IJPE

International Journal of

Progressive Education

INASED
International Organization

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Volume 2, Number 2
June 2006

Editorial Statement

We are pleased to present the V2 N2 special issue of the International Journal of Progressive Education on Turkish education. We would like to thank Funda Savasci, from Ohio State University, for being the guest editors of the special issue.

For this current issue, three articles and a book review are published. In her historical investigation, "Can Progressive Education Be Translated into a Progressive Idea?: Dewey's Report on Turkish Education (1924)," Dr. Yasemin Alptekin, from Yeditepe University, explores the various interpretations of Dewey's philosophy of 'progressive education' in the translated versions of Dewey's 1924 report on Turkish education. The study clearly depicts the discrepancy between the English and Turkish versions of the term "progressive" as a philosophy of education, and demonstrates the implications of Dewey's report on Turkish education. This study is important to understand the vision of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, on Turkish education. I assume it can be argued that by inviting John Dewey to Turkey in 1923, Ataturk envisioned a progressive, constructivist, critical pragmatic and democratic education to create a modern Turkey. However, the findings of the study and many other scientific investigations demonstrate that many Turkish officials, who held the top positions at the Ministry of Education after Ataturk's death in1983, almost never seriously considered the recommendations in Dewey's report, and Ataturk's reformist and progressive ideals for implementation. Today, many Turkish educators and government officials start to consider implementing the principles of constructivist and progressive philosophy to Turkish education, which Ataturk envisaged more than 80 years ago. It is unfortunate that it took the Turkish educators so long to acknowledge the importance of progressive ideals which were the driving forces for founding the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

In "Cultural Sensitiveness of School Goals and Students' Failure in Turkey," Dr. Ismet Sahin, from the University of Kocaeli, investigates the degree of agreement or the level of importance that students of different ethnic origin in East and Southeast Turkey give to the goals of education and schooling. Findings of this quantitative research study show that the students of different ethnic or cultural origin value the school goals different and have diverse expectations, which indicate that the goals of national education and expectations for schools set for the system are not highly responsive to cultural differences. Such conditions, according to the author, are likely to cause failure of non-dominant students.

In "The Future of Whole Language," Dr. Carol Gilles, from the University of Missouri-Columbia, critically analyzes the history of whole language through the eyes of someone who participated in the grass-roots movement, and explore the future of whole language through the voices of whole language and literacy leaders around the world. This paper is also an invitation for a special issue on Whole Language which will be published in June 2007 at the volume 3 of the journal. Dr. Gilles and Dr. Dorothy Watson will be the guest editors for the special issue. I would like to thank Dr. Watson and Dr. Gilles for accepting our 'guest editor' invitation for the special issue. For further information, please visit http://www.inased.org.

In the book review section, Nihat Kahveci, from the University of Illinois, repots a critical and extensive review of Bernard Lewis' "History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented" published in 1975 by Princeton University Press. The author critically analyzes Lewis' representation of nature of historical knowledge and discipline of history.

Dedication

On behalf of the editorial board of IJPE, I would like to dedicate this special issue to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Turkish educators.

I hope you enjoy reading the special issue.

Sincerely,

Mustafa Yunus Eryaman, Ph.D.
Managing Editor

Editörden

Dergimizin bu özel sayısı 3 makale ve bir kitap eleştirisinden oluşmaktadır. Makalelerden ilki Türkiye'den Yardımcı Doçent Dr. Yasemin Alptekin tarafından yapılmış olan "Can Progressive Education Be Translated into a Progressive İdea?: Dewey's Report on Türkish Education (1924)," adlı çalışmadır. Bu çalışmada araştırmacı, ünlü eğitimci John Dewey'in 1924 yılında Türk Eğitim Sistemi üzerine yazmış olduğu raporun Türkçe çevirilerinin Dewey'in "Progressive Education" (Yenilikçi-İlerlemeci Eğitim) felsefesini nasıl yorumlayıp Türkçe'ye aktardıklarını incelemiştir. Araştırma sonuçları, raporun Türkçe çevirilerinin Dewey'in eğitim felsefesini ve yenilikçi eğitimin prensiplerini Türkçe'ye aktarmada yetersiz kalıp, başarısızlığa uğradıkdıklarını göstermektedir. Bu nitel çalışma, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün Türk Eğitim Sistemi üzerine düşüncelerini ve vizyonunu anlamamız konusunda ipuçları da vermektedir. John Dewey'in yeni kurulmuş olan Türkiye Cunhuriyeti tarafında 1923 yılında davet edilmiş olması, Atatürk'un bilimsel verinin, eleştirel aklın, pragmatik düşüncenin ışığında demokratik bir Türk Eğitim Sistemi oluşturma düşüncesinin bir parçası olarak görülebilir. Ancak Atatürk'un vefatından günümüze kadar Türk Eğitim Sistemine yön vermeye çalışmış olan pek çok iktidarın ve eğitim bürokrasilerinin, Atatürk'un Türk Eğitim Sistemi için öngörmüş olduğu demokratik, yenilikçi ve ilerlemeci eğitim anlayısını geliştirip ilerletmede yetersiz yada başarısız kaldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Günümüzde Türk Eğitim çevrelerinde tartışılmakta olan öğrenci merkezli, "constructivist" (yapılandırmacı) eğitim modeli, Mustafa Kemal'in 1930'larda hedeflemiş olduğu yenilikçi-demokratik eğitim modelinin sadece bir parçası olup, ancak 2000'li yıllarda Türk Eğitim sistemi için öneminin anlaşılması üzücü olduğu kadar düşündürücüdürde.

Dergimizin bu sayısında yayımlanan ikinci makale, Kocaeli Üniversitesin'den Yardımcı Doçent Dr. İsmet Şahin tarafından yürütülmüş olan "Cultural Sensitiveness of School Goals and Students' Failure in Turkey," adlı nitel bir araştırma çalışmasıdır. Bu çalışmada araştırmacı farklı etnik kökene sahip öğrencilerin okullarında almış oldukları eğitimin kendilerinin sosyal ve kültürel beklentilerine uyum gösterip göstermediğini araşıtırmıştır. Çalışma sonuçları okullarda resmi eğitimin belirlemiş olduğu eğitim amaçları, araçları, hedefleri ve aktivitelerinin öğrencilerin sosyal ve kültürel beklentilerine uyum göstermede yetersiz kaldığı ve bu uyumsuzluğun öğrencilerin okul başarılarınıda olumsuz yönde etkilediğini ortaya koymuştur.

Üçüncü makale ise Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden Yardımcı Doçent Dr. Carol Gilles tarafından yazılmış olan teorik bir çalışmadır. Bu çalışmada yazar, "Whole Language" adlı eğitim felsefesi ve modelinin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki tarihsel gelişimini özetledikten sonra, "Whole Language" eğitim modeli ve pratiğine karşı muhafazakar kesimlerden gelen akademik eleştirileri inceleyip, bu eleştirilere karşı ünlü eğitimcilerle yapmış olduğu görüşmelerden yola çıkarak bu eğitim modelinin gelecekteki amaç ve hedeflerini tartışmaya açmıştır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda dergimizin

Haziran 2007'de çıkacak olan, Dr. Gilles ve Dr. Dorothy Watson'in mısfir editörlüğünü yapacağı özel sayısıya bir davetiye olarakta görülebilir. "The Future of Whole Language" özel sayısına katkıda bulunmak isteyenler, http://www.inased.org adlı adresten ayrıntılı bilgiye ulaşabilirler.

Kitap eleştirisi bölümünde ise, University of Illinois'nden Nihat Kahveci, Bernard Lewis tarafından 1975 yılında yazılmış olan "History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented" adlı eserin detaylı bir eleştirisini yapmaktadır.

Dergimizin yayın kurulu adına, dergimizin bu sayısını, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'e ve onun izinde yürüyen Türk eğitimcilere ithaf etmek isterim.

Siz okuyucularımızdan ayrıca bu sayımızda yayınlanan makaleler konusunda görüşlerinizi ve gelecek sayılarımıza katkılarınızı beklemekteyiz.

Saygılarımla,

Mustafa Yunus Eryaman, Ph.D.
Yönetici Editör

Can Progressive Education Be Translated into a Progressive Idea?: Dewey's Report on Turkish Education (1924)

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Abstract

John Dewey, who visited Turkey in 1924, prepared a report on Turkish Education in which he emphasized the importance of progressive education. The report was translated into Turkish. However, the translated version does not transform the idea of 'progressive education,' and the concept of 'progressive' education has hardly been discussed as a philosophical approach in Turkish education system, instead remained to be a term that has been interpreted with different corresponding words in Turkish at different times. This paper focuses on the discrepancy between the English and Turkish versions of the term "progressive" as a philosophy of education, and the implications Dewey's report created in teacher education along with non-progressive practices in the field of education in Turkey.

* Dr. Yasemin Alptekin is presently the chair of Educational Sciences at Yeditepe University. Her research includes change and continuity in educational reforms, leadership and policy-making in teacher education, teacher education with global perspectives, multi-disciplinary teaching through literary works, and cultural nuances in translated texts.

Can Progressive Education Be Translated into a Progressive Idea?:
Dewey's Report on Turkish Education (1924) *

"How often misused words generate misleading thoughts."

— Herbert Spencer, **Principles of Ethic**

Introduction

John Dewey (1859-1952), American philosopher of education and Father of 'progressive education' visited Turkey in the summer of 1924, and he prepared two reports on Turkish education reflecting his observations and suggestions on how to improve the quality of education in Turkey. (Varış, 1996; Wolf-Gazo, 1996). Dewey submitted his first two-page Report, which is refered as the 'Preliminary Report', at the end of his visit prior to his departure, and then he sent in a more comprehensive version upon his return to the States. According to Binbaşıoğlu (1999), the reports have been printed four times since they were first issued, two of them by the journal of Ministery of Education in 1925 and 1928. However, in Bal(1991), the same reports are said to be published jointly by the Ministry of Education in 1939 for the first time. The translator of the 1939 addition is unknown1.

In his report, Dewey emphasized the importance of progressive education for which he had gained worldwide recognition with the Laboratory School that "he founded and directed at Chicago (1894-1904)" (Wirth, 1967). In his article "John Dewey in Turkey: An Educational Mission," Ernest Wolf-Gazo (1996) states that

> Progressive education' was a label associated with Dewey. Progressive meant the battle against a classical curriculum, entertained in elite institutions of Europe for the children of the elite. Progressive also meant the reformation of a classical curriculum towards educating the majority, the citizens of a country contributing to the basic foundation of a democratic society (p.16).

