I suggests that the policy processes involved in making choices and outcomes of choices constitute a major emphasis in what is taught in politics of education courses. Thus, the policy process, referring to the development and legitimation of agendas, formulation of alternative solutions, the execution of policy actions, and determining the extent to which a given policy action contributes to the attainment of some value, portrays this set of inter-correlated variables. A summary of empirical referents of these three policy process variables found in the course syllabi is presented below:

1. Decision making processes suggesting substantive budgeting, curricula, personnel selection choices, and general procedures for making the best choices, such as implementing, strategizing, planning, forecasting and the like.
2. Actions, policies and decisions made by those in positions of authority are the actual decisions, policies, actions, laws, rules, standards, formal and informal directions, missions, and statements that constitute the general course an institution takes or intends to take.
3. Evaluation processes deal with policy outcomes in terms of the politics of efficiency, productivity, value added approaches, client satisfaction indices, program impacts, and the politics of program evaluation.

Theme II: The Political Nature of Educational Organizations. One variable, concepts and theories, loaded relatively high at .58 and the remaining three (course origins, maintenance processes and values) showed moderate loadings (>.40, see Table 2-4). Application of knowledge about key political concepts and theories to the analysis of educational policies and issues, conceptualizing educational administration and organization as intrinsically political phenomena, identifying power sources and effective routes of influence on educational decisions, and addressing the relationship of ethics to political decisions constitute the four variables subsumed under the political nature of education. Thus, the high loading political variables included in Factor II are summarized accordingly:

1. Concepts and theories, such as power, authority, conflict, influence, political systems, democracy, federalism, and similar analytical tools used for understanding and analyzing educational institutions are representative of what is taught in this area.
2. Course origins, including introductions to the politics of education field, differentiating political and non-political phenomena, the apolitical myth in education, historic conceptions of the politics of education and educational policy making, constitute another dimension of Factor II.

34 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

tion, representation and patterns of participant involvement in the decision and policy making process and representing special interests on a sustained basis.

4. Values are the antecedents to political demands and policy responses, including ideologies, ethics, equity, equal educational opportunity, motivations, preferences, and world views.

Theme III: Policy Issues and Institutions. The policy issues variable loaded very high on this factor (>.90). The second variable, insitutional structures, was included, even though it loaded only at .36, because of what appeared to be a logical relationship between teaching about issues as points of political conflict between institutional structures with competing interests, and about the insitutions to which individuals belong to avoid being cut off from political influence. It is through institutions that individuals have a platform from which demands may be made on policymakers. The two policy issues and institutional variables are described below:

1. Issues are the culminating points of political conflict, such as the disputes, debates, and discussions over state and local taxation, federal aid, mainstreaming, desegregation, and education and poverty issues. These topics are time-bound, and changing with the climate of opinions, and the wants and demands of those individuals and groups who have a stake in educational policy at any moment.
2. Institutional structures include the agencies, organizations and groups, formal and informal, that sporadically attempt to shape educational policy through legitimate channels, as well as through sit-ins, pickets, and strikes.

Theme IV: Political Behavior of Stakeholders. Two topic themes loaded relatively high on Factor IV, Roles and Actors (.66) and Administrative Processes (.50). This factor may be summed up in Dahl's (1970) statement from *Modern Political Analysis*: "Some members of the political system seek to gain influence over the policies, rules, and decisions enforced by the government." The "people" are the "actors," the roles they occupy may be found in the "political system" (in this case the school, college, school district, university, as well as, educationally related governmental and nongovernmental agencies); and what they do in their quest to "seek influence" over decisions and policies involves administrative processes, such as controlling, governing, communicating and the like. The two political behavior of stakeholders variables were mentioned earlier as comprising the following topic themes taught in politics of education courses:

1. Roles and actors include principals, teachers, college presidents, deans, superintendents, board members, governors, presidents, legislators, community leaders, and the like.
2. Administrative processes include behaviors such as controlling, leading, governing, communicating, influencing, negotiating, and bargaining.

Relationships Between Topic Themes and Course Orientation

Two-way contingency tables show relationships, both significant and nonsignificant, found between each topic theme and the orientation of politics of education courses. Significant X^2 ($p < .05$) are shown in Table 2-5 for six variables: course origins, concepts and theories, roles and actors, decision making processes, values, and actions/policies/decisions. Table 2-6 portrays nonsignificant relationships for the remaining variables. In addition, frequencies are shown in both tables for the presence (yes) or absence (no) of the topic theme in the 77 courses included in the study.

Table 2-5

Two-way contingency table for topic themes ranked zero (no) and one (yes) by course orientation.

| Topic Themes | | Political Behavior | Policy Processes | Organization & Governance | Combination | Total |
|------------------------------|-----|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Course Origins | No | 11 | 13 | 10 | 18 | 52 |
| | Yes | 15 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 25 |
| $X^2=12.94, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |
| Concepts & Theories | No | 7 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 37 |
| | Yes | 19 | 6 | 3 | 12 | 40 |
| $X^2=10.34, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |
| Roles & Actors | No | 7 | 10 | 6 | 13 | 36 |
| | Yes | 19 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 41 |
| $X^2=8.49, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |
| Decision Making Processes | No | 12 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 29 |
| | Yes | 14 | 9 | 5 | 20 | 48 |
| $X^2=10.98, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |
| Values | No | 11 | 2 | 10 | 12 | 35 |
| | Yes | 15 | 12 | 4 | 11 | 42 |
| $X^2=9.81, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |
| Actions, Policies, Decisions | No | 15 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 37 |
| | Yes | 11 | 9 | 2 | 18 | 40 |
| $X^2=16.15, df=3, p<.05$ | | | | | | |

36 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

Table 2-6

Two-way contingency table for topic themes ranked zero (no) and one (yes) by course orientation.

| Topic Themes | | Political Behavior | Policy Processes | Organization & Governance | Combination | Total |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Conceptual Frameworks | No | 4 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 20 |
| | Yes | 22 | 10 | 10 | 15 | 57 |
| $X^2=2.54$ | | | | | | |
| Socio-political Structures | No | 18 | 8 | 10 | 16 | 52 |
| | Yes | 8 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 25 |
| $X^2=.86$ | | | | | | |
| Institutional Structures | No | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 10 |
| | Yes | 25 | 10 | 12 | 20 | 67 |
| $X^2=2.52$ | | | | | | |
| Maintenance Processes | No | 18 | 10 | 7 | 17 | 52 |
| | Yes | 8 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 25 |
| $X^2=2.52$ | | | | | | |
| Administrative Processes | No | 13 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 37 |
| | Yes | 13 | 6 | 7 | 14 | 40 |
| $X^2=1.25$ | | | | | | |
| Evaluative Processes | No | 14 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 46 |
| | Yes | 12 | 5 | 3 | 11 | 31 |
| $X^2=3.10$ | | | | | | |
| Issues | No | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 23 |
| | Yes | 19 | 8 | 9 | 18 | 56 |
| $X^2=2.18$ | | | | | | |

Of these 77 courses, Table 2-5 indicates that course origins and concepts and theories themes were more likely to be found in political behavior oriented courses than in other politics of education courses. The concepts and theories theme was found more often (52%) than the course origin theme (32%) in the entire set of courses. Moreover, the roles and actors theme shown in Table 2-5 appears to be found most often in political behavior (19 out of 26), and organization and governance (8 out of 14) oriented courses. This latter was found in 53% of the 77 courses.

Finally, Table 2-5 suggests that three remaining topic themes with significant X^2 s (decision making processes, values, and action/policies/decisions) are more likely to be found in courses oriented toward the policy process or in courses combining themes taught in the three major course orientations (political behavior, policy process, and organization and governance).

The percentages for the frequency with which these three themes are taught in the 77 courses are 62% for decision making processes, 55% for values and 52% for actions/policies/decisions.

In Table 2-6 the relationships between the seven remaining topic themes taught in politics of education courses and the course orientations were nonsignificant (X^2 , $p > .05$). However, they are reported here because of a few interesting patterns to be found in the frequency counts of these themes as they appear in the entire set of 77 courses. Although these courses distribute relatively evenly across the different course orientations accounting for the nonsignificant X^2 s, the extent to which they are taught in politics of education courses in general (i.e., 77 included here) can be classified, as follows:

Most Often

1. Institutional structures (87%)
2. Conceptual frameworks (74%)

Often

4. Administrative processes (52%)
5. Evaluative processes (40%)

Least Often

6. Maintenance processes (32%)
7. Socio-political processes (32%)

Developing Courses and Establishing a Knowledge Base. Summary and Implications

This study of the content and topics taught in politics of education courses resulted in a preliminary framework for analyzing course content and determining the relationship between topic themes and different course orientations. To seek a further understanding of the fundamental core of knowledge in these courses, the researcher applied a factor analysis of the thirteen topic themes found in the preliminary framework. This was, indeed, an exploratory study, attempting to lay the groundwork for further development of a knowledge base in the politics of education, and towards standardizing the procedures for studying what is taught in the field.

The implications of this study are many. A few of the most obvious, however, emanate from the conceptual boundaries of content and topics found in the different courses represented in the politics of education field. The preliminary framework (see

38 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

a three-way classification of content and topics associated with politics, policy, and organizationally oriented courses, as follows:

Table 2-7

Summary of content, topics and course orientation.

| Conceptual boundaries of content and topics | Corresponding course orientation |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Historical (course origins) and theoretical perspectives | Politics |
| Political Structures | Politics and Organization/Governance |
| Political Processes, Values and Change | Policy |

These findings suggest that content related to historical (course origins) and theoretical perspectives, on the one hand, and political processes, values, and change, on the other hand, constitute a major differentiation between the conceptual boundaries of political behavior-oriented and policy-oriented courses in the politics of education field. Content and topics associated with political structures, particularly the political behavior of stakeholders (roles and actors), tend to be present in both the politics and organizationally oriented courses.

Clearly, these patterns reflect scholarly developments in the politics of education field similar to those movements in political science in which the discipline suffered the fate of attitudinal shifts about what knowledge is of most worth. From the prebehavioral period, through the post-World War II behavioral revolution, to the recent return of substantive, prescriptive policy focus grounded in quantitative and methodological rigor, political science appears to have conceded that, like the politics of education, there is room for two enterprises in the field—normatively based policy analysis and theoretically oriented political analysis. These are not only compatible enterprises, but necessary ingredients in training programs for educational administrators where the stage may be set for productive working relationships between researchers and practitioners, theory, and action.

Moreover, this study makes no claim on the clients' perspective of course relevancy or rigor. If one examines the relevancy of the earliest courses concerned with "good" school governance (prebehavioral), with politics in education (behavioral), and with educational policy analysis (post behavioral), claims can be made as to the suitability of these courses for students aspiring to executive leadership roles and those aspiring to the research professorship. It would appear that courses most successful in bridging these roles are those that stress the rigorous aspects of political science used to analyze policy.

Finally, an alternative way of looking at the conceptual boundaries of content and found in politics of education courses is to search for the lowest common denominator of the entire array of topic themes shown in the aforementioned preliminary

framework (Figure 2-1). Accordingly, a core of knowledge derived from the factor analysis phase of the study is illustrated by four major clusters of variables portrayed in Figure 2-2. These clusters not only represent four dimensions of what is taught in the politics of education, but as a general model of course content, they suggest relationships between major components of the existing knowledge base.

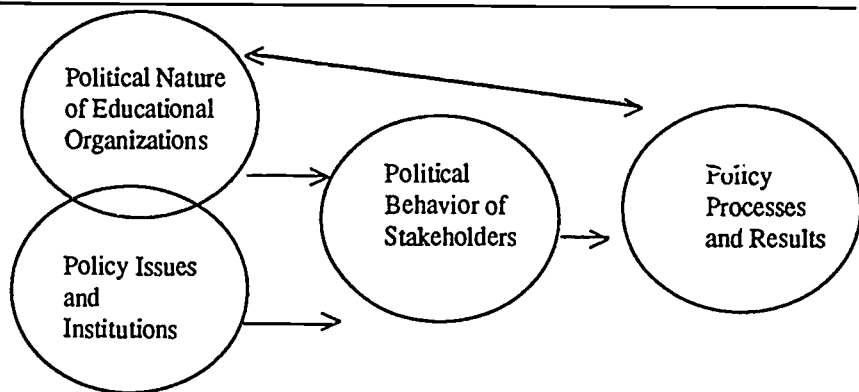


Figure 2-2. A model of the core of knowledge found in politics of education courses.