The curriculum rationale of his Laboratory School was that "a primary task of formal education was to help the young develop insight into the events that were transforming the human situation" (Wirth, 1967). Dewey's report of 1924 on Turkish education reflects the very same philosphy and suggestions to raise the standards of schools as educational facilities and teacher education as steps to be taken for a comprehensive reform in Turkish education. The report that was later translated in 1939 (reprinted in1952) and in 19872 by different translators and has been widely read by the educational sciences scholars in Turkey; Deweys's ideas inspired many others to pursue a similar course of action, i.e. student-centered, relevant to life and centered around the interest of a child, in creating educational reforms3. However, when we take a look at the translation of the report, both the 1939 and 1987 versions, the word 'progressive' does not seem to be consistently translated. Instead, other synonyms or interpretive words of similar association were used throughout the text inconsistently. Thus, what Dewey tried to communicate via the concept of "progressive education" in the report still remains to be unclear and untranslated as it was meant to be a philosphical school of thought for educational reform.

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* Presented at SSHA Annual Convention at St. Louis, MO, Oct. 24-27, 2002

1 Turkiye Maarifi Hakkinda Rapor,(Report and Recommendation upon Turkish Education) 1952.

2 1987 version of the Report has been translated by Vedat Günyol, a prominent Turkish literary figure and scholar.

3 These are the main pillars of the constructivist approach that the Board of Education of Turkish Ministry of National Education, has recently adopted in the new curriculum for the primary education.

Method

The interest of this study is in the various interpretations of Dewey's idea of 'progressive education' which was a reaction to an elitist understanding of education and thus innovative for its time, as it finds its voice in the text translated into Turkish. The study displays a qualitative interpretive inquiry using a critical historical approach to understand the dynamics of a report and its implications on Turkish education system prepared by an American scholar in the early Republican era.

For the text analyses, I used both the 1939 (reprinted in 1952) and the 1987 versions for comparative purposes. The 1987 Turkish version of Dewey's Report was published as an appendix to the translation of Freedom and Culture by Vedat Günyol4 (Bal, 1991). The reverse translations are mine as the author of the study.

Study

Cross-cultural exchange of ideas do not always translate into the best corresponding meaning of words and terms in the target language due to the syntactic and lexicological differences between the target language and the source language. Therefore, more often than we realize, the message received may not be decoded with the same emphasis and intention of the word used in the encoded language. Translation creates interlingual impediments in the transformation of ideas from one language to another.

However, according to Malmkjaer (2005), "the word is only occassionaly and incidentally the effective unit of translation: words in texts tend to operate in unison, and it is generally more helpful to speak of stretches of text (of varying length and composition) when discussing translation units. It is this problem with the notion of the word which underlies the distinction, traditionally drawn in writings on translation, between translation word-for word and translation sense-for-sense" (87). Following a similar line of thinking with Malmkjaer, it is appropriate to say that the word 'progressive' in the report was not translated as word-for-word translation for accuracy, but rather, sense-for-sense translation for creativity in both versions of Turkish translation.

For the purposes of this study, I will point out the discrepancy the words that are used in place of "progressive" create between the original report and the Turkish version in its entirety. I will also look into why and how the word "progressive education" had been left out of the context throughout the translated version of the report and in other works of Dewey translated by Turkish scholars. The analyses will include the philosophy of education in Turkey in the early Republican era and of today to compare the administrative perspectives both then at present times.

An Overview of Dewey's Work Translated into Turkish

The only work of Dewey's that was translated into Turkish prior to his arrival in Turkey was School and Society. The same book was translated again in 1930 in a simplified and revised version. The following is a list of translated works by Dewey:

- **School and Society** (1899) (1920 –14th print edition was used for translation): *Mektep ve Cemiyet,* translated by B. Avni in 1924 in Arabic script; in 1930 with new Turkish Alphabet.

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[4] I had a chance to interview with Vedat Günyol on the Report on May 30, 2004, shortly before he passed away on July 9, 2004.

- **Democracy and Education** (1916): first translated in 1928 by Avni (Başman)[5] as *Demokrasi ve Terbiye*. 2nd translation by M. Salih Oturan in 1996, and by Professor Dr. Tahsin Yılmaz in 1996 as *Demokrasi ve Eğitim*.

- **Schools of Tomorrow** (1929): *Yarının Mektepleri*, translated by Professor S. Celal Antel in 1938.

- **Experience and Education** (1938): *Tecrübe ve Eğitim* translated by Dr. Fatma Başaran and Dr. Fatma Varış in 1966.

- **Freedom and Culture** (1939): *Özgürlük ve Kültür* translated by Vedat Günyol in 1952, reprinted in 1964 and 1987. (1987 version includes the translation of the Reports in modern Turkish.)

Historical and Political Background to Dewey's Visit

The Caliphate, Ministry of Religious Affairs, and religious schools were abolished on March 3, 1924, the religious courts followed suit a month later on April 8, 1924. What that meant was that the public education in Turkey would be administered by the Ministry of Education, not by religious foundations. This was a tremendous step towards creating a secular society and wiping away the remnants of the educational institutions that fed the autocratic regime.

The year 1924, the year of Dewey's visit to the newly established Republic of Turkey, was a dramatic year in general, as much as for educational reforms. A law for the Unification of Instruction (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) unified entire Turkish school system. This meant that all educational institutions were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education. […] Furthermore, co-education was introduced at the ministry level during the academic year 1923-1924. No doubt, this law, as well as others in due time, was to be a part of a vast legalistic promotion to secularize Turkey. (Wolf-Gazo, 19)

The separation of church and state in the context of reforming education was a crucial combination of efforts in the historical context that they were orchestrated, and undoubtedly, those efforts did not go without any opposition domestically and internationally. However, Dewey's accounts regarding the abolition of the Caliphate in the article he wrote during his stay in Turkey, Secularizing a Theocracy, are to the point and historically accurate:

In the United States and in western Europe the abolition of the Caliphate, the closing of the mosque schools and the assumption of the revenues of the pious Moslem foundations aroused misgivings as well as amazement. Was not the new republic going too fast? […] Upon the ground, in Constantinople, perhaps the most surprising thing is the total absence of all such misgivings and queries. The move appears a simple, natural, inevitable thing. It presents itself as an integral and necessary step in the process of forming a national state after the western model. To question it would be to question the whole course of European history for the last three centuries. What has been effected in the rest of Europe is now taking place in the former Ottoman empire. […] It is a stage in one of those revolutions which do not go backward. (The Middle Works, 128-129)

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[5] Binbaşıoğlu (2005) reports its date as 1927. (p.171)

Both Atatürk's political revolutions and Dewey's stance before them, and creating educational changes that would continue the 'progress' were in tune with the design of a democratic society in the young Republic of Turkey. However, there was still much to do. In 1924, the schools were still using Arabic script as the alphabet. The alphabet reform which introduced the new script with Latin letters became law in November 1928. Lord Kinross points out the social and educational implications of alphabet reform as follows:

Introducing it into the Assembly as the 'key which would enable the people of Turkey to read and write easily.' The objective was to create a literate population—from those who could not read and write at all to those who could do so only in the old characters. Within a year more than a million citizens received their diploma (Kinross, 444).

The change of alphabet facilitated the raising of literacy rate in the nation; however, the language was still pervaded by Arabic and Persian vocabulary and syntax. To complete a momentous revolution in education and language, the Turkish Linguistic Society was founded in July 1932 to improve, develop, enrich, and reform the Turkish language by eliminating Arabic and Persian words and forms.6

Dewey's Visit to Turkey

Dewey was invited to Turkey in 1923 by Ismail Safa Bey, Minister of Education, immediately after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Dewey came to Turkey in July 1924 and among the places he visited were Istanbul University, some high schools, Teacher Training Schools and vocational affiliations. Before his departure for the capital, Ankara, Dewey prepared a press release in which he clearly stated the purpose of his visit. He said that he was in Turkey not to impose his ideas or an education system, which was foreign to the people and to the culture but rather, based on his own observations, to recommend a system for Turkey that would be formed by bringing several positive aspects of the systems in various countries. His intention was to understand Turkish education first and then solve its problems with universal principles later.7

Dewey met with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and first President of the Republic, in Ankara and spent ten days there before going to Istanbul until September. Atatürk's and Dewey's ideas about development and progress were similar. Atatürk had geared all his action and thoughts toward creating a modern Turkey fully equipped with all the democratic institutions of a sovereign nation (Cohen, 1983).

Dewey prepared two reports at the end of his visit. While he was still in Istanbul he wrote the first Report (Preliminary Report) which was esentially an advisory memorandum for an urgent need to raise teachers' salaries. The second report (Report and Recommendation upon Turkish Education) was written after he returned to the United States.

Dewey's Report about Turkish education was never seriously considered for implementation by either by Ismail Safa Bey, or by successors, Vasif Bey, and Abdullah Suphi Bey. The reports were first translated into Turkish in 1939 during the administration of Hasan Ali Yucel between 1938-1946, known to be one of the most reformist and progressive ministers of education of Turkey. It was during that time when Dewey's suggestions in the report were partially fulfilled by opening teacher training schools

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6 The language used in the 1939 translation of the Report sounds almost like written in a foreign language to the young generation of Turks.

7 "Profesör Dewey'in beyanatı" (Professor Dewey's Statement) in *Cumhuriyet,* August 16, 1924.

called 'village institutes8.' (Binbaşıoğlu, 1999). In "Education in 75 Years," (1999) a collection of articles on history of Turkish Education, Sakaoglu states in his "Central Organization of Ministry of Education," that although J. Dewey recommended that Ministry of Education should take the lead but refrain from becoming too bureaucratic with useless records, requiring and filing useless reports from others, Dewey's warning must have been totally misunderstood, and consequently, the central building of the ministry was filled with reports for years, and finally everything was destroyed in a fire in 1946. Thus, the 1939 translation of Dewey's report was destroyed as well (113).

The first version of the translation of the report was reprinted in 1952. "The English version appeared in 1960, after it had been lost for some time. The complete version […] published for the first time in 1983 in Dewey's Collected Works, volume 15" (Wolf-Gazo, 20).

Fay Kirby, an American who taught in Turkey between 1947-1950, was the harshest critique of Dewey's Reports on Turkish education. She claimed that foreign scholars were far from contributing to Turkish education, for each one of them saw Turkey as an extension of his own country. She also stated that she did not believe Dewey understood the gist of Turkish political reforms (Bal, 1991).

Wolf-Gazo, on the other hand, underscores the relevance of Dewey's philosophy to his visit to Turkey:

> His daughter Jane M. Dewey pointed out, in an autobiographical section of the first volume of the famous Schlipp series of the Library of Living Philosophers dedicated to Dewey, that "His visits to Turkey in 1924 and to Mexico in 1926 confirmed his belief in the power and necessity of education to secure revolutionary changes for the benefit of the individual, so that they cannot become mere alterations in the external form of a nation's culture. It may be said that Dewey contributed to such a revolutionary change in Turkey, a nation steeped in traditional forms, by offering ideas that helped guide it toward becoming a modern, dynamic society. Although Dewey's visit was short, his mission was more intense. (p.16).

Again, it is obvious that what Dewey was trying to achieve at the American elementary school within his progressive school project in Chicago was in an historical conjunction with what needed to be done in Turkey for Turkish education. "Dewey was, no doubt, the right man, at the right place to give advice" (Wolf-Gazo, 17).

Carl Cohen who wrote the introduction to volume 15 of The Middle Works, 1899-1924, which includes the Report on Turkish Education, testifies to Wolf-Gazo's statement as follows:

> Turkey was a principal object of John Dewey's attention during the period in this volume. In part this was but one manifestation of his catholic interest in international affairs. […] The new government looked to America, and invited John Dewey to come to Turkey […] to examine the Turkish school system, and to make recommendations to the government for its improvement and modernization. […] In his deliberations on Turkish matters Dewey is unfailingly hopeful, but never sanguine. […] Transforming what had so recently been a medieval theocracy, ruled by the Sultanate, into a modern nation on the Western model, while retaining the richness of its cultural traditions, could not be easy. (Cohen, xix-xx)

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[8] Those schools were not long-lived and they were closed when Reşat Şemsettin Sirer became Minister of Education after Hasan Ali Yücel.(İlhan Başgöz, 1995, 246)

The Wording in the English Version of the Report

The word "progressive" was used a total of twelve times in the "Preliminary Report" and the "Report and Recommendations."   The language of both reports, the one written in Turkey and the one sent back to Ankara by Dewey upon his return to the U.S., is clear and straightforward in the sense that it does not leave much room for vagueness or misinterpretation. The Report does not include any difficult vocabulary, and Dewey's style does not sound either too scholarly or too subjective to the reader. Despite some long statements, and some convoluted expressions, the word "progressive" was consistently used in reference to "progressive education" that Dewey introduced to the discipline. Here are the word combinations where "progressive" was used in the Reports:

progressive and efficient pedagogical methods, progressive schools, progressive methods, progressive education, progressive countries, progressive development, industrial progress, progressive program, progressive schools, progressive teachers, progressive pedagogical ideas, progressive teachers.

Table 1
Comparison of Wording in 1939 (Reprinted in '52) and 1987 Translations

	English	1939 ('52) Translation	1987 Translation	Reverse Translation (of '87 version)
1.	**Progressive** and efficient pedagogy [a]	(….) muessir pedogojik usuller	**yetkin** egitim yontemleri	"progressive" is missing *(inadequate translation)*
2.	**progressive** school [b]	**müterakki** mektepler	**İlerlemiş** okullar	**developed schools**
3.	**progressive** methods [c]	**müterakki** usuller	**ileri** usuller	**advanced** methods
4.	**progressive** education [d]	inkisafla **terakki** etmesi	**Gelişmesi**	*development*
5.	**progressive** countries [e]	**müterakki** memleketler	**İleri ü**lkeler	**Developed** countries
6.	**progressiv**e development [f]	**mütekamil** inkisaf	**yetişkin** gelisme	**mature** development
7.	industrial **progress** [g]	sanatçı **terakkiye**	Sanatçı **ilerleme**	artistic **progress**
8.	**progressive** program [h]	**mütekamil** program	**gelişken** program	**Improving** program
9.	**progressive** schools [i]	**mütekami**l mektep	**gelişken** okullar	**Improving** schools
10.	**progressive** teachers [j]	**mütekamil** muallimler	**yetişkin öğ**retmenler	**experienced** teachers
11.	**progressive** pedagogical [k]	**mütekamil** terbiyevî fikirler	**yetkin** eğitim düşünceleri	**efficient** educational ideas
12.	**progressive** teachers [l]	**mütekamil** muallimler	**yetkin** öğretmenler	**efficient** teachers

Table 1 Notes

[a] "Since without doubt the great body of teachers are earnest and sincere, and since no real improvement of education can be made without improvement in the preparation of the teachers, both in scholarship and in acquaintance with the most progressive and efficient pedagogical methods in use in other parts of the world." (Preliminary Report)

[b] "The material should be mainly of a practical rather than of a theoritical character dealing with such topics as the equipment of school buildings, sanitation and hygine, playgrounds, games, cheaply made eqipment for the playgrounds, scientific and industrial apparatus that can be made in the school or the village, and about methods of teching that hav ebeen found in actual experience to secure the initiative and self-activity of pupils; accounts of the methods used by **progressive** schools;"

[c] "The ordinary construction almost automatically prevents the adoption of **progressive** methods and restricts teachers and pupils to the use of text-books and blackboards, with at most the addition of a few maps, charts and material of object-lessons which are merely observed but not actively employed."

[d] "No steady development of a **progressive** education is possible without buildings which have proper sanitary and toilet facilities, places for manual training, domestic science, drawing, and art, library, museum, etc."

[e] "In any case this section should collect and study continually building plans from all the **progressive countries**, prepare detailed plans of various types of school buildings, and keep up with improvements to be introduced."

[f] "Only when this is done is it possible to be clear upon the means to be used and to lay down a definite program of **progressive** and gradual development."

[g] "Develop the traits and disposition of character, intellectual and moral, which fit men and woman for self-government, economic self-support and industrial progress, namely initiative and inventiveness, independence of judgment, ability to think scientifically and to cooperate for common purposes socially."

[h] "To render it applicable over a term of years, it should be a graded or **progressive** program, indicating a series of steps to be undertaken in successive years, with respect to the opening of additional and new schools."

[i] "Attention should be given to translating foreign educational literature especially that of **progressive** schools, giving accounts of practical methods, equipment, etc."

[j] "They should therefore be selected from the most progressive teachers and be given a year or so to study methods in foreign countries and then be sent about, especially to the more backward districts, to give others the benefit of their knowledge and experience."

[k] "The problem of attracting to the teaching profession the right kind of intelligent and devoted men and women and of equipping them with both knowledge of subjects taught and with modern and progressive pedagogical ideas is the crucial problem."

[l] The normal schools, both in the departments for teachers and in their attached practice schools should have the most progressive teachers in the country;"

As can be seen in the Table 1, the original work consistently uses the word "progressive" as a philosophical term to specify and define the nature of educational reforms that Turkey was advised to undertake reflecting Dewey's own philosophy of progressive education. The published translation of the Report came fifteen years after its preparation, in 1939, for the first time. The copy used for this study was the 1952 reprint of the 1939 translation. Because the language reform was still on its way both when the Report was translated (the translator was not indicated on the Report) and when it was published, the language of the Report was almost archaic and difficult to understand especially for those generations born after 1960.

In the 1939 (1952) translation, the word "progressive" was translated into Turkish with three different, yet morphologically and lexicologically neighboring words9.   An interesting point arises here. In a "reverse translation," Lord Kinross uses the word "progressive" for an opposition party founded in March 1924. The original name of the political party in Turkish is Terakkiperver, which means "those who like progress" or "progressive." In a similar line of thinking, the best word choice for the 1939 (1952) translation of the Report would be "terakki", rather than "mütekamil" which means "developed" or "mature," not "progressive." The major problem in this translation is with the first line in the above table. "The most progressive and efficient pedagogical methods" were not fully translated, and in the Turkish version, the word "progressive" is completely left out. Although the language of the 1939 translation is archaic and difficult for modern-day readers, the accuracy and the consistency of the word choice in the translation does not cause a major diversion from the original meaning, despite the fact that it fails to come up with a term for 'progressive'throughout the text.

The "modern" version of the translation poses myriad of words corresponding to "progressive." The confusion of terminology is at its peak, for all eleven "progressive"'s seven different corresponding words used in Turkish translation. We can see this confusion in the "reverse translation" practice more clearly, and realize that the meaning inherent in the word "progressive" is lost in all seven attempts. One can easily assume that, what was done here was not a re-translation of the original text but a re-write of the earlier translation in modern Turkish10. As soon as a reverse translation practice is applied to the text, the final meaning of the word "progressive" becomes distantly relevant to what was intended in the original text due to the fact that seven different synonyms, or corresponding words, were used in the Turkish version. The range of meaning for "progressive" changes from "developed" to "advanced" to "mature" to "improved" to "experienced" and finally to "perfect." This is all due to the fact that the word "progressive" was not used as a "term" to be protected with an accurate word choice as part of the discourse of Dewey's philosphy of education so that it could be used consistently throughout the text.

The Word "Progressive" in Dewey's Other Translated Works

In the introduction to Schools of Tomorrow, a work that was translated into Turkish in 1938, "progressive education" was translated as "new training," borrowing from its French translation "l'education nouvelle." In School and Society, translated in 1939, the chapter entitled "The School and Social Progress" was translated as "Mektep ve İçtimai Terakki" (School and Social Development), which

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9 Although there is not a major discrepancy among the meanings of those three words (i.e., *müterakki, mütekamil, terakki*) the word *müterakki* is the best choice for the purpose signified by the word "progressive."

10 After I found out that Vedat Gunyol was the translator of the modern version of the Report in Bal (1991), I visited Vedat Gunyol on May 30, shortly before his death on 9 July 2004 and asked him why he translated "progressive' in seven different ways. He told me that he hardly used the original version in English as the source, rather he re-wrote the original translation in modern Turkish as he also referred to a text of the report in French (The day is documented with photos and with two other colleagues who were with me during the visit).

may not be considered a major deviation from the intended meaning, but still not consistent with the "progress" discourse.