The above model illustrates the interaction between the political nature of educational organizations and the policy issues and institutions as they both affect the political behavior of stakeholders involved in the policy process. Policy processes and results, in turn, contribute to the political nature of educational organizations. The results of decisions, policy actions, and programs, as they impact on educational systems, create tensions that lie at the center of political activity. Portraying these four dimensions of the existing knowledge base and establishing broadly conceived relationships among them, as illustrated in the model, provide an opportunity for examination of more finite variations in course content and topics taught in politics of education courses.

In summary, politics of education courses have become commonplace in educational administration programs. What is taught in these courses, how they are oriented, and in what types of colleges and universities they are found represent the central questions guiding this research. A major concern was to develop an approach to studying not only course content in an emerging field, but other courses found in educational administration programs as well. In short, while this research is devoid of actual teacher-student interaction, the patterns, themes, and parameters for course and program development offer insights and challenges to what we teach in politics of education courses.

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Chapter 3

What Our Students Read: A Study of Readings in Politics of Education Courses

Richard M. Englert

Introduction

Prior attempts to define the field of the politics of education have largely involved literature reviews, bibliographic essays or bibliographic guides that organize and integrate the most significant literature on the topic (e.g., Kirst and Mosher, 1969; Iannaccone and Cistone, 1974; Peterson, 1974; Scribner and Englert, 1977; and Hastings, 1980). These approaches provide an integrated state of the field, and at the same time provide frameworks for analysis. They identify what is written, but they do not necessarily indicate what is being read.

Attempts have been made in other fields to identify what colleagues read and find most significant. For example, citation analyses are attempts to find out how often a work or an author has been cited to determine which people and which works are contributing to the development of a field and to gauge how certain fundamental works provide building blocks for advances in the field (Quick, 1980; Robey, 1982). The field of the politics of education could benefit from a citation analysis to trace the interconnectedness of ideas.

Also, there have been analyses of the knowledge structures underlying the content of university courses, including the readings in those courses. Donald (1983), for example, operating on the premise that the mastery of structure is critical to knowledge transfer and retention, identified, analyzed, and studied the relationships among key concepts in a variety of courses.

42 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

This chapter takes a related but different approach. The focus is upon what students in courses in the politics of education read. More precisely, it is an attempt to describe what instructors in such courses require or recommend their students to read

1987 Study of Sample Syllabi

In 1987, a study was conducted involving 83 syllabi for courses taught on the politics of education (Englert, 1987b; Englert, 1987c). The study analyzed the readings associated with the sample syllabi and generated three major outcomes:

1. Two bibliographies were developed. First, a bibliography of textbooks required by the sample courses was developed. This bibliography, with a total of 95 entries, is detailed in Appendix A. Also, a comprehensive bibliography was compiled for all required and supplemental readings listed in the syllabi. A copy of this bibliography, which is 73 pages in length and contains 1,233 entries, is available, upon request, from the author (Englert, 1987a).
2. Some of the more salient features of the readings of the sample syllabi were described and analyzed.
3. Some exemplary practices were identified in which the syllabi of the sample courses integrated readings into the fabric of courses on the politics of education.

The final two—salient features and exemplary practices—are described below in more detail.

Salient Features

Categorization of Syllabi

Categories were initially established for classifying each syllabus. Classification was based on the title of each course, as well as the general tenor of the topics and readings included in the syllabus. The categorization was developed by the author and validated by the review of two collaborating colleagues independently.

The first category (57 syllabi) includes general politics of education, political behavior, and the ways in which politics affects and is affected by education.

The second category (31 syllabi) includes the analysis of policy and policy formation in education, including political systems analysis.

The third category (5 syllabi) includes higher education as an arena for governance, politics, or policy making.

The fourth category (5 syllabi) includes community relations and public relations in education.

The fifth category (13 syllabi) includes administrative and organizational processes

The sixth category (2 syllabi) includes issues of equality, equity, race and ethnicity, and multicultural relations.

The seventh category (10 syllabi) includes governance processes and government.

The eighth category (8 syllabi) includes national level government as an arena for politics and policy making in education, as well as federalism, i. e. the interrelations of various layers of government.

The ninth category (4 syllabi) includes state or (in Canada) provincial level politics or policy in education.

The tenth category (3 syllabi) includes local level politics or policy making in education.

The eleventh category (5 syllabi) contains other topics not easily subsumed under the previous ten, namely, power and decision making, law, and finance.

It should be noted that there was no limit upon the number of categories in which each syllabus could be classified, since the categories were based on the syllabi themselves. The largest number of categories in which a single syllabus became classified was four. The categories were useful for some broad analyses but were not used for statistical analysis.

Textbook Analysis

Across all 83 usable syllabi, a total of 149 works were specifically designated by instructors as course "textbooks." These courses averaged not quite two textbooks per course. A total of 21 of the courses did not have any textbook designated. So, for the 62 courses that did have at least one textbook, the average number of textbooks used by a course was between two and three (2.4) textbooks. The most textbooks used in a single course were seven (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1
Number of Textbooks Used in 83 Sample Syllabi

| Number of Textbooks Required by a Single Course | Number of Courses with the Requirement | Total Texts Required |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| 0 | 21 | 0 |
| 1 | 19 | 19 |
| 2 | 18 | 36 |
| 3 | 12 | 36 |
| 4 | 10 | 40 |
| 5 | 1 | 5 |
| 6 | 1 | 6 |
| 7 | 1 | 7 |
| | <u>83</u> | <u>149</u> |

Explanation: This table shows that 21 course syllabi indicated no textbook requirement, 19 syllabi named one textbook, 18 syllabi named two textbooks, and so on. Across all 83 syllabi there were 149 required textbooks, some specific works appearing in more than one syllabus.

44 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

The most frequently used textbook was Wirt and Kirst (1982), used by 32% of all the courses using at least one textbook. No other textbook was even close to this total, with the second most frequently used textbook being Allison (1971). Table 3-2 lists the ten most frequently used textbooks. Overall, 95 different textbooks were used among the 62 syllabi, indicating that other than Wirt and Kirst (1982), no other textbook is used very frequently in the field.

Table 3-2

Most Frequently Used Textbooks (62 syllabi requiring at least one textbook).

| Text | Frequency | Percentage of Sample |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Wirt and Kirst (1982) | 20 | 32 |
| Allison (1971) | 7 | 11 |
| Kirst (1984) | 4 | 6 |
| Peterson (1976) | 4 | 6 |
| Wiles, Wiles, Bondi (1981) | 4 | 6 |
| Lindblom (1980) | 3 | 5 |
| Scribner (1977) | 3 | 5 |
| Thompson (1976) | 3 | 5 |
| Wise (1979) | 3 | 5 |
| A.C.I.R.* (1981) | 3 | 5 |

*A.C.I.R. is the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Of the 95 textbooks used in the course syllabi, one could not be assigned a date. The remaining 94 were assigned the date of their original publication. The original date of publication was used because it was observed that usually subsequent reissues and even revisions did not markedly change the basic nature of the textbooks involved. Consequently, it was judged that the original date of publication represented the best indicator of when a work was issued. Table 3-3 summarizes a distribution of the original dates of publication for the 94 textbooks with dates. Forty-nine percent of all textbooks used were originally published in 1980 or before. The three-year period during which the number of textbooks were published initially (30%) was 1981-1983

Table 3-3

Dates of Original Publication of Textbooks (N=94 textbooks uses)

| Year of Publication | Frequency | Percentage of Total |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Forthcoming | 2 | 2 |
| 1984-1986 | 18 | 19 |
| 1981-1983 | 28 | 30 |
| 1978-1980 | 16 | 17 |
| 1975-1977 | 16 | 17 |
| 1972-1974 | 4 | 4 |
| 1969-1971 | 3 | 3 |
| 1966-1968 | 2 | 2 |
| 1963-1965 | 2 | 2 |
| Before 1965 | 5 | 5 |
| | 94 | 101(due to rounding) |

(Note: Of the 95 textbooks, one could not be assigned a date.)

Table 3-4 provides a summary of the dates of original publication for the same 94 textbooks, but with a weighting assigned. The weighting simply reflected the fact that a given work might have been used in several different syllabi. For example, Allison (1971) was used in seven different syllabi. Whereas in Table 3-4 (unweighted) Allison's work has a frequency of one for the 1969-1971 time period, in Table 3-5 (weighted) the same work has a frequency of seven for the 1969-1971 time period. From this viewpoint of weighting, 60% of all textbooks used across the 94 syllabi were published in 1980 or before.

Analysis of Content

The textbooks required by the sample syllabi were also analyzed in terms of their content. First, an outline of general content areas associated with the politics of education developed adapting the categories used by Hastings (1980). Those categories were

46 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

further modified when comparison was made with the content of the textbooks in the sample syllabi. The final outline of content areas is presented in Table 3-5.

Each textbook in the sample was reviewed. The content of the work was ascertained and a frequency indicated in the content category most closely resembling the content of the textbook. Where different chapters of the same textbook were judged to have different content with respect to the outline, then a frequency was indicated in more than one content category.

Table 3-4

Dates of Original Publication of Textbooks Weighted for frequency of use by different syllabi (N=148 total times used)

| Year of Publication | Frequency | Percentage of Total |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Forthcoming | 2 | 1 |
| 1984-1986 | 22 | 15 |
| 1981-1983 | 37 | 25 |
| 1978-1980 | 19 | 13 |
| 1975-1977 | 26 | 18 |
| 1972-1974 | 4 | 3 |
| 1969-1971 | 28 | 19 |
| 1966-1968 | 4 | 3 |
| Before 1965 | 6 | 4 |
| | <hr/> 148 | <hr/> 101 (due to rounding) |

Note: Of the 95 textbooks used, one could not be assigned a date. It was used by only one syllabus.

Table 3-5 summarizes the distribution of content areas within the 95 different textbooks. The areas most often addressed within the textbooks were: state education politics (15 instances), national education politics and federalism (15), policy processes and policy analysis (12), equality and inequality (12), economic and fiscal issues (12),

postsecondary education (11), and local education politics/community participation and decentralization (10).

Table 3-5

Distribution of Content Areas of Required Textbooks for 83 Syllabi

| | Textbook Frequency |
|--|-----------------------|
| I. The Politics of Education as a Field of Inquiry | 4 |
| II. Political Socialization | 1 |
| III. Politics and Governance of Public Elementary and Secondary Education | |
| A. Organization & Administration of Schools | 5 |
| B. Local Education Politics | |
| 1. Community Participation & Decentralization; Community Control & Activism | 10 |
| 2. School Board, Superintendents & Governance | 9 |
| 3. Metropolitan Areas/Urban Areas | 3 |
| 4. Suburban Areas/Rural Areas | 2 |
| 5. Building Level Politics | 1 |
| C. State Education Politics | 15 |
| D. National Education Politics and Federalism | 15 |
| E. Courts and Schools; Law & Education | 7 |
| IV. Economic and Fiscal Studies, including Cost Benefit Studies | 12 |
| V. Specialized Issue Areas | |
| A. Accountability | 1 |
| B. Curriculum & Curriculum Reform | 2 |
| C. Desegregation | 6 |
| D. Education of Handicapped | 1 |
| E. Educational Vouchers and Choice | 1 |
| F. Race, Ethnicity, and Education | 9 |
| G. Nonpublic Schools and Church/State Issues | 0 |
| H. Politics of Evaluation in Education | 1 |
| I. Politics of Research in Education | 0 |
| J. Sexual Discrimination in Education | 1 |
| K. Teacher Organization and Collective Bargaining, Teacher Rights | 7 |
| L. Student Rights, Student Activism, Student Choice | 5 |
| M. Legalism & Bureaucracy | 3 |
| N. Leadership | 2 |
| VI. Postsecondary Education | 11 |
| VII. International/Comparative Education | |
| A. General | 3 |
| B. Politics and Governance of Schools | 3 |

Table 3-5 (cont.)

Distribution of Content Areas of Required Textbooks for 83 Syllabi

| | Textbook Frequency |
|--|--------------------|
| VIII. General Education | |
| A. Social/Political Histories | 3 |
| B. Critiques of the American Educational System | 5 |
| C. Equality & Inequality | 12 |
| D. School Improvement & Education Reform | 9 |
| E. Educational Planning | 1 |
| IX. Policy Analysis, Policy Processes and Policy Making in Education | 6 |
| X. General Works on Politics and Public Policy | |
| A. Politics in Organization and Administration, including power, influence, negotiations, decisionmaking | 7 |
| B. Policy Processes and Methods; Policy Analysis | 12 |
| C. Implementation of Policy and Reform | 2 |
| D. Economic Theory/Public Choice | 2 |
| E. Practical Political Analysis & Political Activism | 3 |
| F. Great Society | 2 |
| G. Politics & Budgeting | 1 |
| XI. General Government | |
| A. Local Government & Politics | 2 |
| B. State Government & Politics | 1 |
| C. National Level Government & Politics | 2 |
| D. Intergovernmental Relations | 1 |
| E. Courts | 2 |
| F. General Theory of Government & Democracy | 2 |

(Categories adapted from Hastings, 1980)

The areas of content that were most infrequently addressed included: nonpublic schools (0), the politics of research (0), political socialization (1), building level politics (1), education of the handicapped (1), educational vouchers (1), the politics of evaluation (1), sexual discrimination (1), educational planning (1), general budgeting and politics (1), and state government or intergovernmental relations under general (noneducation) government (1).

Generally speaking, the politics and governance of public elementary and secondary education were the reading focus of most of the courses using textbooks within the sample. This corresponds to the overall direction of the courses in the field, as indicated by the broad categories of classification (see above). Other topics within educational politics receiving considerable attention included the politics of inequality and race segregation, race, ethnicity, equality and inequality, teacher organization and nego-

tiation, and the politics of educational reform. Policy analysis in education and general theories of policy making outside of education were the main topics involving policy processes. It is interesting to note that in addressing the topic of policy processes in education, instructors chose to use textbooks from outside the education arena (e.g., Allison, 1971) by a two-to-one margin over textbooks within education.

Overall, the main topics that received little attention were specialized issue areas within the politics of education, such as the politics of accountability, education of the handicapped, educational vouchers, planning evaluation and research, sex discrimination and nonpublic schools. Also, on the whole, the topics addressed more macro-scale political and educational forces and relationships than micro-level political behavior. That is to say, the topics seem more geared to understanding broad phenomena than to developing specific political skills in a practical fashion.

Finally, it is interesting to note that emphasis on the understanding of politics is exhibited chiefly at the national, state, and school district levels rather than at the school site or department levels.

Quantity of Readings

How much reading do politics of education instructors require for their courses?

Table 3-6 addresses this question for all 83 usable syllabi. On the average, aside from the textbook, instructors required their students to read one book, three journal articles, five chapters in books, and three other readings (e.g., handouts, newspaper articles, case studies). It is interesting that book chapters were required more frequently than journal articles.

Table 3-6

Quantity of Required Readings for All Syllabi (N=83)

| Reading Type | Number of Readings All Syllabi | Average Per Syllabus |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Book | 99 | 1.2 |
| Journal Article | 262 | 3.2 |
| Book Chapter | 442 | 5.3 |
| Other | 279 | 3.4 |

Yet this is not an entirely fair depiction, since 28 course syllabi had no required readings other than textbooks. So, for the 54 syllabi that did have required readings, the instructors required that their students read on the average: almost two books, almost five journal articles, eight chapters in books, and five other readings (Table 3-7). This

s into about three chapter-length readings per week for a fourteen-week semes-

50 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

ter, in addition to the textbook requirement. The most extensive reading requirement of any one syllabus involved 15 books, 20 articles, 25 chapters and 5 other readings—all required for a single course.

Table 3-7

Quantity of Required Readings for Syllabi with at least One Required Reading (N=54)

| Reading Type | Number of Readings All Syllabi | Average Per Syllabus |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Book | 99 | 1.8 |
| Journal Article | 262 | 4.9 |
| Book Chapter | 442 | 8.2 |
| Other | 279 | 5.2 |

In addition, supplemental, but not required, readings were included in many syllabi. In surveying the full 83 usable syllabi, it was determined that instructors provided students on the average with almost 15 books, 3 journal articles, 3 book chapters, and one other reading as supplemental resources (Table 3-8).

Table 3-8

Quantity of Supplemental Readings for All Syllabi (N=83)

| Reading Type | Number of Readings All Syllabi | Average Per Syllabus |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Book | 1212 | 14.6 |
| Journal Article | 249 | 3.0 |
| Book Chapter | 225 | 2.7 |
| Other | 96 | 1.2 |

But 43 instructors gave their students no supplemental readings whatsoever. So, for the instructors who did provide supplemental readings, then students were provided on the average with 30 books, 6 journal articles, 6 book chapters, and 2 other readings as supplemental resources (Table 3-9). The most extensive supplemental reading list had 190 books, 5 articles, and 3 chapters.

Table 3-9

Quantity of Supplemental Reading for Syllabi with at least One Supplemental Reading
(N=40)

| Reading Type | Number of Readings All Syllabi | Average Per Syllabus |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Book | 1212 | 30.3 |
| Journal Article | 249 | 6.2 |
| Book Chapter | 225 | 5.6 |
| Other | 96 | 2.4 |

Author Analysis

Which authors are the students of the politics of education reading most frequently?

Since there is no way to tell whether a student read from the supplemental reading list the instructor provided, the conservative answer to this question is derived from the analysis of textbooks and required readings.

Table 3-10 details the authors appearing most frequently in the textbooks and in the required readings. As is evident, M. Kirst is the most frequently read author, appearing on the reading lists of 40% of the sample syllabi. (Note that two of the 83 usable syllabi had no required readings or textbooks, only supplemental readings, and so are not counted here.) F. Wirt was included on 36% of the syllabi. After Kirst and Wirt, there was no general agreement among the course syllabi regarding the authors whose works should be required in the courses. No other author reached 20% of the sample. Those included more than 10% of the time were: P. Peterson (16%), G. Allison (15%), W. Boyd (14%), L. H. Zeigler (14%), R. Dahl (12%), L. Iannaccone (12%), H. Levin (11%), and C. Lindblom (11%).

It is noteworthy that of the authors mentioned at least 9% of the time (Table 3-10), 12 have written about the politics of *education*, 5 are known more generally for work in political science, but not necessarily related to education, and one is a national commission which issued a report on education.

Exemplary Practices

The sample syllabi varied considerably in terms of content and readings. Some syllabi simply gave a brief description of the topics covered along with a required textbook. Others provided detailed bibliographies carefully linked to specific topics addressed by the course. The practices identified below demonstrated a high level of integration of readings and course content and provide examples of how readings can be used to enhance instruction in the politics of education.

52 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

Table 3-10

Authors with Works Most Frequently Used as Textbooks or Required Readings (N=81)

| Author | Frequency Textbook | Frequency Required Reading | Total Frequency | Percentage of Sample |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Kirst, M. | 24 | 8 | 32 | 40 |
| Wirt, F. | 20 | 9 | 29 | 36 |
| Peterson, P. | 5 | 8 | 13 | 16 |
| Allison, G. | 7 | 5 | 12 | 15 |
| Boyd, W. | 0 | 11 | 11 | 14 |
| Zeigler, L. H. | 1 | 10 | 11 | 14 |
| Dahl, R. | 3 | 7 | 10 | 12 |
| Iannaccone, L. | 2 | 8 | 10 | 12 |
| Levin, H. | 4 | 5 | 9 | 11 |
| Lindblom, C. | 3 | 6 | 9 | 11 |
| Bondi, J. | 4 | 4 | 8 | 10 |
| Mann, D. | 0 | 3 | 8 | 10 |
| N.C.E.E.* | 1 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Scribner, J. | 3 | 5 | 8 | 10 |
| Wiles, D. | 4 | 4 | 8 | 10 |
| Wiles, J. | 4 | 4 | 8 | 10 |
| Banfield, E. | 0 | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| Lutz, F. | 2 | 5 | 7 | 9 |
| Schattschneider, E. | 2 | 5 | 7 | 9 |

Note: Of the 83 usable syllabi, 2 did not have any textbooks or required readings, only supplemental readings.

*E. is the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Integration of Readings and Course Topics

Several syllabi do not simply list topics and readings but attempt to integrate, in a comprehensive framework, readings and topics. The most comprehensive example is the syllabus of Richard C. Lonsdale (New York University). Lonsdale's course guide opens with a set of nine course objectives. Then, his course outline runs for nine detailed pages, interweaving concepts, questions, and readings. The syllabus then describes some possible major themes, the four required readings and then the basis for evaluation of students' work. This is followed by 18 pages of bibliography, organized by topic, listing illustrative case studies, books, articles, chapters, journals, and periodicals, and additional sources of information. His syllabus concludes with a three-page document entitled "Elements of Policy Analysis and Policy Development of Political Issues in Higher Education" and two pages devoted to "Standards and Procedures for Written Materials." Throughout, he provides frameworks for organizing students' concepts about politics of education and careful articulation between readings and these topics.

Other examples of similar integration are the syllabi by Robert T. Stout (Arizona State University), who organizes a diverse body of literature according to a basic analytical framework; Barry G. Lucas (University of Saskatchewan), who provides a detailed 7-page analysis of major issues and sub-issues, along with lists of detailed readings for each issue, supplemented by a 17-page bibliography of additional readings; and David L. Clark and Deborah A. Verstegen (University of Virginia), who provide a diverse set of readings organized by course topics.

These syllabi all have in common the characteristic of a careful matching of readings and course topics, with an emphasis on a master framework to integrate a rich and detailed literature.

Readings as Sources of Different Analytical Models

Several syllabi employ readings as sources of a variety of analytical models for students to understand and practice politics. For example, James W. Guthrie (University of California at Berkeley) employs the PRINCE accounting system for political analysis and applies this analysis to a case developed by Michael W. Kirst. In addition to the PRINCE political analysis model, Guthrie also draws upon the readings to present models for historical, technical (market), financial and organizational analyses. Michael W. Kirst (Stanford University) uses a number of sources, including Coplin and O'Leary (1981), Allison (1971), and others to identify different analytical models. William L. Boyd (Pennsylvania State University) uses a series of alternative models derived from the works of Allison, Elmore, Weick, March, Pfeffer, and others. All of these syllabi depend upon readings to present detailed models for analyzing educational politics.

Readings and Case Studies

Some syllabi use readings to present cases for analysis or to embody certain political concepts. Richard C. Lonsdale (New York University) provides a bibliography of illustrative case studies in Educational Administration (Appendix B). As was mentioned, James W. Guthrie (University of California at Berkeley) employs a case

developed by Michael W. Kirst for analysis by the PRINCE approach. Paul Goodman (University of Oregon) provides his students with a number of written cases, which, along with other readings, are compiled as the "Xerox Reader in Governance and Policy in American Schools." Ian Housego (University of British Columbia) requires his students to analyze the nature of political behavior in C. P. Snow's 1951 book, *The Masters*. Stuart A. Anderson (Sangamon State University) provides a detailed bibliography of political novels, biographies, and autobiographies (Appendix C). And Don Davies (Boston University) employs case analysis through a 1981 *Atlantic Monthly* article by Grieder and another photocopied case study. These syllabi all provide the richness that can only be developed through full-blown case studies.

Using Specialized Readings Materials

Other exemplary uses of readings involve specialized materials.

Richard Saxe (University of Toledo), Harold Jakes (University of Ottawa), and Richard C. Lonsdale (New York University) give detailed listings of journals and periodicals likely to include articles about educational politics.

Don Davies (Boston University) emphasizes primary documents as sources for political analysis.

Several syllabi employ photocopies of unpublished papers and reports for political analysis.

A few instructors used doctoral dissertations on the politics of education as did R. E. Baird and W. H. Worth (University of Alberta).

A few instructors employed newspaper and popular periodical articles as did Don Davies (Boston University).

A number of instructors required students to critique key works or to make oral reports reviewing and analyzing classic works in educational politics. Robert T. Stout (Arizona State University) provides a guideline for critical reviews of readings.

Michael W. Kirst (Stanford University) mentions three key bibliographic essays on the history of politics of education research: Wirt (1972), Iannaccone (1974), and Scribner and Englert (1977), along with the comprehensive bibliography compiled by Hastings (1980) and the overview of the literature in Wirt and Kirst (1982). At the same time, only James J. Shields, Jr. (City University of New York) used book reviews to introduce students to issues in the literature.