In the translation of Experience and Education, "progressive education" was consistently used as "ileri eğitim" (advanced education).

In recent studies on Dewey written in Turkish and in the works of Dewey that were translated into Turkish, the tendency is to keep "progressive" as is, and use it as a term for the philosophy of education that Dewey advocated and became the godfather. In one of such works on Dewey in Turkish , the author, Huseyin Bal (1991) chooses the word "ilerlemeci" for "progressive" and I believe it is the closest and most accurate word among all other translations that can be used consistently if or when the original is not used.

Past and Present Day Implications of Dewey's Recommendations

The preliminary report and the subsequent report include and reflect Dewey's educational mission as described in his idea of progressive education. In the report on Turkish education and during his visits "to China and Japan in the late 1910s and the early 1920s, he called for mutual understanding between the East and West for the cause of democracy" (Saito, 1758, 2003). Mentioning the difficulties of articulation and transformation of concepts in one language into the other, Saito brings up the cultural differences and the differenes of mindset between the encoded and decoded versions of a newly itirated idea. As Saito (2003) questions the reasons why Dewey's notion of democratic education was not welcomed in Japan, he delves into translation issues and the difficulties of cross-cultural mental framework that creates the gap of a common ground and he extends "Deweyan notion of the art of communication into the art of translation—translation as a specific mode of communicaiton that at once highlights the gap between languages and driven by the hope of creating a common ground of conversation" (1770).

In his "Letter of Transmittal for Preliminary Report on Turkish Education," Robert M. Scotten, First Secretary of the American Embassy in Istanbul during Dewey's visit to Turkey, writes the following to the Secretary of State in Washington:

> Professor Dewey was painfully impressed by the extreme centralization of the Turkish educational system.   The present Minister is an incompetent and self-inflated Czar (the expression is not Professor Dewey's, although I have no doubt he would agree to its accuracy) and is sparing no efforts to concentrate in his hand the whole educational administration. […] Professor Dewey, while at Angora, had three interviews with the Minister of Public Instruction who showed himself quite willing to answer Professor Dewey's questions, but by no means anxious to elicit or even receive Professor Dewey's suggestions. It was apparent that the Minister had clearly in mind his own program for education in Turkey and was not particularly interested in ascertaining the views of an "advisor" foisted upon him by his predecessor. […] So far as Turkey is concerned I fear the effects of Professor Dewey's reports will be practically nil. […] Until Turkey exchanges her naïve faith in grandiose theories for an actual and persistent putting into effect of certain practical and unsensational improvements nothing of real moment will be accomplished. (The Middle Works, 15, 419-420).

As self-explanatory as it is, the above letter is a perfect example to a naiveté of a kind that is different from what the First Secretary describes in his letter. Borrowing Rhodes' words, "If the U.S. were to fulfill its democratic promise, so Dewey (and others) argued, the common will had to grow out of cooperative activity. It could not be imposed in a top-down fashion by a ruling elite"(143). Success of any reform cannot be dependent solely upon the novelties and solutions presented regarding the existing

system. A systemic change requires the communication, participation, cooperation, and dedication of all parties involved. Unless one of these strings holding the change breaks it becomes a very heavy burden for all the other parties to carry it to a sustainable level.

Conclusion

The literature basically supports the aim of the study that the absence of an accurate translation for 'progressive education' in Dewey's reports on Turkish education was inadvertant since the word 'progressive' was not perceived as a rubric for a school of thought. It may be totally due to lack of understanding by the translator what was meant by 'progressive education' as an educational jargon since it was not clear enough even in the United States at the time what is meant by 'progressive education.' As Feinberg(1972) argues in his article "Progressive Education and Social Planning" that:

> The established interpretation of Progressive education insists that the problems of the schools result directly from the fact that Dewey's educational ideas were never clearly understood or widely implemented.... They, therefore, conclude that where people have attempted to implement Dewey's ideas, they have misunderstood them, and where they have criticized them, they have mistaken the disciple for the master. Those who defend Dewey, however, fail to realize that most contemporary educational practice is based on a generally correct reading of Dewey's educational philosophy, and that twentieth-century educational thought since 1940 is best understood in terms of the orthodoxy of his theory. (485)

For Dewey's 'progressive school', experience, hands on approach, problem solving, critcal thinking and a sense of optimism toward the future were essential for his cognitive developmental approach. In that kind of educational activity it is the progressive teacher's duty to guide the student "towards an open future full of risk, but also possibility. ...This is the reason why Dewey always understood education as being an integral part of the body politic, and not a mere appendix to the established political and social order" (Wolf-Gazo, 1996).

When we look at the history of Turkish education, it is indeed impressive to see all the radical steps taken in the early republican era in such a short time with the abolution of caliphate, thus creating a secular education; change of alphabet from Arabic script to Latin, opening people's schools to increase literacy, and the co-educated schools for all school age children. That was a major progress for Turkish education compared to what was inhereted from thet Ottoman Empire. However, as Akyüz (1982) rightfully states that the eventaul practices of Ministry of Education when it comes to hiring teachers at different periods in Republican history with hardly any profeesionl training with a justisfication to fill the need for more teachers than teacher education institutions could graduate caused a major damage to the quality of teaching as a respected profession. It worked against the wishes of raising the quality of education of society by extending everybody the opportunity for schooling. As Wolf-Gazo (1996) clearly states, "Education meant, not merely instrumental usage of information, but ideas, as plans or instruments to be realized, on behalf of the enlightenment and betterment of human beings, preferably toward a truly democratic order. For Dewey, the democratic order, despite its obvisous shortcomings, did not mean the rule of the masses, but the rule of the morally good for the benefit of the democratic citizen" (24).

In the communication of new ideas, it is all very natural to encounter difficulties in understanding even among those who speak the same language. In a cross-cultural exchange of ideas, the activity of translation, once left alone, may not be the best tool to achieve communication of a totally new idea or perspective. As Malmkjaer (2005) states, "translation, like all linguistic activity, is inherently forwad looking. Meaning is seen as relational and momentary, as a function which maps a constellation of utterances, circumstances and interactants onto interpretations. Language use must therefore be

differential to future users, and although past usage constitutes a monumental corpus that guides and informs future usage." (185). It might be a good idea to translate Dewey's Report on Turkish Education with a more accurate approach maintaining his philosphical implications of 'progressive education' intact with an appreciatıon of a democratic education at all levels of our education system.

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Cultural Sensitiveness of School Goals and Students' Failure in Turkey

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Abstract

Education is the means by which society provides for the transmission or advancement of its culture and it is formally done at schools that are the arena of human interaction aimed at producing learning. But some people in that interaction aimed at producing learning cannot achieve as much as the others due to some social or individual factors especially when the society is not homogeneous in terms of culture, language, etc.All cultures do not require the same kinds of knowledge and all may have distinct goals and expectations in education. This study aims at presenting the consensus and conflict in perspectives of students of different ethnic origins on general goals of education and expectations from schools in East and Southeast Turkey. The results will be used to generate a rationale to assume that the failure of students in East and Southeast Turkey where majority of population is ethnically diverse, may be because of the lack of divergent goals and expectations set for school curriculum or that the failure of students is dependent on some other factors except the unique school curriculum unresponsive to cultural or ethnic diversity. For this purpose, the goals of general education (1973, Law number 1739, Item number 2), and school expectations developed by House (1973) were prepared as questionnaire items, piloted, validated and administered to 9373 secondary school students in east and southeast Turkey. The findings of this study were that the students of different ethnic origins value the goals and expectations set for school curriculum in Turkey in significantly different ways.

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Introduction

> The school is an arena of human interaction aimed at producing learning. The amount
> and quality of the learning produced depends on the nature of the human give and take.
> All of us probably can remember school situations in which we learned well because the
> learning environment was favorable. Perhaps we can also recall times when we learned
> very little because there was something disruptive in the setting (Brembeck, 1971, p. 2).

Kneller (1971) defined education as the means by which society provides for the transmission or advancement of its culture, for without a viable culture there is no common life by which human beings are associated. He further defined education as the inculcation of knowledge, values, skills, and attitudes by means of institutions that have been created for this end. Kneller (1971, p.50) proposed that "in any large society there are usually a number of communities or subsocieties that feel themselves to be distinct. These groups may have or have developed certain values and practices and so possess their own subculture. These culturally different youngsters are enculturated by their families and friends and they are acculturated by the school. But when the enculturation and acculturation processes conflict, they may leave the youngster desperately unsure of himself." Taba (1962) further argued that

> Not all cultures require the same kinds of knowledge. Nor does the same culture need
> the same kinds of capacities, skills and intellect. An analysis of culture and society thus
> provides some guide for determining the main objectives of education, for the selection
> of content, and for deciding what to stress in learning activities. p. 11

Ballantime (1993) explained that each society has certain goals for its educational system that are put into practice in schools and classrooms. In homogeneous societies in terms of ethnicity, culture, religion, etc. as in some European countries or in Japan there is often consensus on key goals, and national education programs determine uniform curriculum and materials. But heterogeneous societies have constituencies with competing goals. And the goals of education reflect many of the functions of a school. "In a democratic society, establishment of the functions of schools and education is difficult by the fact that different layers of the society participate in the process of determining what education in general and public schools specifically should be and do" (Taba, 1962, p. 14).

In some parts of Turkey, especially Eastern and Southeastern, a majority of the population is of different ethnic origins than in other regions of the country. People of Kurdish origin in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia live in a semi-closed community and keep their traditional cultural elements surviving. Şahin and Gülmez (2000, a) studied efficiency of education and the factors affecting success of students in both regions. They stated that illiteracy rates in the regions were significantly the highest compared with the other regions, that females were significantly less valued to have education and that secondary school students were significantly less successful in nation-wide examinations such as "ÖSS" and "ÖYS." In order to be admitted to a university, a student must be successful in the university entrance examination, OSYS, which is typical of general proficiency examinations and determines the selection and placement procedure. OSYS used to have two levels; the first was called "Student Selection Examination" (ÖSS) and the next was called "Student Placement Examination." Successful students in "ÖSS" were allowed to take "ÖYS." So "ÖSS" was the examination in which the students were selected for "ÖYS" and was written to include easier questions than the questions in "ÖYS." Şahin and Gülmez (2000, a) purported that the discordance between the culture emphasized in the curriculum and the culture of the society in both regions may well be one of the sources of higher failure rates on these examinations.

The Eastern and Southeastern regions are two of the seven geographical regions in Turkey. They are associated because of their proximity to each other and their similarity in terms of culture and

economy. Separatist terrorist activities, economic decline, unemployment, and geographical dispersion are stated to be some aspects of the problems for both regions (Ergil, 1995; Özdağ, 1995; RP, 1994; SHP, 1990). Lack of teachers especially in rural schools, limited budgets, inequality in schooling and failure of schools in ESE (East and Southeast Anatolia) were identified as the educational problems by many authorities in the report of the 14th Council of National Education (NEC) in 1993. In both regions, people are bilingual. They mostly communicate at home in different ethnic languages and most newborn children first learn these languages and then learn Turkish as a second language (Ergil, 1995; Ozdağ, 1995). Trueba (1994) proposed that language is the heart of culture. We often neglect the fact that when people move from one language to another, they are also in a transition from one cultural environment to another that is very different.

Sahin and Gülmez (2000, b) also studied the social sources of failure in education in both districts and stated that culture may be one of the factors causing failure. Though the presence of different ethnic origins was often pronounced, no recent official reports or documents have calculated the number or size of different ethnic groups except for some religious minorities and immigrants in Turkey. A report prepared by the Social Democratic Populist Party in 1990 proclaimed that "Most of the population in some parts of ESE regions are ethnically Kurdish" (p. 28), and further stated that "Turkey is pluralistic according to ethnicity. The presence of different ethnic groups, sects and languages can not be denied" (p. 29). In addition, in studies conducted by Ergil (1995) and Özdağ (1995), when respondents were asked to identify themselves ethnically, a majority of the samples distinguished themselves as Kurdish and a moderate percentage identified themselves as ethnically Zaza, Kırmançi and Arabic in origin.

Clearly, if the curriculum is dominated by the culture of an ethnic majority, students of the same origin perceive that the behaviors, ideas, customs, and values of others are illegitimate or unimportant. The curriculum should take into account cultural realities of all students and the cultural backgrounds of all students must be reflected in the curriculum as Assante, 1991; Banks, 1981; Dewey, 1938; Gay, 1990; Nobles, 1990; Office of Minority Affairs, 1988; Wyman, 1993 noted.

On the other hand, Massailas (1971) depict the characteristics of the Turkish education as follows:

> The Ministry of Education supervises and controls all public education in Turkey. The minister of education has almost absolute power over decisions affecting the administration of all schools. There are virtually no variations in the course of study in primary schools throughout the country. The weekly timetables which are based on the curriculum are uniformly applied to schools in all the provinces; no deviation is allowed. The curriculum of the schools as a whole sought to implement the principles of the revolution by making Turks more conscious than they were under the Ottomans of their unique cultural heritage and pre-Islamic past. The emphasis on Turkish language and culture was not unrealistic, especially since the reforms of Kemalist revolution sought to "Turkicize" the people by providing a new set of Turkish ideals (not Ottoman), by eliminating religion from state-related activity, and by introducing a new Turkish Latin alphabet to replace the Arabic script. (pp. 281-283)

Şahin (2001) further analyzed the cultural responsiveness of school curriculum and students' failure in ESE. He explored the similarities and differences in the perceptions of students in terms of cultural values set by Carter and Helms (1984) and curriculum and material related issues. The perceptions of the students of different ethnic origins demonstrated significant differences with regard to cultural values, curriculum and materials. This may be taken as evidence of the impact of ethnic and cultural differences. Thus, the results indicate the fact that students of different ethnic origins seem to

disregard a curriculum that is not based on their own values and norms. Şahin (2001) also stated that cultural differences are not only obvious in cultural values but also in many aspects of social life such as languages spoken, rituals, traditions, clothing and so on. But further analyses may help to generate a rationale to assume that the failure of students explained by Şahin and Gülmez (2000, b) in East and Southeast Turkey may be because of cultural differences or that the failure of students is dependent on some other factors.

Sönmez (1991) argued that goals are desired characteristics which are planned to occur in individuals as outcomes of education such as knowledge, talent, value, interest, attitude, motivation, personality and so on. The main concept in the definition of goals is "desired." Definition of the things or behavior desired is the work of philosophy with respect to the understanding of human, subject, nature and society. So goals of education for a society are defined with respect to their philosophical beliefs about human, subject, nature and society. Sönmez also (1991) proposed that the philosophy of education in Turkey is pragmatic in theory but it is realist and idealist in practice.

In summary, depending on the understanding of human, nature, subject, and society, the desired outcomes or goals of education may vary from society to society. This can be generalized for subsocieties if their understanding of human, nature, subject and society is distinct. Cultural and social differences may cause different expectations and different objectives in education. As Kneller explained (1971; 50) "for youngsters from a strong subculture, education becomes a process of acculturation in which they are confronted with a way of life they do not feel to be theirs" when cultural differences are not recognized by the school or curriculum. And when the efforts to assimilate are excessive, students of different cultural groups develop resistance to efforts to assimilate. The learner who feels dissatisfaction with his/her needs and goals in an educational environment may lose motivation and develop negative attitudes. Such conditions may result in inequality in educational opportunity and thus, establishment of appropriate national educational goals that are valued by any subculture or subsociety (community) is very important for providing equality.

Findings of a field study by Şahin and Gülmez (2000, a and b) put forward that schools, as a whole in both regions, could not achieve their goals. Students could not achieve as much as the students in the other regions. It was clear that some factors connected with these schools impeded them from achieving their goals. The current study focuses on differences or proximities in the importance given to educational goals and expectations by students of different ethnic origins in ESE, where a majority of the population is of different ethnic origins, where Sahin and Gulmez (2000a) have observed school failure of students to be significant higher, and where one of the factor causing this failure is asserted to be cultural differences (Şahin, 2001). The study of differences and similarities in the importance given to the goals and expectations by the students of different ethnic origins is alone an important issue. Furthermore, if the importance given to the goals and expectations set by the ministry is observed to be significantly different between the students of different ethnic origins, the results, then, may be considered to form the rationale to assume that divergent goals and expectations of the students of different ethnic origin as expressed by Şahin and Gülmez (2000, a) may result in "divergent success in ESE" (Şahin and Gülmez, 2000, b).

Method

Sampling

The population of the study is the students in ESE. The total number of students in both regions was about 2,000,000. The number of secondary school students was about 620,000. Since the population was too large, only 2% of the student population was calculated to compose the sample size, a rough estimate of 13,000. There are 21 cities in both regions. The sampling procedure was started by random

selection of 10 cities as sample cities for the study. The randomly selected cities were Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Siirt, Şırnak, Bitlis, Van, Ağrı, Erzurum, and Bingöl. After random selection of the cities, schools of different types in those cities were selected as clusters for the study. Those schools of different types are general junior and senior high schools, Anatolian junior and senior high schools, vocational junior and senior high schools, and Imam Hatip junior and senior high schools (Religious schools). In the cities where there was more than one school of the same type, the school for the study was selected randomly. A total of 41 schools were selected for the study.

Instrument

The general goals of Turkish national education as defined in the law of national education (1973, Law number 1739, item 2) were inserted in a questionnaire as seen in Table I and the students were asked to rate the general goals of education as to the importance to them. They were directed to choose "Very Important" if the goal is very important, "Somehow Important" if the goal is partly important and "Not Important at all" if the goal is not important at all for them in order to find out the priorities of the goals for the students. Therefore, it would be possible to compare the priorities of the goals for the students identifying themselves ethnically different.

The goals of schools or education reflect what the state or society expects schools to do or to develop in individuals. But what an individual expect to have from schools is something different and doesn't necessarily comply with what the state or schools want to develop in that individual. Significant differences in school expectations, if any, of different ethnic groups may be another indicator of cultural differences. In order to study students' expectations from schools, 9 items developed by House (1973) were translated and inserted in a questionnaire as seen in Table II together with the general goals of education and piloted.

The number of respondents in the piloting study was 184. All the items were found to be valid as seen in Table 2 and 3 and were included in the final version of the questionnaires. The number of students of Arabic origin involved in the piloting was 8, of Kurdish origin was 45 and of Turkish origin was 157. The data obtained were loaded on a computer and Varimax Rotated Factor loads of the items after Principal Component Analysis for each part has been computed to validate the inventory using a statistics software called SPSS.

[Table I. The Factor Matrix Of The Items Concerning the General Goals Of Education should be inserted somewhere here]

The factor structure and factor loads for the items regarding the expectations from schools developed by House (1973) were demonstrated in Table 3 below.

[Table II. The Factor Matrix Of the Items Concerning the School Goals should be inserted somewhere here]

A factor analysis procedure was run upon Principal component analysis which suggested only one factor for goals and expectation related items. As seen in table 2 and 3, "percent variance" is 100% for the general goals of education and 83.7% for the school expectations. "Percent variance" refers to how much of the factor is measured by the items analyzed. So, 100% for the goals means that the items questioning the goals measure all aspects of the factor. And all the items have more than .30 factor loadings so none of the items were eliminated. The reliability of the questionnaire in which the goals and school expectation related items were inserted was estimated using Cronbach Alpha procedure and the coefficient obtained was .79.

Procedure

The researcher visited all the schools. The teachers of psychological guidance and counseling and the assistant principals were oriented about the administration of the questionnaires. The class teachers were briefed about the administration of the questionnaires with the help of the teachers of psychological guidance and counseling and the assistant principals. Moreover, detailed instructions printed separately were handed to class teachers to be read to the students before the administration of the questionnaires. Students were informed that their responses would be kept confidential and they should not write their names, numbers or any other specific information about themselves on the questionnaires.

Except for the items for personal and family related information, all the other items were designed in a Likert-Thurston type scale in order of importance, agreement or level of proficiency. The items on the goals and school expectations had response alternatives ranked in order of importance as "very important", "somehow important", "not important" and "do not know". The alternatives were read as A, B, C, or D by the optical reader. The data were loaded on a computer and the alternatives A, B, C, or D as to their associations were assigned increasing or decreasing numerical values from 3 to 0 with respect to the level of importance or agreement. Thus, the scores of each item and the sum of the item scores were used to study the perceptions of the samples. A statistics software called SPSS version 7.5 was used for analysis.