Finally, special mention is deserved for Richard Townsend's thorough "learner's manual" for his course on the political organization of education. In a user-friendly fashion, he carefully interweaves concepts, readings, course objectives, topics, and advice on study skills in a 93-page document.

Summary and Conclusions

1. Perhaps the most startling finding of the analyses of the readings associated with the sample syllabi is the utter diversity of the works used. Except for Wirt and Kirst (1982) there was no other consistently used textbook. Other than F. Wirt and M. Kirst, authors had a frequency as high as 20% of the syllabi. For required readings,

there was a total of 607 different entries. In the bibliography of required and supplemental readings, there was a total of 1,233 entries. This is a phenomenal number of *different* citations for 83 syllabi. Some of the diversity is explained by the variance in categories covered by some of the courses (e.g., higher education). Still, this does not explain the wide variation in bibliographic sources used. The diversity probably reflects the lack of agreement within the field over what constitutes the "politics of education." A more optimistic explanation is that the politics of education literature is so rich that only a small sample can be drawn for any given course, and there is no overall agreement about the nature of that sample.

2. Textbooks in the politics of education continue to stress state, national, and school district politics, and underplay school site political behavior. In fact, the only textbook devoted specifically to the latter is Wiles, Wiles, and Bondi (1981). Consequently, simply in terms of the textbooks, emphasis is being placed upon understanding the macro-political forces shaping education and educational policy making. However, the micropolitical scene of the individual practitioner is largely overlooked.

Along the same lines, the kinds of skills being stressed in the textbooks are analytical ones aimed at developing a better understanding and keener insight into the variables involved with political behavior. However, only Wiles, Wiles, and Bondi (1981) and Coplin and O'Leary (1978) make the attempt to translate the conceptual skills into concrete political skills for the practitioner. Simply stated, the textbooks tend to be highly academic in nature.

In keeping with the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Educational Administration (1987), the question needs to be raised about the most appropriate skills to be conveyed in politics of education courses. As the Commission wrote:

We are urged by the unique responsibilities of school administrators to suggest that their university preparation should differ from that of researchers because it must emphasize the application of knowledge and skills in clinical rather than academic situations. (1987, p. 19)

Is the aim of the courses in the politics of education primarily to develop general analytical skills or specific, practical skills in working in political situations? Overwhelmingly, the instructors of the sample courses are saying that the former skill is the preferred one. In interpreting these data, it will be necessary to ascertain how the courses in question relate to general academic programs. For example, are the courses part of a sequence for the preparation of practitioners in schools (e.g., school administrators), or are the courses intended to be broadly foundational in nature? This question needs to be explored in future research.

3. Political socialization is a relatively neglected area within the politics of education. True, Wirt and Kirst (1982) address the issue, and their textbook is used more than any other work. Nevertheless, education is a process directed at learning. So, one would expect that most instructors in the politics of education would have a great deal of interest in different kinds of learning about politics and the shaping of political beliefs schooling, and how that shaping affects later political behavior. This interest is

56 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

not reflected in the textbooks chosen for the sample syllabi, however. In fact, in the courses analyzed, the study of education as an independent variable and political behavior as a dependent variable seems to be relatively ignored in comparison with the understanding of how political factors influence education, which dominates the assigned readings.

4. The sample syllabi contain a number of innovative uses of a variety of readings for the mastery of knowledge and skills associated with educational politics. This chapter is an initial step in the identification and dissemination of exemplary practices in the teaching of the politics of education. Additional exemplary practices are included in the following chapter by Richard Townsend. It is hoped that instructors will use both these chapters as an opportunity to share with each other their own ideas about how best to teach the politics of education.

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58 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

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Chapter 4

The Curricula of Educational Politics and Policy: Promoting the Careers of 81 Syllabi¹

Richard C. Townsend

The ordinary career for a syllabus is to outline, for one group of students, the main points of one professor's course of study. I hope the selective compilation here will extend the careers of elements within 81 syllabi for North American education. That is, for their students' sakes, I hope that various professors in departments of educational administration and foundations will consider adopting certain of the attractive features cited below. Those features include the statements of objectives, in-class activities, written assignments, and outlooks on exams drawn from syllabi of 47 courses in the politics of education (including school-community relations and governance), 24 other courses in educational policy making, and 10 courses that are mixed (politics and policy both). Generally when I refer to an attractive component of a course outline, I identify its author. Finally, I catalog some personal disappointments in many of these graduate syllabi.

Objectives

Eighteen syllabi jump right into their schedule of tentative topics, required readings, and assignments without an overview, a set of goals and objectives, a rationale, or a statement of course content. The majority, however, do have at least a paragraph—even

only a quote from the university catalogue—laying out the instructors' hopes for

60 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

what will happen in their courses. Occasionally, as in McNeil's description of his course in educational policy, the purposes are numbered and in statement form:

1. Exposition of the conceptual and theoretical components of multiculturalism.
2. Examination and appraisal of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism.
3. Professional consideration of the educational conditions and implications of cultural pluralism—nationally and in Alberta.

Less often, the aim is ultimately expressed in question form. In this regard, Stout's introduction is interesting for its straight-forwardness, its attention to the process of the course, and its uncommon explicitness about research, democracy, and the "so what?" question:

This course is constructed to provide you with some ways of thinking about what goes on in schools and some ways of examining events with a view to understanding how education is a political activity. During the first few sessions we will discuss some general notions about the functioning of political systems—particularly democracies. We will try to look at how scholars have tried to explain how these systems work. At the same time we will discuss methods which political scientists use to gather and analyze data.

With this as background we will first look more closely at political activity in local communities with reference to principal actors and an interesting issue or two. Second, we will examine education politics in state governments. Finally, we will examine federal educational politics.

Throughout the course we will return to four questions:

1. What kinds of political systems are schools?
2. What shape do political influences generally take—that is, who are the actors, what are the rules?
3. What do differences in political influences mean for political consequences?
4. What differences do any of these things mean for what actually goes on in schools?

Whether it is our era's pressure for accountability that is impacting syllabi or not, four instructors (Boyd, Gustafson, Rost, and Shields) present fairly detailed competency statements, as cues for how they will assess each student's growth in knowledge and skills. Boyd is the most thorough, synthesizing, and precise. In one of his three syllabi, for example, he spells out five major competencies, encapsulating some 14 components:

- A. Understanding the political nature of educational policy making
 1. Know and be able to explain the theory and problems of nonpartisanship and "good government"
 2. Be able to explain why public education cannot be separated from politics
 3. Be able to discuss the limitations of scientific management and the "business efficiency" approach when applied to school management and governance

- B. Understand and be able to explain the fundamental tensions that exist in relationships between citizens, school boards, and professional educators
- C. Understanding community decision making and power structures
 - 1. Know and be able to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the various methods of analyzing or researching community and organizational power structures
 - 2. Know and be able to discuss critically the major studies of local educational decision making
 - 3. Understand and be able to explain the factors affecting the participation and degree of influence typical of different actors and groups in the local policy making process
- D. Understanding implications of variations in local community characteristics
 - 1. Understand alternative conceptions of "Community"
 - 2. Be able to discuss and contrast the typical characteristics of urban, suburban, and rural school districts and their implications for school politics
 - 3. Know the variables that increase or decrease the likelihood of community conflict
 - 4. Be able to discuss the life-cycle developments common in cities and suburbs and the implications for school politics
 - 5. Know and be able to explain how various sociological and demographic background characteristics of populations are likely to affect school politics
- E. Understanding the implications of variations in school system characteristics
 - 1. Know the effects of increasing size and bureaucratization of the school system on school politics
 - 2. Be able to explain the variety of factors that reduce public school system "openness" and responsiveness to the public; contrast these factors with those that create "vulnerability" to the public
 - 3. Understand and be able to discuss the political economy and bureaucratic politics of public schools

Commitments to competency statements are not necessarily career-long. For instance, years ago, when New York State wanted such statements in its public schools, Mann developed another elegant list of competencies for one of his syllabi (not covered in the present review). His 1986 contribution to this review for another course lacks that feature, however.

A final note on introductions: 61 of the 64 introductions have an enduring quality to them, as if these descriptors could be used year after year. Put another way, three of the introductions have an exceptional temporality to them. Here is the texture of one:

This Fall brings an abundance of highly relevant events to bear on the proposition that public policy is influential in shaping higher education. At the Federal level, the usual annual struggle over appropriations is supplemented by two developments of enormous importance to the higher education community: the Tax Reform Act (at this writing apparently in its final stages) and the Higher Education Act, which would reauthorize most higher education

legislation. In addition, the consequences for education of a salvaged Gramm, Rudman, & Hollings Bill, though yet to be ascertained, may be pervasive The instructor will try to keep seminar participants abreast of these consequential developments.

In-Class Tasks for Students

The student is to contribute "by raising questions, offering comments, adding information, elaborating relationships, providing illustrations, challenging concepts, synthesizing ideas, querying assumptions, and the like" (Baird & Worth). No syllabus makes an explicit point about regular attendance to make these contributions nor do any require "make-up" work on readings covered during sessions that the student missed. Among those professors who do weigh participation as a portion of the grade, the range of value is consequential, from 10 to 25 percent. If brief oral reports are factored in, that portion can reach 50 or 60 percent.

In-class presentations by individuals are cited as explicit expectations in 16 syllabi. Thus, certain professors (Gove, LaRocque, Reed, Shapiro, Shields, Tucker) place each student in charge of leading a discussion on, and localizing, the general themes of a different reading; written reviews may also be required.² Other instructors expect each learner to develop new materials, e.g., students give accounts of their interviews with a politician of education (Anderson), share their case study of local governance (Conterras), portray education in a specific nation that uses education for political ends (Catterall), dissect a research problem (Whetten), present their analyses on an issue (Layton, Jakes), critique a policy report or recommendation (Schwartz), and describe an issue in terms of individual and group interests that have been articulated and that might be aggregated into policy (Baird & Worth). For discussions in Levy's classes, an interaction is sought between each week's readings and a particular domain:

Each student chooses a policy issue on which he will become our resident expert, reading extensively, and playing a role similar to a special counsel for a general education committee in the legislature.

Most of all these individual presentations—on readings, interviews, cases, and the like—tend to be on the short side, around 10 minutes for initial commentaries with 5 minutes for questions.

Varied purposes and formats are attached to group efforts. Besides simulations and role-plays, Guthrie puts his students in a panel discussion "to dramatize an analytical technique or [to] generate alternative solutions to administrative planning or policy problems." Davies & Cohen see groups as responsible for:

. . . planning and conducting one 60-minute session; preparing written materials; focusing on an issue in which conflicting interests are at play; asking what was, is, or might be the federal role; and weighing what impact federal policies have had on local and state institutions. (My paraphrase)

In Michel's course, each student does an individual paper and presents his or her topic as an element of a group presentation either on school, district, special-program, or state politics. Clark & Verstegen, in one of the five team-teaching arrangements, reserve their penultimate class for a working session to debate an agenda for educational change; at the final session, students report on implications of that agenda at local, state, and federal levels.

Lucas' syllabi identify the four to eight major themes that he tries to cover for each of his first several classes. Thus, for the second session in school-community relations, Lucas' outline—nicely sensitive to his Saskatchewan setting—anticipates discussions of:

1. School consolidation and public representation in School Governance.
2. Development of the "Service Delivery Model" of Education.
3. The School Improvement Movement.
4. The Concept of the Educative Community.
 - a) The "eclipse" of community.
 - b) New definitions of community.
 - i) Example of the prairie community system.
 - ii) Concept of the educative community.
 - c) Community schools.

Most other syllabi, though, only offer a phrase or set of phrases to set the context of particular sessions, e.g., "The Not-So-Almighty State" with Osview, "The Rise of the States" with Clark & Verstegen. Willink, one of the few to be concrete about in-class exercises, alludes to the activity of identifying which educational decisions are shared and which are made at which governmental level. Like Caliguri, Goldman, Guthrie, Lucas, Rost, Worth, and the handful who use either the Wiles, Wiles, & Bondi text of *Practical Politics for School Administrators* (1981) or the Coplin & O'Leary text of *Everyman's Prince* (1976), Willink also schedules the discussion of real-life cases. Sometimes verbally, sometimes in writing, students in his and in other classes are expected to indicate what they would do differently from certain actors in the cases. Also from these materials, students are asked to formulate general propositions about coalition-building, conflict and crisis, the judicious mix of expertise and politics, and other aspects of the political process.

The Baird & Worth, the in-class consideration of a case means that they will bring in one or two actors who have been key actors in that case. In half a dozen other outlines of courses, other guests are announced. They include state legislators and commissioners, spokespersons of taxpayers' and teachers' associations, members of state and local boards, superintendents and principals, branch chiefs of regional labs, experts on court cases, and fellow-professors with expertise in finance. Anderson is the most expansive about how the student should respond to these visitors. Each student is to assist in the selection and introduction of guests, to listen to and take notes on all the guests' presentations, to ask appropriate questions, and to prepare a one page evaluation of each of their appearances.

Besides emphasizing academic articles, three syllabi allow some in-class emphasis on going up with contemporary events. Willink devotes a few minutes each session to

reviewing the school news of the week and his final meeting includes a review of the term's news-makers in the politics of education. Remarking that "This is a seminar-type class and your participation is required, not recommended," Rost expects students to stay abreast of educational developments treated in periodicals. Davies requires students to read, and be able to discuss, *Education Week*, or *Education Daily*, or *Education USA*, as well as relevant material appearing during the term in such newspapers as the *Boston Globe* and *New York Times*.

In a more long-minded view and as part of his intent to frame the issue of politics qua politics, Wiles puts students for an early part of his course into a simulation of the Framing of the Constitution in 1787 (incidentally, Wiles' capitalization of Framing here appears out of sync with the writing guide section of Lonsdale's syllabus). Pulling and hauling transpires as students experiment with constraints, pseudo-constraints, procedural devices for voting and debating, and perspectives for doing better than average in inventing government roles and rules. Like their counterparts of 200 years ago, students decide how much central control is enough and yet not too much for a new nation. Using modern schema, Wiles' students are to describe their own decision making processes and those of the Founding Fathers. In this most history-minded of syllabus activities, "The 'american' style of politics can be judged in many choice making contexts." (Why, though, the lower-case "American"?)

Cibulka concludes his syllabus on this unflinching note:

Students possessing a handicapping condition which requires the attention and consideration of the instructor should inform him in writing after the first class session. This document should include suggestions for what assistance is desired.

(A month after I read these lines and several sessions into a course of my own, a student who is hard-of-hearing cautiously asked me for a special permanent seat close to the front. This was a first for me—and because of her delay in asking, I wished Cibulka's invitation had been in my syllabus. It is now.)

Finally in this report on in-class activities, professors give reasons in syllabi why classes are eliminated at times that their colleagues down the hall are teaching. For instance, a far-west professor dismisses two classes, a month apart, for field work on term projects. For what he bills as an "advanced seminar," one midwest professor sets aside 4 of his 13 sessions as "Work period (no class)." A southeast professor is more explicit about what he does during the one session he misses: for one week, the only fully capitalized entry on his schedule is an anticipatory "NO CLASS—MEETING OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION."

Out-of-Class Activities

A major out-of-class (and after-course) activity is reading the (to say the least) eclectic literature on policy and politics. Some well-published authors guide students to one or more pieces of their writing; others—equally well-published—do not. And when mediate assignments for the upcoming week are over, certain students can peruse

discerning and hefty bibliographies, especially from Rost (his is handy with library call numbers) as well as Gove, Housego, Lucas, Reed, and Stout. Lists of periodicals appear in a few syllabi too, Lonsdale's 92 journals being four times more numerous than the next-longest list (Jakes).

When teaching near the seat of a state government, faculty can point their students to activities of the legislature, state board, or a system governing board. Gustafson in California and Matsler in Illinois do, looking for their students to attend Education Committee hearings (as grist for critical analyses of the proceedings). Davies & Cronin cast an even wider net: their focus is on Massachusetts but besides exploring that state's documents, interviewing officials in that state capitol, and having a 36-hour field assignment with a state leader, students of Davis & Cronin at Boston University travel by van together to Hartford for an immersion in Connecticut's political climate for schools.³

In a course of local politics, an occasional activity is for students to attend a meeting of a board for a community's schools. Anderson has students writing reports, pondering the most important problems attacked by the board, and comparing the official minutes with their observations. Burlingame and LaRocque ask for more: from attendance at two or more board meetings, students in their courses are to produce a description and analysis. Burlingame's syllabus gives useful hints for proceeding:

- 1) Review in the newspapers or with a community member the content of the previous meeting. Many times there are board watchers who are good sources of information.
- 2) Arrive early. Obtain both an agenda for the meeting (if one is available) and a comfortable chair with a good view of the room.
- 3) Keep up a steady pace of writing (even if it is nonsense on paper). Avoid sudden flurries of activity. Do not become an audience.
- 4) Explain your presence as a member of a graduate class. Tell the truth.
- 5) Write up your notes of the meeting immediately. An agenda is a great help. Fill in the gaps. Then, on a separate sheet, frame some impressions of what was happening.

Claiming that regularities can be established by comparing different settings, Jakes wants his students to take apart meetings of two different local school boards. Analyses are to cover the role of the chair and the secretary, the behavior of other actors, and the impacts of various procedures, physical settings, and issues.

Other Written Work

No two syllabi are close to being mirror images and so a wide variety of assignments are available for students to work through. This diversity is reflected in the expectations of those professors who specify the amount of writing that students should produce over the term (exclusive of exams). By and large, the page limits (about half of the time unstated) are from 4 to 30 pages for minimums and 15 to 45 pages for maximums. Let me now briefly characterize these professors' prospecti and their prescriptions for their students, i.e., behavioral and policy analyses, issue papers, community studies,

depictions of interest groups, critical reviews, action proposals, and journals of self-awareness.

For professorial "input and approval," students in about a dozen courses have to "clear" their subject matter before beginning their research. That is, anywhere from the second to the eleventh class meeting, these instructors expect students to consult with them about possible themes for term papers. For most prospects, students are to initiate the negotiation by submitting a one or two page proposal noting their problem, rationale, and methodology. Schwartz, requiring two papers, asks for two such proposals, each with a list of references.

More course assignments seem to emphasize 1) the analysis of data—ahead of 2) the articulation of strategies to solve political or policy problems and 3) the student's expression of his or her normative values. Assuredly, it is important to assert that these separations are not ironclad, for *definite overlaps occur*. Even so, this conventional trilogy is at least the beginning of a distinction among tendencies in many of the written assignments.

High Concern for Analysis of Data. Naturally enough, the analyses are to be informed by the courses' political and policy frameworks. Yet since the syllabi also draw upon historical, anthropological, other social scientific, and literary perspectives (the last very rarely), professors value the picking-apart of insights from these domains too.

Syllabi can be used to warn students about disappointments that previous paper-writers have given their instructors—or so I infer from a number of injunctions to think at an appropriate level. For instance, two syllabi declare straight-out—one with a quick quantitative measure that I underscore, the other with a more qualitative index of cognitive progress—that only a certain sort of scholarship is welcome:

The term paper is to be 12-18 pages, typed, double spaced with no fewer than 12 to 18 footnotes. (Michel)

(If you do a case study), it is not sufficient to base your description entirely on what you already know or knew about the case at the beginning of the course. . . . Be sure that your term project expresses clearly the relationship of your topic and of your treatment of that topic to the content of this course. (Lonsdale)

Perhaps too the very considerable differences between Johnston's two policy syllabi (for 1983 and 1986) stem from disappointments with submission of certain students in the first course. As something of a philosophical text, the later syllabus opens with a context-setting epigram—"The Difficulty in Life is the Choice"—banneted across page 1. That point is followed by

I cannot sufficiently underscore that our purpose is not just to learn how to fine-tune the dials on the governmental machine but to understand public policy as a choice of how we wish to live The trick is to analyze the course's parts as entities and as part of a whole that is in motion.

Did a few of the earlier students' writings disappoint, only fine-tuning and missing a whole in motion?

If students are expected to gather their own data for these interpretations, the duration of the field research can be fairly short-lived. For instance, students may be asked to conduct interviews (and to footnote them as sources) several administrators and "beneficiaries" of an educational program. The purpose of such a small sample of half-hour interviews is "not to reach conclusions and generalizations, but to raise questions and suggest issues for further study" (Davies & Cronin). For one of three "reaction papers," Wiles' students can analyze the data they observed in that previously-mentioned simulation on the Framing of the U. S. Constitution.

Occasionally in connection with reading Allison's (1971) tripartite analysis of the Cuban Missile Crisis or Peterson's quartering of *School Politics Chicago Style* (1976), students are asked to apply alternative models of decision or policy making (Contreras, Davies, Housego, Kirst, Schwartz). A goal is to make sense of particular episodes or slices of political life. In this vein, Rost's approach appears the most cumulative. Early on, following an "instructions sheet," Rost's students analyze a case using three alternative perspectives of policy behavior (rational, organizational process, political bargaining). Weeks later, his students appraise another case using four theories of political interaction (systems, group, pluralist, leadership). Toward his course's end, Rost invites students to sort out a third case with those forementioned seven lenses.

Also valued are papers where students evaluate or synthesize the scholarly literature on the standard stages in the policy process cycle, e.g., Burlingame, Brubacher, Cistone, Johnston, Lachman, Matsler, Reed, Sparkman. A goal also can be to trace the fate of a single educational innovation. In a course examining the dynamics of policy formulation and realization, Ginsberg, for instance, gives three options for the second term paper that he requires:

- 1) select a federal education policy and discuss its innovation, adoption, and implementation,
- 2) select a federal policy applied in your local school system and discuss its innovation, adoption, and implementation;
- 3) review *A Nation at Risk* (1983), recent research on its effectiveness, and discuss its implementation.

For another example, Lipsky cogently has his students produce a set of related papers that, taken together, traverse the whole policy cycle, from problem finding to evaluating the ways a particular organization handles the resultant policy.⁴

The syllabus of Cibulka exemplifies those which tend to stress a fluctuating analysis of critical readings and certain major policy problems. After working through various readings, students discuss the policy tradition in society's controversial issues, e.g., federal cutbacks, statewide testing, desegregation or integration, decentralization, school security, accountability, partnerships with business, the management of decline. The contemporary debate over existing policy, criticisms of the status quo, and dominant alternatives are probed. Then in their writings, Cibulka's students tackle one of these hot issues using the class's relevant concepts of efficiency, productivity, equity, choice, and

siveness:

68 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

The purpose of this exercise is to help you apply concepts to actual issues in an appropriate way and to gain practice in *analyzing issues*, not merely describing them. You *may* (but do not have to) include an action plan for resolving this problem.

Other syllabi lay out additional issues (e.g., labor relations, budget defeats, declining enrollments) that students may probe, but the most extensive lists are both in courses for the politics of higher education, Lonsdale's and Schuster's. A student can use Lonsdale's list for three requirements, two of which pump for analysis, not intervention:

1. As a prelude to an analytic paper, the student can frame some of those issues into questions for interviewing officials. Some of those interviewees should work for organizations other than the one that employs the student.
2. The list of issues can suggest a topic for the student to examine in the professional, scholarly literature; an article on that topic is to be tracked down by the student and critiqued.
3. A final writing can be a position paper, one that mixes analyzing with strategizing. After taking apart different sides of a major issue, the student is to make a stand in support of that view, giving the justification for that intervention. (My paraphrase)

Students in Schuster's class also stake out and defend a position on their instructor's different list of "burning topics of the day!" although—indicative of a leaning toward analysis more than advocacy—"an historical analysis of a past episode might be acceptable."

Community studies are assigned less frequently than issue studies. Brubacher commends Hunter's (1953) power structure approach or Dahl's (1961) issue-tracing approach to understanding the student's locality while Ward favors the pitch of Wirt & Kirst (1982) towards community analysis (in chapter 4 in their most cited textbook). To tie together various learnings, Gustafson elicits profiles of school districts:

This profile will include such things as the roles of the formal organizational leadership, informal leadership, significant special interest groups, relationships with the broader government structure, political analysis of the community (with regard to education), professional educational organization, media, etc. Be as specific as possible, including positions of the various actors.