Results and Discussion

The study was conducted on 9373 junior and senior high school students at 41 schools selected through cluster sampling from 10 randomly selected provinces of both districts. They were 13 to 18 years old students of different ethnic origins. The number of students identifying themselves as of Turkish origin was 5053 (27% of whom were female), as of Kurdish origin 3076 (13% females, 87% males), as of Arabic origin 660 (15% females, 85% males), as "others" 228 (16% females, 84% males) and as "mixed" 356 (16% females, 84% males). Compared to other groups, the students of Turkish origin had a larger proportion of females, although in all groups they constituted less than one third of the sample.

The students of "mixed" origin are those who selected more than one alternative such as Turkish and Kurdish, Arabic and Kurdish or Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish. The students of "others" origin are those for whom none of the alternatives was applicable.

Almost 60% of Turkish families, 78% of Kurdish families, 75% of Arabic families, 72% of "others" and 75% of "mixed" earned less than 300 USD a month. The value of analysis of variance "F= 82.15" was statistically significant (p< .01) indicating that average income of Turkish families significantly varied from the average income of all other subgroups. The least amount of the average income was for the students of Kurdish origin.

Priorities Given to the General Goals of Turkish Education

The keywords emphasized in the first goal describe the characteristics desired for a member of the Turkish nation relevant to the Turkish nationalism, cultural values of the Turkish nation, and the principles mentioned in the constitution of the Turkish Republic. Those characteristics may be listed as follows:
1. Being people who are faithful to the revolutions of Atatürk and Turkish nationalism
2. Being people who adopt, preserve, and develop the national, moral, humanistic, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation
3. Being people who always love and exalt his family, country and nation;

4. Being people who are aware of their duties and responsibilities to Turkish Republic and behave accordingly.

Table III. Frequencies and ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin Regarding Their Perceptions of the General Educational Goals (Part 1) should be inserted somewhere here.

Table 4, 5 and 6 contain frequencies and chi square statistics in detail on the left side, ANOVA statistics and Tukey-B tests on the right side. The choice of alternatives for different importance levels was coded from 1 to 3 as continuous data and used for the analysis of variance. ANOVA and Tukey-B (post hoc or multiple range test) were used, in addition to chi square statistics, to demonstrate the significant group differences or proximities as seen in the Tukey-B chart.

The proportion of the students rating the first general goal of education as very important was almost 59% as seen in table 4. It meant that 41% of the students did not find it very important. Compared with the value given to the other goals of education, the first general goal of education was valued the least. About 11% of the students indicated that the first goal of national education is not important at all and almost 15% found it partly important. Another interesting finding was that 15% of them preferred to choose "do not know". It is interesting because it was almost twice the rate of students choosing "do not know" for the other goals.

About 72% of Turkish origin students, much higher than all the other groups, affirmed that the first goal was very important. The lowest percentage of students who found the goal very important (35,8%) were students who identified themselves as "others." About 41% of Kurdish origin students rated the goal as very important. The proportions of the students who affirmed that the goal was not important at all was the highest for students who identified themselves as "others" (20.8%) and for students of Kurdish origin (19.7%). Differences between the students of Turkish origin and all the others were significant as according to the Tukey-B test, as shown in Table 4. Furthermore, the means of Arabic origin and "mixed" students were significantly different from the means of Kurdish origin and "others." Moreover, the difference between students of Kurdish origin and students who identified themselves as "others" was statistically significant. The results indicate the significant differences in levels of importance between almost all groups except Arabic and "mixed." About 20% of Kurdish and "others" origin students stated that the first goal was not important at all.

Turkish origin students, not surprisingly given the wording of the goals, rated the first part of the general goals of education more important than all the other subgroups. In addition, students of Arabic origin and those students who are ethnically "mixed" valued the first part of the general goals of education more highly than students of Kurdish origin and "others." Kurdish origin students also valued the goal more than "others." The student who classified themselves as "others" and Kurdish origin students rated the goal much lower than the other sub groups.

Table IV. Frequencies and ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin Regarding Their Perceptions of the General Educational Goals (Part 2) should be inserted somewhere here.

The second part of the general goals of national education is to train all members of the Turkish nation as positive, creative and productive people who have the characteristics and personality of a person who grows up as mentally, morally, spiritually, and physically healthy; who have the ability to think freely and scientifically; who have the broad world view; who are respectful to human rights; who value individuality and initiative, and who feel responsibility to society.

The ratio of concordance with the importance of the second goal tends to be higher than the first goal for all groups. The ratio of the students who found the second goal "very important" was 79%, "not important at all" was 3.4%, and the rate of students who chose "do not know" was 6.7%.

The value of the Pearson chi-square for this item, as seen in table 5, is statistically significant suggesting that the students of different ethnic origin value the second goals of education at different levels. Almost 84% of Turkish origin students indicated that the second goal was also very important. The proportion of the students who identified themselves as "others" was the lowest (67.5%) in favor of agreement with the importance of the goal. The differences between the students of Turkish origin and those of Kurdish, Arabic and "others" origins were significant. In addition, the differences between the students who named themselves as "others" and those who were Kurdish, Arabic and "mixed" were also significant as demonstrated in Table 5. The second part of the general goals was valued the most (83.5%) by Turkish origin students and the least (67.5%) by "others." The findings for the second part of the general goals of education are more positive compared with the findings obtained for the first part of the general goals.

The third and last part of the general goals of national education is to train all members of the Turkish nation as people who are prepared for their lives and who have professions, which contribute to individual and social prosperity, by improving their interests, talents and aptitudes by means of knowledge, ability, attitude and habits of co-operation.

The percentage of the students approving the importance of the third goal was almost 78%. Only 3.5% of the students stated that the last part of the general goals of education was "not important at all." The value of the Pearson chi-square was 135.01 and was statistically significant, indicating the differential values submitted to the last part of the general goals by the students of different ethnic origin. The proportion of the students who approved the goal as very important was also highest for the students of Turkish extraction (82.2%). And differences between the students of Turkish origin and all the others were significant. Turkish origin students valued the third goal the most as for all other goals. The students who named themselves as "others" rated the goal the lowest, as for the other goals, as displayed in Table 6.

Table V. Frequencies and ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin Regarding Their Perceptions of the General Educational Goals (Part 3) should be inserted somewhere here.

Overall Assessment of General Goals

A total score of importance given to all goals was estimated by summing up the assigned numerical values to each option as to its importance. The respond alternative "do not know" was assigned "0", "Not important" was assigned "1", "Somehow important" was assigned "2" and "Very important" was assigned "3." The total scores stood for the students' overall assessment of goals that might also be associated with the level of consonance of the goals with the general expectations of the students in education. The means of each group were compared using one-way ANOVA. The obtained value of 'F' of 89.96 demonstrates that the differences between groups are significant at .01 probability level. The *Levene* test score of 20.55 is significant, showing that the assumption underlying ANOVA about the homogeneity of subgroup variance is confirmed. Furthermore, the multiple range test (Tukey-B) indicates significant differences between subgroups. The multiple range test (Tukey-B) shows the differences between the students of Turkish origin and all the others, the differences between the students defined themselves as "others" and all the others were statistically significant, too. Likewise, the difference between the students of Arabic and Kurdish origin was also significant.

The level of importance given to general goals was the highest for the students of Turkish extraction and lowest for the students who identified themselves as "others." After "others" the second lowest level of importance given to general goals was for the students of Kurdish origin.

The results show that Turkish origin students' consonance with the general goals of national education was the highest. Even though the higher proportions of other sub groups indicated their agreement with the importance of the general goals, the levels of importance given to each goal by the sub groups were significantly different from the importance given by Turkish students. In general, the first goal, in which the behavior or characteristics that were required for a member of the Turkish nation relevant to the Turkish nationalism and the cultural values of the Turkish nation are emphasized, was given less importance than the other goals.

Furthermore, a cluster analysis procedure was run with overall scores of general goals of education in order to examine the distances between students of different ethnic origin. The results, as demonstrated in table 7, suggested that the students of Arabic and "mixed" origin were the closest to each other and form the first cluster. The students of Kurdish origin join them in the second stage, which shows proximity of them to each other. The jump in coefficients is observed on stage 3. Thus, the students of " Others" and Turkish origin may be considered to form separate clusters alone. The results obtained via cluster analysis are harmonious with the results of the ANOVA and Tukey-B. As seen in both statistics, the students of Turkish origin value the goals of education the most. The students of Turkish origin are significantly different from all the other groups and form a cluster alone. On the other hand, the students of "others" origin value the goals the least, are significantly different from all the others, and form a cluster alone.

Table VI. Cluster Analysis Procedure in Investigation of Distances between Ethnical Groups for

General Goals of Education should be inserted somewhere here.

The students of Turkish origin, as the members of the dominant cultural group in Turkey, were observed to be significantly more approving than the other groups of the goals set for the national education system by the ministry. The students of Arabic origin were also quite approving, whereas the least the approving were the students who identified themselves as "others" and Kurdish in terms of ethnic origin.

Priorities Given to the School Expectations

The students were asked to rate the school expectations as to their importance to them. The level of importance given to each expectation was used to develop a vision of student purposes regarding the schools. Moreover, differences between groups might also be observed in terms of the expectations they value more. The statements regarding the school expectations are ethnically neutral, in contrast with the general goals. The items were examined one by one and the results are presented in table 8 below.

Table VII. The Order of Priorities Given to School Expectations and ANOVA Statistics by the Students of Different Ethnic Origin should be inserted somewhere here.

As seen in table 8, the order of priorities defined by the students of different ethnic origin seems divergent. But examined thoroughly, resemblance rather than difference is more obvious.

The teaching of basic skills such as communication, computation and problem solving were indicated to be 4th important by the students of all ethnic origins except "mixed." The students of "mixed" origin valued it more and ranked it 3rd.

The students of Turkish and Arabic origin found students' demonstrating a positive attitude toward learning the most important. The students of Kurdish origin ranked it the 2nd important, the students in the "others" category ranked it 3rd, and the students of "mixed" origins ranked it 4th in importance.

The students of "mixed" origin found students' demonstrating a feeling of self-worth the most important. The students of "others" found it the 2nd most important and the students of Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic origin found it the 3rd most important school purpose.

Students' freedom to express the full extent of their creativity was assessed to be the 8th in importance order (one of the least important) by almost all groups.