That knowledge of interest groups is part of a core understanding is attested to by Burlingame, Brubacher, Davies, and Willink. Students are to learn about a local or state group with a history of pressuring authorities in education—through vertical files in local libraries and face-to-face or telephone interviews (which can follow the Hunter or Dahl methodologies for investigating power structures). Papers are to describe and evaluate the group's purposes, structure, and effectiveness in supporting or criticizing schools; to point out how its lobbying and coalition building are carried out, by whom, and for which policy makers; to detect ways in which the group may be influenced by a national organization; and to conclude if it fits various typologies in the literature. Other

professors' guidelines are sufficiently open for their students also to inquire into interest groups and power structures, so long as students use data to support their statements.

Reviews are a final type of written (and oral) assignment that stress analysis. They: treat novels, biographies, and autobiographies (Anderson); synopses, either in one- or two-pagers (Boyd) or on 5" x 8" cards (Contreras); precis and compare two articles espousing contrasting viewpoints on the same topic (Brubacher, Housego, Schuster); become elements in an annotated bibliography (LaRocque); show possible applications to education of theoretical ideas from an article in a journal of political science (Lonsdale); are duplicated so that each member of the seminar will have a copy of each other's notes over successive weeks (Osvie); critique parts of classic books by intellectuals about politics (Reed, Treslan); and include reactions to each of the course's seven major topics (Sparkman). By far, the most constructive and ample advice for the student appraisers is Stout's:

What is a critical review of the literature?

- A. Focused on a question about relationships as in: What is generally known about the relationship between school board incumbent defeats and the tenure of the Superintendent?
- B. Uses available studies as the data base for answering the question posed.
- C. Uses "conclusions" from available studies on a selective or discriminating bases—some studies are better (more reliable/valid) than others.
- D. Attempts to construct in a general way the "known."
- E. Analyzes the "known" against some theoretical construct(s).
- F. Analyzes (Discusses/Raises) questions not yet answered but worth asking.
- G. Takes the general form of a scholarly argument (persuasion) in which the writer attempts to edify (convince) an informed and skeptical audience that the writer has made sense out of a body of available studies.

As a good example of a critical review, Stout mentions Lutz's (1977) "Methods and Conceptualizations of Political Power in Education."

Concern for Strategy. As I read the 81 syllabi, an effect of various assignments is not only to foster dialogue in interpreting phenomena but to move the student toward political or policy action. The action may not be a major effort: one of Rost's requirements, for instance, is that each student write a letter to a politician. Lonsdale's approach is more extended in one of his options: a group of his students can develop new policy or legislation or an important revision in current policy or legislation. Lonsdale requires a clear statement of the problem necessitating the new or amended policy/legislation, what the policy/legislation is to effect, a plan to build political support, and the actual technical text of the policy/legislation. Each member of the group is to have a distinct responsibility for a section of this activist report, which is to bear his or her name.

Implicit in the bulk of syllabi for the politics of education courses is the assumption that the analytic assignments will assist students in coming to grips with matters they are likely to encounter in the future. An *explicit* interest in everyday practice appears less

It appears in Caliguri's requirement that, in writing term papers, students deal with on-the-job political problems which relate "to professional role or ambition." Then too, students who complete Catterall's course in politics, writing decision-forcing case analyses and other papers, are expected to "gain awareness and political skills that will be useful to them in their roles within educational institutions." Through diverse class activities, Catterall's students also are to gain "capacities of potential benefit to the institutions and clients which they serve." Licklider's students, in developing three answers to, "Who should attend college and what should they study?" and another three answers to, "Who should pay for higher education?" are expected to familiarize themselves with arguments and resolutions that will face them in their later careers.

Though strongly valuing conceptualization, in the end Iannaccone's directions for one of the term-paper options in his politics course also go well past the mere observation of behavior. Unlike the issues course of Cibulka and others, the "problem" for Iannaccone need not be one of the blockbuster concerns of contemporary education and society:

1. Identify and briefly describe a problem of interest to you which lends itself to political analysis. (Most such problems will be educational as well as political and often consist of a number of related problems.)
2. Relimit in two ways: (a) Reexamine what you have identified and described to ascertain whether you have identified a *set* of problems and (b) distinguish the problem you select from other problems and the *political* problem from other aspects of the problem.
3. Choose political concepts or sets of concepts from your reading and the lectures which you find most appropriate for examining and explaining the nature of the political problem you selected.
4. See whether you can now restate the problem you have selected using your chosen concepts to identify and describe it.
5. Analyze the political problem using the concepts you have chosen and, where appropriate, the theory or theories related to those concepts. Analysis involves *explanation* of the problem, e.g., how it became a problem, its basic problematic nature, and what consequences will predictably flow from it, or a combination of these.
6. Draw conclusions *based on* #5, e.g., how the problem should be or can be better viewed by policy makers and/or others, or suggest a strategy for intervention to deal with the problem as now understood, i.e., following your analysis in #5, or ??, at least *do something* based on your analysis-explanation. (The last underscoring is mine.)

In addition to analyses and normative values, syllabi-writers for the various policy courses also stress that students will develop usable on-the-job practices through writings for their courses. For instance, while considering gaps in programs for dropout prevention and special education, Odden helps his students at Southern California develop a set of policy papers that, among other frameworks, exploit Elmore's (1979-80) technique of backward mapping. On the other coast and after sorting through various policy studies and such issues as effective school and teacher education, Clark & Versteegen's students at Virginia also generate policy alternatives to improve education.

High Concern for Student's Normative Values. "Journals are essentially your reflections on the readings, course discussions, and your experiences in an education setting," Navarro writes in introduction of his two assignments designed to have students critically reflect on the organization of social relations that support and maintain differential access to education. "No more than three pages (handwritten) are required each day," Navarro adds. His bibliographic sources are not overly British, where micro-politics today flourishes among such sociologists of education as Ball (1987), but Navarro's openness to goal diversities and group interests within schools makes his a most micro-political of assignments.

"A journal of personal experiences and awareness" is what Iannaccone also proposes—to supplement his "problem of interest" option above. He also puts forward another awareness option, one that requires analysis as well: students can make a "personal response" to a clipping file's weekly cutouts and commentaries; paper-writers should develop a "brief interpretation of meaning and significance: (What is its Figure ground relationship)."

Most emphatically of all the syllabi in this review, Baird & Worth's syllabus solicits

... a statement of political philosophy or ideology addressing the several philosophical and other issues raised in the seminar. Philosophical and other doubts and uncertainties will be sympathetically understood, but denials that you do have a political philosophy or ideology will not be accepted. (If you do not have a political philosophy or ideology, you should get one—by order of police).

Exams and Rewrites

Testing is a topic about which syllabus-writers are fairly closed-mouth. About all that I could extract from the 81 documents is that 43 definitely give exams, 25 do not, and 13 may or may not (no reference to a test is made). The exams seem to range in grade value from 25 percent (the most common worth) to 70 percent. Boyd, the 70 percenter, is one of five or six to articulate any criteria; he says he gives an A "only for superior academic work demonstrating mastery of course content and excellent writing and analytical skill."

The shortest time length mentioned is 1 1/2 hours, the longest 2 1/2 hours. The exams are: objective-type, based primarily on the text and possibly including definitions (Anderson); open-book with a choice of questions (Burlingame); closed-book (Michel); take home, if the student chooses not to write a final paper (Catterall); require 15 pages of writing (Odden); must be written in blue books (Tucker), and given at midterm and end-of-term (Boyd, Cistone & Leary, Tucker, Ward, Whetten). Students should beware since "Make-ups will not be considered because of the difficulty in administering them" (Michel). Of the essay examiners, Rost is the most substantive, forewarning students that he asks:

... 3 or 4 questions concerning 1) policy making and policy analysis, 2) integrating and distinguishing the models, 3) evaluating the models, 4) discussing policy making processes as a researcher/scholar.

72 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

Happily, these distinctions reflect Rost's course organization.

Besides essay exams "used in order to facilitate synthesis of materials and topics covered in readings and in class," Guthrie has a way to involve his students in the construction of multiple-choice questions. As he explains:

Each week students will be expected to submit two (2) so-called objective test questions based upon the Guthrie-Reed (1986) and the Guthrie, Garms, Pierce (1978) textbooks. This is a total of 30 questions from each student. These questions should be multiple choice in form and should stress an important principle, person, factual item, or research finding derived from the reading. At least two questions are due each week. Questions may be submitted in advance, however. Question submissions should follow this format: a) All questions for a given chapter or reading should be submitted on *one* sheet of paper. A new chapter, a new sheet. b) Each question should have *five* possible answers. c) The correct answer should be identified, and the page number on which a discussion or mention of the answer should be supplied. d) Submissions should be typewritten.

As part of his final exam, Guthrie chooses some of the best multiple-choice questions submitted by students in these weekly assignments.

Only one professor, Licklider, opens himself up for rewrites of papers by students. About two papers that require "thought rather than reading outside of the syllabus," he notes:

Any paper which receives a C+ or worse may be rewritten; the new version will be graded independently and averaged with the original to calculate your paper grade.

In another move (which I interpret as humane), Licklider says "typewritten papers are preferred but not required."

In Retrospect

I had six disappointing surprises in looking over these materials. They are mentioned in ascending order of importance.

The first and smallest surprise is that no syllabi-writer encourages pre-course and over-the-summer reading. Especially for doctoral students of whom much is expected, this encouragement could be given by writing in a syllabus that "I will assume knowledge of the politics of at least equivalent to K. Prewitt and S. Verba's *Introduction to American Government* (1983) and one of Iannaccone's pioneering works (e.g., *Politics in Education*, 1967)"—or whatever articles and books the instructor considers 1) a minimal background about basic features of democracy and education and 2) a useful reference for consultation during the term.

I was surprised as well by the paucity of methodological hints for doing papers. To those already-quoted guidelines of Burlingame, Iannaccone, Rost, and Stout, I should add

that Lutz has references to the participant-observation text by McCall & Simmons (1969) while Lonsdale alerts students to several works on preparing case studies. Wiles expects his students to react to a paper or two (e.g., Phillips, 1981) that compare logics of research methodology (Wiles adds that "good politics always reflects two or more 'contrasting' logics"). Two or three other writers of syllabi verge toward a caring treatment of craft, but that's about all. To be sure, some may scoff at these directions as "cookbook recipes." I wager, however, that certain students do learn within this mode and that most students find such points suggestive.

Thirdly, in the hope that our politics of education world was not too self-contained to rest on its early understandings, I had expected to find syllabi in tune with certain major themes that are on the intellectual landscape these days. Because "perhaps the most intense interest [may exist today] in rhetoric since the Renaissance" (Nelson, 1983, 1984), I was surprised that *political language* is not a common theme (for this focus in education, however, see Acker, 1980; Gronn, 1983; Townsend, 1988). I would have thought that *political socialization* would have been a more popular topic. Then too, remembering Peterson's (1984) review of the three new conceptual faces to the politics of education, I looked for readings and assignments shot through with *economic theory* (responding to questions such as, "What are the conditions under which individuals will act together?" and, "Are public schools quasi-monopolies?"), *organizational theory* (emphasizing role-incumbents' biases, perceptions, limited time, and inadequate information), and *Marxist historicism* (pondering whether schools help resolve the contradiction between the need for continuing capital accumulation and the necessity of preserving popular legitimacy). These three perspectives of the 1980s do appear, indeed handsomely so, in a number of syllabi that allude for instance to individuals' economic self-interests, organizational actors' implementations of policy, and elites using the schools to perpetuate existing Marxist patterns of domination and subjection. More assignments and readings seem rooted, though, in what Peterson characterizes as the intellectual handles of the 1960s, viz., decision making theory, group theory, systems theory, and social-psychological concepts, all applied to questions of institutional governance. My disappointment on this score, though, is muted for I suspect that in introductory courses, these "oldies" may still be part of the field's core.

The fourth surprise is that few evidently seem to stand on the shoulders of those who have written over the past decade or so about teaching politics and policy. These articles are within resourceful journals such as the British *Teaching Politics* (now *Talking Politics*) or the American *Teaching Political Science* (and, for that matter, *Teaching Sociology* and *Teaching Philosophy*). If authors of the 81 syllabi know about the standout ideas on course activities and assignments that these journals have published, our syllabi-writers are not appreciative enough to imitate. I think, though, that certain of those published ideas, suitably modified for the professor's own orientations, might invigorate North American teachings.⁵

Precious few assignments directly summon expressions of the student's values, of the learner explicating and refining his or her own working models of reality and life—and that was a fifth surprise to me. After all, as Karl Jaspers (1954) observes in *Way to Wisdom* (my OISE colleague Gerry McLeod uses this paragraph in his syllabus on Organizational Analysis):

There is no escape from philosophy. The question is only whether a philosophy is conscious or not, whether it is good or bad, muddled or clear. Anyone who rejects philosophy in himself is unconsciously practicing philosophy.