The students of Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic origin indicated students' having positive attitudes toward persons and cultures different from their own to be the 6th important. It was rated the 5th important by the students labeled "others" and 8th by the students of "mixed" origin.

The students of Kurdish and "others" origin students perceived the students' having equal educational opportunity the most important. The students of Turkish and Arabic indicated it to be the 2nd important. The students of "mixed" found it the 5th important.

Students' receiving opportunity in training for the world of work, somehow, received low importance by almost all sub groups. The acquisition of habits and attitudes of good citizenship was also assessed to be the 5th by most except the students of "mixed" origin. They assessed it to be the 2nd important.

Students' having experience in adapting to the changing world was assessed to be almost the least important of all by most sub groups.

Rank orders for each school expectation (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) represent the level of importance or value given to them and can be converted to continuous data by assigning asymmetrical rank orders. Should there be 8 items ranked, for instance, the 1st gets the most (8) and the last gets the least (1). Thus, both average level of importance given to each expectations within group and between groups can be studied comparatively by ANOVA and Tukey-B.

The level of importance given to each school purpose by students of different ethnic origin was studied and the differences, except for the students' freedom to express the full extent of their creativity and students' receiving opportunity in training for the world of work, were found to be statistically significant. The significant differences were apparent especially between the students of Turkish and Kurdish origin, as seen in Table 8.

Summary and Conclusions

The results of this study show that there is no consensus in the importance of the general goals of education in the perceptions of the students of different ethnic origins. Also, their priorities in school expectations are diverse. The differences are especially evident for the first part of the general educational goals that emphasizes the characteristics required for a member of the Turkish nation relevant to the Turkish nationalism, cultural values of the Turkish nation, and the principles mentioned in the constitution of Turkish Republic. The students gave the lowest importance to the first goal. The

proportion of the samples indicating "not important at all" was the highest   (10.7%) for all the students. It is questionable that the ratio of the students who marked "do not know" was also the highest (15%).

The analysis of the values given to the first goals of general education by the students of different ethnic origin is notable. Almost all groups valued the first goal of national significantly different from the others. The students of Turkish origin valued the first goal of national the most and the students of Kurdish origin the least. The students of Turkish origin merited all the goals of national education more than the students of all ethnic origins. The students of "others" origin valued all the goals of national education the least.

The level of importance given to each school expectation or school purpose by students of different ethnic origin was also studied, and the differences except for the students' freedom to express the full extent of their creativity and students' receiving opportunity in training for the world of work were found to be statistically significant. The significant differences were apparent especially between the students of Turkish and Kurdish origin.

As a summary, it is clear that the students of different ethnic or cultural origin value the school goals different and have diverse expectations, which indicates that the goals of national education and expectations for schools set for the system are not highly responsive to cultural differences. Such conditions, according to the literature, are likely to cause failure of non-dominant students.

May the educational conditions in the regions in this study briefly be summarized as "educationally and socially unjust, inefficient, wasteful and divisive" as Crosland, secretary of State for Education and Science, stated in his speech indicting the British Education system in 1966 at the North of England Education Conference? Except the concept "divisive" in the summary, the others are beyond doubt. Kneller (1971) criticized cultural ideals fostered by the system in Britain as being dominated by the upper classes and saw this as the cause of inefficiency, by creating educational disadvantages for certain groups, especially working classes. Such conditions contribute to social division, inequality, economic disparities, competitive antagonism and human alienation.. The dominance of a certain culture in an educational system, then may be considered to be the factor which causes inefficiency by creating educational disadvantages for non-dominant groups, contributing to social division, inequality, economic disparity and human alienation.

The educational system in Turkey has the main objectives of developing the scientific, technical and cultural knowledge of the Turkish people to the level of modern civilization within an environment of freethinking; fostering the national, moral and humanitarian values of the nation and rendering Turkish citizens creative members of the modern world (SYT-SIS, 1994). It may be reasoned that the students who do not feel the culture which is fostered in education to be theirs, may develop antipathy and may not value being educated which may enhance inequality, social division, economic disparity and human alienation.

The question "what should be done to overcome the problems in education in ESE?" can be answered mainly by altering the school curriculum as proposed by Hilliard (1990), who argues that the curriculum of schools should reflect the diversity of the school population. Content in the school curriculum should identify generic goals for the process of infusing multicultural content into a traditional, Eurocentric curriculum as follows:

1. The general history of the cultural group must be understood so that students can answer the questions "Who in the world am I?" and "How in the world did I get here?"

2. Teachers must proficiently grasp the histories of the non-majority group or groups to decide how to best use curriculum materials.
3. Curriculum materials must be developed for all disciplines so that students can acquire an interdisciplinary understanding of the diverse groups.
4. Schools must acquire curriculum materials such as books, videotapes, maps, artifacts, and films that support curriculum infusion.
5. Community members must be made aware of the curriculum infusion endeavors and their participation encouraged. Students and community members can create curriculum resources.

This study makes clear that the degree of agreement or the level of importance that students of different ethnic origin give to the goals of education and school purposes are significantly different. They value the goals at different levels, which means that their level of effort or devotion to pursue these goals will certainly be different. This may cause inequality in educational outcomes. In the age of information in which post modern thought is dominant, Turkey is changing very rapidly and willingly. Newer visions, ideals and procedures are being proposed for education, to overcome deficiencies in the values of old, industrial and behaviorist educational theories and practices. Reform expectations and efforts are getting bigger and larger each day and very soon a new constructivist primary curriculum will be introduced in which each subculture may feel free to express themselves and their values.

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TABLES

Table I. The Factor Matrix of The Items Concerning the General Goals Of Education

Principal Component Analysis, Pairwise Deletion of missing values, Communality estimates used, Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix;	
Eigenvalue .99247	
Percent Variance 100.0	
General goals of national education is to train all members of the Turkish nation;	Factor Loads
1.-to be citizens who are fateful to the revolutions of Atatürk and Turkish nationalism which is explained at the beginning of the Constitution; who adopt, preserve, and develop the national, moral, humanistic, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation; who always love and exalt his family, country and nation; who are aware of his duties and responsibilities and behaves accordingly to Turkish Republic which is a democratic, secular, and a social jurispurident country that is based on the fundamental principles defined at the beginning of the Constitution and human rights;	.59
2.-to be positive, creative and productive people who have the characteristics and personality of a person who grows up as mentally, morally, spiritually, sensationally healthy; who have the ability to think freely and scientifically; who have a broad world view; who are respectful to human rights; who value individuality and initiative and who feels responsibility to society;	.64
3.-to be people who are prepared for their lives and who have professions, which contribute to individual and social prosperity, by improving their interests , talents and aptitudes by means of knowledge, ability, attitude and habits of co-operation.	.46

Table II. The Factor Matrix of the Items Concerning the School Goals

Principal Component Analysis, Pairwise Deletion of missing values,
Communality estimates used, Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix;

Eigenvalue 2.3071	
Percent Variance 83.7	

	Factor Loads
1. Students should master the basic skills of reading, communication, computation, and problem solving	.48
2. Student should demonstrate a positive attitude toward learning	.49
3. Students should demonstrate a feeling of adequacy and self-worth	.38
4. Students should be given the freedom to express the full extent of their creativity.	.50
5. Students should acquire positive attitudes toward persons and cultures different from their own.	.63
6. Students should have equal educational opportunity.	.45
7. Students should receive opportunity in training for the world of work	.37
8. Students should acquire habits and attitudes of good citizenship	.57
9. Students should have experience in adopting to a changing world.	.59

Table III. FREQUENCIES & ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin concerning the Importance given to Genaral Goals of Education (1)

FREQUENCIES						STATISTICS						
Option	Pearson Chi Square					ANOVA AND TUKEY-B						
						Anova F=	200,68					
Count - %	α²=908,52- d.f=12- p.<.001					F-Prob.=	p<.001	*Others*	*Kurdish*	*Mixed*	*Arabic*	*Turkish*
	Do not know	Not important	Somehow important	Very important	Row Total	Levene =	142,75					
Ethnicity						Lev.Prob.=	p<.001					
Turkish	485-10,1%	254-5,3%	603 -12,5%	3472-72,1%	4814	Label	Mean					
Kurdish	621-21,3%	573-19,7%	527 -18,1%	1193-40,9%	2914	Others	1,6038					
Arabic	100-17,3%	74-2,8%	95 -16,5%	308-53,4%	577	Kurdish	1,7865	☆				
Others	58-27,4%	44-20,8%	34 -16,0%	76-35,8%	212	Mixed	2,0209	☆	☆			
Mixed	35-18,3%	25-13,1%	32 -16,8%	99-51,9%	191	Arabic	2,0589	☆	☆			
Total	1299-15%	970-11,1%	1291-14,8%	5148-59,2%	8708	Turkish	2,4671	☆	☆	☆	☆	

Table IV. FREQUENCIES & ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin concerning the Importance given to Genaral Goals of Education (2)

FREQUENCIES						STATISTICS						
Option	Pearson Chi Square					ANOVA AND TUKEY-B						
						Anova F=	33,018					
Count - %	$α^2$=184,20- d.f=12- p.<.001					*F-Prob.=*	p<.001					
	Do not	*Not*	*Somehow*	*Very*	*Row*	*Levene =*	91,135	*Others*	*Kurdish*	*Arabic*	*Mixed*	*Turkish*
Ethnicity	*know*	*important*	*important*	*Important*	*Total*	*Lev.Prob.=*	p<.001					
Turkish	260-5,4%	91-1,9%	439-9,2%	4004-83,5%	4794	Label	Mean					
Kurdish	246-8,4%	159-5,5%	362-12,4%	2150-73,7%	2917	*Others*	2,3161					
Arabic	43-7,5%	21-3,7%	88-15,4%	421-73,5%	573	*Kurdish*	2,5139	☆				
Others	30-14,2%	16-7,5%	23-10,8%	143-67,5%	212	*Arabic*	2,5481	☆				
Mixed	8-4,2%	10-5,2%	29-15,2%	144-75,4%	191	*Mixed*	2,6178	☆				
Total	587-6,7%	297-3,4%	941-10,9%	6862-79%	8687	*Turkish*	2,7078	☆	☆	☆		

Table V. FREQUENCIES & ANOVA Statistics for the Students of Different Ethnic Origin concerning the Importance given to Genaral Goals of Education (3)