Perhaps in class discussion, however, instructors value the student's reflexivity; perhaps their students do struggle in delineating their political philosophies and therefore enhancing their comprehension of self and society. Perhaps too in spoken directions for term papers, professors explicitly coax the student to bring out the implicit theories and credos on which he or she bases experiences. Through their assigned work, faculty plainly appreciate other academics as experts, but if these syllabi-writers also have some strategy that gives the student some credit for having expertise and values in his or her own world, such a strategy does not shine through. A contemporary debate is going on over the choice of paradigms for educational analysis, particularly in Commonwealth nations. Individual professors elsewhere may be animated or at least touched by this rethinking of philosophical assumptions too and by the recently reawakened interest in the ethics of administrators.⁶ Nonetheless, that yeastiness is hardly overt in any of the reviewed syllabi.

Of course any professor is grandly more than her or his course of study, but my biggest surprise was how little effort some professors seem to put in their syllabi. In rebuttal, they may assert—with due appreciation for the give-and-take of politics and policy making—that the indefiniteness and vagueness of their syllabi enable the student to imagine the course as whatever she or he wants it to be; premature specificity, then, might just scare off prospective students. Or perhaps these faculty save their best teaching ideas for personal orality in their classes; the written record may count, especially in required readings and assigned papers, but otherwise students presumably are to hang onto and write down these professors' spoken words. Possibly, the leaver-outers among syllabus-writers may agree with Albert Einstein that "the most beautiful thing we experience in the universe is the mysterious . . . it is the source of all true art and science." Arguably, the syllabus without mystery and with specificity may diminish the instructor of chances to respond spontaneously to concerns voiced by students.

I agree that this responsiveness may indeed be the most beautiful quality of any lesson. All the same, I take a completely different view toward syllabi that are barely one or two pages long, without any exposition on the structure of the course or the nature of the papers: precious in-classroom time is wasted by instructors who choose to verbalize routines and concerns that their printed specifications could express. My proposition is that when a professor has a course guide that is truly instructive (even if it is rambling, as several are), he or she can interact more with students over substantive ideas.

In any event, I imagine that all of us who teach find it difficult to articulate our means for helping increase students' knowledge of the politics and policy making of education. Nevertheless as I have tried to show with the exemplars above, aspects of certain syllabi do appear to be rigorous, sensitive, and imaginative.

Notes

1. Remembering an article of mine on teaching materials ("Dear Colleague, What Texts Do You Use?" in *PEA News*, Spring, 1984), Don Layton encouraged me in this

overview of assignments and activities, with the proviso that "none of the contributors feel as if they have been had." I am profoundly obliged to the 67 faculty who sent along (to Layton) one or more outlines for this review, and hope that they might agree that they have not been victimized.

2. Guthrie adds a qualifier to his observation that he will draw on the week's texts—the class "will not dwell upon detailed material already contained in reading assignments." Mann puts further distance between his presentations and seven texts, noting that "My lectures are independent of the reading."
3. At Boston University, Davies—this time in conjunction with A. Cohen—also mounts a seminar on federal politics where Boston University students travel to Washington, DC. There they meet with members of Congress and their staffs, discuss Department of Education policy with administrators, talk with evaluators at various "think tanks," interview lobbyists and members of advocacy organizations, question officials in the Office of Management and Budget, and so forth.
4. For an interpretation of another course requiring a series of papers on varied phases of the policy process, see Beryl A. Radin (1978). "On teaching policy implementation," *Policy Analysis*, 4, 261-273.
5. If I may intrude on the turf already covered in this monograph by Richard Englert, I was disappointed—but not particularly surprised since contexts are different and important—by the scantness of readings by authors other than North Americans. Housego assigns C. P. Snow's *The Masters* (1951), Layton and Lonsdale include Australians Grant Harman and P. E. Corcoran; Levy and Licklider in a cosmopolitan fashion guide students through into other nations' issues; Yehezkel Dror is in several quoting circles; A. H. Halsey, M. Kogan, S. Lukes, and a few other Europeans grace a couple of lists, but generally in these syllabi, ethnocentrism seems to be an American strong suit.
6. Again overlapping a bit with my colleague Englert's territory for this monograph, I bemoan the near-absence of readings dealing with personal morality and political ethics. Granted, references are made to Ralph Kimbrough's *Ethics: A Course of Study for Educational Leaders* (AASA: Arlington, 1984), to Tyll van Geel's article on "John Rawls and Educational Politics" in *Political Science and School Politics: The Prince and the Pundits* (S. Gove & F. Wirt, Eds., Lexington: DC Heath, 1976), to Bernard de Jouvenel's *On Power: Its Nature and the History of Its Growth* (Westport: Greenwood, 1981), and to a few other scholars who deal with values. Yet where in these syllabi are beckonings to such gems as: Michael Walzer's "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands" in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 2 (Winter, 1973); Weber's "Politics as a Vocation" in *From Max Weber* (H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills, eds., New York: Oxford University Press, 1958); and Chris Hodgkinson's *Toward A Philosophy of Administration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

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AFTERWORD

Rip Van Winkle and the Politics of Education

William Lowe Boyd

The "Politics of Education Teaching and Research Project," jointly sponsored by Temple University and the State University of New York at Albany, has greatly increased our knowledge about the status of the teaching of educational politics at universities in North America. In conceiving and executing this project, with assistance from Robert Stout and Richard Townsend, Richard Englert, Donald Layton, and Jay Scribner have made an important contribution to the field (see Englert, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c; Scribner, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c; Townsend, 1987).

When I was asked to be a discussant at the presentation of project papers at UCEA's first annual convention, at Charlottesville, Virginia, I was especially struck by Jay Scribner's (1987c) colorful use of the Rip Van Winkle legend to portray his shock and rude awakening about the status of politics of education courses when he returned to the professorship after some ten years as a dean:

Imagine, like Rip Van Winkle, you fall asleep ten or twelve years ago, only to be awakened at a departmental faculty meeting. Surrounding you in this new department, they call Educational Administration and Policy Studies, are faculty deciding where you fit into their department. Before you slipped into the deep sleep you do recall teaching politics of education and administrative theory courses. You were a true-believer in the application of concepts from the social and behavioral sciences to training programs for educational leaders. You find, not only some misgivings among the skeptical onlookers, but that the politics of education course and seminar have not been offered for a few years. And you are being told that when it was, it was neither required, nor heavily attended as an elective.

The dialogue unfolds, as follows:

Department Chairperson: Well, Rip, since you fell asleep we have become very specialized.

Rip: Oh, yeah? I thought we were pretty specialized before I was lured into my deep sleep in the early 70s.

First Old Ed Admin Faculty Person: Rip, the fact of the matter is the hiring we did in the late 60s and early 70s introduced us to a whole lot of "fluff" about teaching students ways of dealing with uncertainty. We've gotten away from the "mind games" about complex organizations and uncertain environments and back to basics. We're not only specialized, we're specializing in the "bread and butter" courses like finance, personnel, principalship, school plant planning. We're back to *what* administrators do!

Rip's mind wanders. He thinks, "Deciding my fate won't be easy. I wonder what happened to the notion of 'why administrators do?'" (Scribner, 1987c, pp. 1-2)

Scribner's perceptive dialogue (which continues beyond the portion quoted) highlights many important developments affecting the teaching of educational politics. When "Rip" fell asleep in the early 1970s, the politics of education was fast emerging as an important field in educational administration preparation programs. It was, or seemed, destined to be a required part of the core courses in educational administration. Building upon knowledge and concepts from the social sciences, it focused on political processes in educational decision making and on who won and who lost in policy decisions. Early on, there was a fairly widely shared consensus about what the field consisted of, a consensus largely forged around the pioneering work of people like Laurence Iannaccone (1966).

When "Rip" awakened some ten years later, rather than being solidified the field still was emerging. Moreover, due in part to academic specialization and fragmentation, there was much less agreement and conviction about the substance of the field and whether it was important enough to be part of the required core in educational administration programs. Indeed, in some places it was no longer offered, even as an elective.

Understandably, "Rip" was struck by the cutting ironies of these developments. First, education clearly is now *more*, not *less*, a part of American politics than it was when Iannaccone and others began to strip away the myths separating educational decision making from other governmental policy making. The statewide "excellence" reform movement and provocative actions of the Reagan administration have led to unprecedented involvement of state legislators and governors in educational policy making (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988). To an extent never known before, education has become an important and profitable campaign issue for state and national politicians.

Second, the "excellence" reform movement has increased the importance of understanding educational politics, but if anything, ignorance of the subject is more apparent than ever. As I have noted elsewhere (Boyd, 1987), confusion and ignorance abound about school politics. Evidence of this was apparent, for example, in the reactions from the audience to the keynote address, opening the UCEA conference in Charlottesville, by Assistant Secretary of Education, Chester Finn. Several people in the audience suggested that the contemporary furor over the quality of schooling was excessive and blamed state legislators for proposing unnecessary legislation for educational reform. Many in the audience appeared both angry and mystified over these developments. They seemed to think that politicians and the public are supposed to sit by quietly and wait for the

professional educators to recognize that they have a crisis on their hands. Even a small dose of knowledge about educational politics would dispel this illusion.

What Happened to the Educational Politics Field?

We can say of educational politics what Peter Bennis once said in another context: "A funny thing happened on the way to the future." One of the ironies is that, in terms of our knowledge base, we really are much further along than in the past. Paradoxically, however, some of the ways we have progressed have contributed to the complexity and confusion of the current state of affairs. First, there has been a collapse of confidence in traditional approaches to organization theory. Rational, closed-system approaches to organizational theory have given away to a complex melange of "non-rational" theories, such as loose-coupling (Wick, 1976), organized anarchies (March & Olsen, 1976), negotiated order (Strauss, 1963), and "institutionalized" organizations concerned with "ritual classifications" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978). As George Noblit (1986) has pointed out, research on educational organizations played a large part in the growing challenge to the rational paradigm of organizations. Significantly, this research revealed that behavior in educational organizations was influenced far more by politics, culture, and symbols than was appreciated earlier (Bacharach & Mitchell, 1987; March & Olsen, 1976; Meyer et al., 1978). Much of the glue holding together loosely coupled organizations is composed of myth and ceremonies, political exchanges, and bargaining and negotiation. These findings have enriched knowledge about educational politics, but have presented a more complex picture of its organizational dimensions.

In this context, it is well worth noting another observation that Noblit (1986, p. 46) makes: "Administration, to use Benson's argument, tries to promote a rational morphology. In educational administration, the need for legitimation promoted the rational model Since it is their basis of legitimacy, they are unlikely to see major problems with it." Thus, even though educational administration programs provide the usual home for politics of education courses, there still may be some ambivalence toward its inclusion in this domain. Consequently, it should not be too surprising that some of the brethren, both academics and practitioners of educational administration, may continue to feel that educational politics is either (a) "not that important" or (b) is something that should be stamped out.

Part of the reassessment of organizational theory has come from insights gained from research on the implementation of innovations and new social policies. This research has illuminated the complexities of organizational behavior and management and the difficulties of designing successful policies (Elmore, 1978, 1983). At the same time, it has produced a controversy over the extent to which successful implementation processes are characterized by "top-down" or "bottom-up" approaches or by a mixture of both strategies (Boyd, 1987; Rabe & Peterson, 1983). Implementation research has been characterized by a trend toward convergence in political and organizational theory, but the full synthesis of this development still remains to be achieved.

The emergence and rapid growth of the "policy studies" field has broadened and enriched, but also fragmented the focus of the politics of education field. Unfortunately, colleges of education the "policy studies" label has been applied quite promiscuously.

cuously as an umbrella lending an air of coherence to diverse mergers of disparate faculty and under-enrolled programs in search of a respectable reason for being. Most of this has been done with no attention to what policy studies programs should look like. The only "policy" some of these newly merged faculty members really can identify with is "early retirement." In hodge-podge mergers involving formerly separate programs in social foundations of education, educational administration, higher education, adult and continuing education, and perhaps a few other odds and ends, there is a frequent blurring of the meaning and identity of courses in education policy and the politics of education. People seldom even try to define what is meant by "policy studies" and "policy analysis." As in *Alice in Wonderland*, it often is convenient just to let everyone mean by the terms exactly what they want, no more and no less.

At the same time that our knowledge base has grown but become more complex and confusing, thinking about educational administration programs has shifted away from the social science "theory" model. Recently, the quest for a new "Holy Grail" to replace the "theory movement" has settled on a new shibboleth, "clinical relevance for practitioners." This is evident in the tilt of the report of the UCEA Commission on "Excellence in Educational Administration." This development has raised anew the classic question: What knowledge is of most worth for school administrators, but with a twist emphasizing the possible disjunction between the craft knowledge of practitioners and the research-based knowledge of scholars. At the extreme, some people wonder if academic learning has anything to offer the intuitive craftsmen of the educational workplace.

The politics of education, at least as traditionally conceived and taught, is poorly positioned for claiming a place in an educational administration program planned in terms of clinical relevance for practitioners. This is so because our courses usually have a conceptual and scientific rather than intuitive and craft-like approach, and they generally have a macro rather than micro focus. Probably because of their rich diversity, we often have not been as effective as we should have been in integrating the new organizational theories, implementation findings, and policy studies approaches into our courses. Thus, we probably seldom show how well education policy and politics courses can "put it all together" in a way really valuable and relevant for understanding school improvement and the work of school administrators.

What "Rip" Can Take Comfort From

Despite all the points outlined above, "Rip" actually has little reason to fear bad dreams or another rude awakening if he dozes off again. There are many encouraging signs on the horizon for the politics of education field. First, strides are being made toward a synthesis of the diverse strands of developments in politics, organizational and economic theory, and policy and implementation analysis. For instance, even if a full synthesis may be a long time coming, developments in the field of the economics of organizational behavior are impressive in themselves (Barney & Ouchi, 1986; Moe, 1984; Zald, 1987). Combining a "contractual perspective on organizational relationship, a theoretical focus on hierarchical control, and formal analysis via principal-agent models" (Moe, 1984, p. 739), the new economics of organizations is moving toward a new theory of hierarchy that illuminates the classical concern for balancing induce-

ments and contributions in organizations (Barnard, 1938). In so doing, it aids the investigation of questions of personal goals, information asymmetry, shirking, monitoring devices, and incentive structures that range up and down a complex, multi-stage hierarchy of institution and environment (Crowson & Boyd, 1987).

Signs of synthesis also appear in the multi-disciplinary work on-going in policy analysis arenas. This weaving together of politics, economics, sociology, and organization theory is particularly evident in many of the articles published in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. This trend is also evident in some of the chapters in the first Yearbook (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988) of the Politics of Education Association (PEA).

Even without venturing into policy analysis or the new economics of organizations, one can see multi-disciplinary approaches and the search for synthesis in a number of recent books in the organization theory domain. An especially striking example is found in Bolman and Deal's (1984) *Modern Approaches to Understanding and Managing Organizations*, with its emphasis on using multiple frameworks for analysis and its sensitivity to the political and cultural sides of organizational life.

Along with the launching of PEA's new Yearbook series, another encouraging sign can be found in the fact that several new or revised textbooks are now available, including Wirt and Kirst's (1988) new edition of *Schools in Conflict*; Guthrie, Garms, and Pierce's (1988) new edition of their policy-oriented school finance text; Spring's (1988) *Conflict of Interests*; and Hoyle's (1986) *The Politics of School Management*. In addition, there are reports of several new textbooks on the politics of education being written that may be available in the not too distant future.

Developments that are beginning to balance the traditional focus of the politics of education—the macro picture can be found in research on implementation, discussed above—the new interest in school site management and the *micropolitics* of schools (Ball, 1987; Hoyle, 1985, 1986). Findings and insights from the latter connect very neatly with work on the economics of organizations public choice analyses of the productivity problems of public schools (Beyd & Hartman, forthcoming). More importantly, from a practical view point, micropolitical approaches link up very well with the clinical and craft knowledge needs of practitioners, one of our field's traditional weak points. Perhaps our field is moving, as Aaron Wildavsky (1985) discerned in the field of policy analysis, from a "macro-macho" approach to a more "micro-incremental" approach to its problems.

Finally, specialists in educational politics and policy can rely on the fact that national and international trends—political, economics, and demographic—seem to guarantee continued political pressures on education systems worldwide (Wirt & Harman, 1986). In this context, demands for greater productivity and for performance and accountability measures are not going to go away. Because the stakes are high and the interests at stake are varied, controversy and debate over education are inevitable. Thus, the study of educational politics and policy will survive and prosper despite some growing pains along the way.

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APPENDIX A

Bibliography of Required Texts for Sample Syllabi of Courses Dealing with the Politics of Education

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90 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

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92 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

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*Listed as required textbook for one course. Search of all available sources does not reveal listing for this work.

APPENDIX B

Illustrative Case Studies in Educational Administration

*[As Compiled by Richard C. Lonsdale, New York University
in a Course Syllabus for E98.2135, Politics of Higher Education
Fall 1986-87]*

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Ladd, E. T., & Sayres, W. C. (Eds.). (1962). *Social aspects of education: A casebook*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Litwack, L., Holmes, J., & O'Hern, J. (1966). A problems casebook. *Critical issues in student personnel work*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Ranninger, B. J., Bessent, F. W., & Greer, J. T. (1969). *Elementary school administration: A casebook*. Scranton, PA: International Textbook Company.

Sargent, C. G., & Belisle, E. L. (1955). *Educational administration. Cases and concepts*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Webb, H., and Webb, D. (1967). *School administration. A casebook*. Scranton, PA: International Textbook Company.

APPENDIX C

Partial Listing of Political Novels, Biographies, Autobiographies

*[As Compiled by Stuart A. Anderson, Sangamon State
University in a Course Syllabus for ADE 504, Politics of
Higher Education Spring 1982]*

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| Abrams. (1967). <i>This island, now.</i> | Doctorow. (1971). <i>The book of Daniel.</i> |
| Anderson. (1972). <i>The approach to kings.</i> | Dreiser. (1914). <i>The titan.</i> |
| Anthony. (1970). <i>Assassin.</i> | Drury. (1962). <i>A shade of difference.</i> |
| Asturias. (1971). <i>Green Pope.</i> | Drury. (1959). <i>Advise and consent.</i> |
| Bellow. (1981). <i>The dean's December.</i> | Drury. (1966). <i>Capable of honor.</i> |
| Buechner. (1958). <i>The return of Ansel Gibbs.</i> | Drury. (1968). <i>Preserve and protect.</i> |
| Burroway. (1970). <i>The buzzards.</i> | Drury. (1975). <i>The promise of joy.</i> |
| Caldwell, T. (1972). <i>Captains and the kings.</i> | Drury. (1967). <i>A shade of difference.</i> |
| | Drury. (1971). <i>The throne of Saturn.</i> |
| Cater. (1970). <i>The irrelevant man.</i> | Fitzgerald. (1980). <i>Brass.</i> |
| Condon. (1974). <i>Winter kills.</i> | Flood. (1972). <i>Trouble at the top.</i> |
| Coover. (1977). <i>The public burning.</i> | Forsyth. (1971). <i>Day of the jackal.</i> |

98 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

- Galbraith. (1968). *The triumph*. O'Connor. (1966). *All in the family*.
- Greenlee. (1969). *The spook who sat by the door*. O'Connor. (1956). *Last nurrh*.
- Guerrier. (1970). *State of emergency*. O'Connor. (1970). *Clout: Mayor Daiey and his city*.
- Haas. (1967). *Lost va'ry*. Pearson. (1969). *The senator*.
- Hough. (1973). *A two-car funeral*. Rakove. (1975). *Don't make no waves, don't back no losers*.
- Johnson. (1968). *The presidential plot*. Read. (1969). *Professor's daughter*.
- Karp. (1956). *All honorable men*. Rennert. (1969). *Moment in Camelot*.
- Kennedy. (1977). *Father's day*. Royko. (1971). *Boss*.
- Kennedy. (1977). *St. Patrick's day with mayor Daley*. Salinger. (1971). *On instructions of my government*.
- Knebel. (1965). *Night of camp David*. Searls. (1972). *Pentagon*.
- Knebel. *The convention*. Serling. (1968). *President's plane is missing*.
- Knebel. (1962). *Seven days in May*. Sheed. (1973). *People will always be kind*.
- Knebel. (1970). *Trespass*. Sheehan. (1971). *Governor*.
- Knebel. (1972). *Dark horse*. Stapp. (1970). *More perfect union*.
- Knebel. (1968). *Vanished*. Swados. (1974). *Celebration*.
- Lang. (1972). *Binary*. Trilling. (1950). *The middle of the journey*.
- Mailer. (1972). *St. George and the godfather*. Twain. (1890). *The gilded age*.
- Mailer. (1976). *Some honorable men: Political conventions 1960-72*. Wallace. (1964). *The man*.
- Markham. (1971). *Election*. Warren. *All the king's men*.
- Mierle. (1969). *Day of the dolphin*. Wicker. (1973). *Facing the lions*.
- Mvrrer. (1973). *The tiger waits*. Wicker. (1975). *A time to die*.

APPENDIX D

Selected Papers and Documents Produced by the POE-TAR Project Investigators

*For further information please contact
individual authors.*

Englert, R. M. (1987, April 15). *Bibliography: Required and Supplemental Readings—Sample of 89 Course Syllabi, Politics of Education*. Unpublished paper. Philadelphia: Temple University. 73 pp. Hundreds of biographical entries of works currently used in politics of education classes.

Englert, R. M. (1987, October 31). *On teaching the politics of education: Exemplary ways to integrate readings into courses on the politics of education*. Paper presented at Thirtieth Anniversary Convention of The University Council for Educational Administration, Charlottesville, VA. 36 pp. Expansion of Eastern Educational Research Association paper (see below), notable especially for inclusion of concrete "best practices" gleaned from course syllabi.

Englert, R. M. (1987, April 24). *Portrait of the politics of education field: What is written; an analysis of syllabi for courses in the politics of education*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC. 39 pp. Includes extensive bibliography.

Englert, R. M. (1987, February 27). *Preliminary analysis of syllabi for courses in the politics of education: An examination of "what is written" by politics of education scholars*. Paper presented at tenth annual conference of the Eastern Educational Research Association, Boston. 16 pp. Charts, tables, and bibliography compiled in the course syllabi.

100 Teaching Educational Politics and Policy

- Layton, D. H. (1987, January). *A summary of courses in the politics of education*. Albany, NY: Politics of Education Association. 26 pp. Listings of course titles, instructors, dates offered, texts, and foci for 83 politics of education courses principally in the U. S. and Canada.
- Layton, D. H. (1987, February 27). *Survey of politics of education courses in the United States and Canada*. Paper presented at the tenth annual conference of the Eastern Educational Research Association, Boston. 25 pp. Preliminary assessment of course content and topics as well as texts and readings in the politics of education based primarily on almost 90 course syllabi.
- Layton, D. H. (1987, Spring). Teaching politics: A review of politics courses in education schools. *Politics of Education Bulletin*, 14. pp. 3-4, 8-9. A general summary of some principal findings of the course syllabus project.
- Scribner, J. D. (1987, February 26). *Phase I of a portrait of the politics of education field. What is taught? Exploratory analysis*. Paper presented at tenth annual conference of Eastern Educational Research Association, Boston. 23 pp. Initial thoughts on the politics of education, many incorporated into later AERA paper below.
- Scribner, J. D. (1987, October 31). *Topics themes, conceptual framework and data reduction techniques. Frequency of use of three types of course objectives and different evaluation techniques. Selected activities and assignments, and syllabuses representing different course orientations*. Handouts prepared for presentation at Thirtieth Anniversary Convention of The University Council for Educational Administration, Charlottesville, VA. 22 pp.
- Scribner, J. D. (1987, April 24). *What is taught in the politics of education: A content analysis of course syllabuses*. Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC. 48 pp. An exhaustive effort at identifying principal content areas found in politics of education courses.