FREQUENCIES						STATISTICS						
Option	Pearson Chi Square α^2=135,01- d.f=12- p.<.001					ANOVA AND TUKEY-B						
						Anova F=	31,952					
Count - %						F-Prob.=	p<.001	Others	Kurdish	Mixed	Arabic	Turkish
	Do not know	Not important	Somehow important	Very important	Row Total	Levene =	95,056					
Ethnicity						Lev.Prob.=	p<.001					
Turkish	253-5,3%	120-2,5%	479-10,0%	3935-82,2%	4787	Label	Mean					
Kurdish	298-10,2%	129-4,4%	355-12,2%	2127-73,1%	2909	Others	2,3726					
Arabic	51-8,9%	20-3,5%	64-11,2%	438-76,4%	573	Kurdish	2,4821					
Others	25-11,8%	14-6,6%	30-14,2%	143-67,5%	212	Mixed	2,4895					
Mixed	17-8,9%	13-6,8%	20-10,5%	140-73,7%	190	Arabic	2,5515					
Total	644-7,5%	296-3,5%	948-11%	6783-78%	8671	Turkish	2,6912	☆	☆	☆	☆	

Table VI. Cluster Analysis Procedure in Investigation of Distances between Ethnical Groups for the Alternatives regarding General Goals of Education

Agglomeration Schedule using Complete Linkage
Euclidean Measure Used / Standardised by Z- Scores

| Stage | Clusters Combined | | Coefficient | Stage Cluster 1st Appears | | Next Stage |
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	3	5	0,264	0	0	2
2	2	3	1,083	0	1	3
3	2	4	6,764	2	0	4
4	1	2	22,393	0	3	0

DENDOGRAM USING COMPLETE LINKAGE

Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine

CASE LABEL	Num	0	5	10	15	20

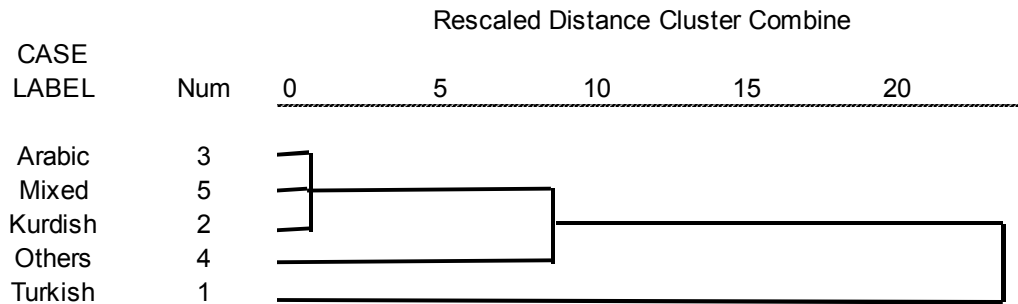| Arabic | 3 |
Mixed	5
Kurdish	2
Others	4
Turkish	1

Table VII. The Order of Priorities Given to School Expectations and Anova Statistics by the Students of Different Ethnic Origin.

School Purposes	Order of priorities given to school purposes					STATISTICS "#" refers significant difference.		
	Turk	Kurd	*Arab*	Others	Mixed	F	P	*Tukey-B*
1. Students should master the basic skills of reading, communication, computation, and problem solving.	4	4	4	4	3	5,910	p<.05	Turk # Arab, "Mixed" Kurd # "Mixed"
2. Student should demonstrate a positive attitude toward learning.	1	2	1	3	4	8,834	p<.05	Turk # Kurd, "Others" "Mixed" # Kurd, Arab
3. Students should demonstrate a feeling of adequacy and self-worth.	3	3	3	2	1	2,645	p<.05	Turk # Kurd
4. Students should be given the freedom to express the full extent of their creativity.	8	8	7	8	8	2,178	p>.05	
5. Students should acquire positive attitudes toward persons and cultures different from their own.	6	6	6	5	7	5,291	p<.05	Turk, Kurd # Arab
6. Students should have equal educational opportunity.	2	1	2	1	5	4,954	p<.05	"Mixed" # Turk, Kurd, "Others"
7. Students should receive opportunity in training for the world of work.	9	7	8	7	6	1,542	p>.05	
8. Students should acquire habits and attitudes of good citizenship.	5	5	5	6	2	12,415	p<.05	Turk # Kurd, Arab
9. Students should have experience in adopting to a changing world.	7	9	9	9	9	8,969	p<.05	Turk # Kurd, Arab, "Others"
Number of cases	4576	2745	534	206	173			

The Future of Whole Language

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Abstract
Whole language is a dynamic and generative philosophy of education that started as a grass roots teacher movement. Throughout its history it has been lauded worldwide as well as being attacked.   This article explores whole language through two lenses. First it examines the history of whole language through the eyes of someone who participated in the grass-roots movement. Secondly, the future of whole language is examined through the voices of whole language and literacy leaders. Their answers to questions about whole language's fit with progressive education, its greatest accomplishment and its future direction offer support and encouragement for progressive, holistic educators around the world.

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The Future of Whole Language

Whole Language, a grass roots progressive teaching and learning movement, has enjoyed monumental success and has endured venomous attacks over the last 35 years. Whole language represents a paradigm shift from a skill, drill and direct instruction model of reading and learning to a holistic and dynamic philosophy that is student centered and meaning focused. As Ken Goodman, one of the founders of whole language suggests, "whole language has had a profound influence on how curriculum, materials, methodology and assessment are viewed…. [it] has helped to redefine teaching and its relationship to learning" (1998, p. 3).

Goodman often says that he didn't found whole language, but whole language found him. In the mid-1960's Goodman's interest in reading as a language process led him to ask students to read stories aloud from a textbook called a basal reader. He taped their reading and then marked their deviations from print. Unlike practices of the time that focused on locating errors and drilling readers to correct them, Goodman likened reading to language emergence and viewed the assessment as a "window on the reading process" (1973, p.3). From that first study he coined the term *miscue,* meaning "a point in reading where the expected response (ER) and the observed response (OR) are not the same" (Brown, Goodman and Marek, 1996, p. vi). Miscue analysis grew steadily from that point, emerging as a valid and useful reading assessment tool (Goodman, 1981; Goodman, Watson and Burke, 1987/2005; Brown, Goodman & Marek, 1996). About the same time, Frank Smith (1971, 1973), in his exploration of psycholinguistics and reading, suggested that focusing on the smallest unit of language made reading more difficult and that "children learn to read only by reading" (1973, p. 195).

Canadian teachers who examined children's reading and writing and realized that they needed to move away from fragmented language first used the term whole language in the late 1970's. In print, the first reference to *whole language* occurred in a research article when Burke and Harste used it to describe one of their theoretical orientations (Harste & Burke, 1977). The insights discovered by Goodman, Smith, Harste and Burke and many others prompted a huge grass-roots teacher movement that was not static, but generative. Many of the practices still used today, including a focus on children's literature, literature study, strategies in reading and authentic reading assessment, have their roots in whole language.

In order to explore the future of whole language, it is important to visit the past. Thus, this article is divided into two parts. First, I examine whole language through a personal and historic lens. As a special education teacher and later a graduate student and professor at the University of Missouri- Columbia, I participated in the whole language movement as it grew from a few teachers in Canada, Missouri, Indiana, Arizona and Australia to the first Whole Language Umbrella (WLU) conference with over 2100 participants in 1990. My theoretical base is whole language, and I celebrate this bias. Although my personal timeline of whole language may be somewhat different than others, it demonstrates the dynamic nature of the whole language movement.

In the second part of the article, I widen the lens to examine the responses of ten international literacy leaders who answered three questions about the future of whole language. Each person was interviewed face to face or via email. Focusing on their responses moves the discussion from the history to the future of whole language.

A Personal History of Whole Language

My beginnings with whole language

Because my history is personal I highlight some aspects and omit others. Had I lived in Arizona, Indiana, Canada or Australia, some of the names would be different, but the main threads of the story would be similar. My apologies to those researchers and teachers who were so important and who have been inadvertently omitted.

My first encounter with whole language began in 1979 when I took Dr. Dorothy Watson's "Miscue Analysis" class at the University of Missouri, Columbia. Watson, a Ph.D. student of Ken Goodman, was hired to fill Sterl Artley's position upon his retirement. Artley was one of the authors of the *Dick and Jane* (4th grade edition) basal reading textbook series. Even though many of us in Missouri subscribed to a skill model and used scripted basal readers, by listening to children read and by looking at individual miscues in Watson's class, we began to question how reading and writing worked. We explored the function of syntactic, semantic and phonological cuing systems and wondered how understanding the cuing systems a child used (or didn't use) helped teachers make instructional decisions. Through class assignments, we learned the marking and the coding used in miscue analysis. We looked closely at various texts and predicted trouble spots for readers based on the nature of the text. As a requirement for that course, I gave my first miscue assessment to a high school struggling reader. I quickly realized the power of this evaluation. After completing the miscue analysis, I actually knew how to help him!

Dorothy introduced us to the research of Dewey (1938, 1943) Vygotsky (1978), Inhelder & Piaget (1959), Halliday (1975), Rosenblatt (1938/1976) and others that form the foundation for whole language. From this base, we generated holistic strategies to help readers become more independent. I remember trying, timidly at first, whole language strategies with my special needs students. I was amazed at the positive response from my students the first time I tried silent reading or journal writing without a prompt instead of relying on the color coded worksheets I normally used. Because my colleagues used skill and drill practices and depended on worksheets, veering away from the pre-set curriculum was a risky practice. Colleagues shook their heads at my techniques and were sure my students wouldn't progress –but they did.

The miscue analysis course quickly led to other experiences where classmates and I examined the scope of whole language. Dorothy helped us value children's literature and understand its central role in motivating and satisfying readers. We delved deeper into writing and reading strategies, and how young children learn. Drawing on the work of Graves (1981) and Calkins (1983) in the U.S. and Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, and Rosen (1975) in the UK, we explored the writing process. We read and discussed the work of Charles Read (1975) and Emilia Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982) and explored how very young children first spell what they hear. We immediately saw natural links to phonics. We read the "kidwatching" article by Yetta Goodman (1985) and began to observe students in a more informed way. Drawing on the work of Don Holdaway (1979), helped us think of possibilities beyond the basal. His comparison of "big books" to lap reading helped us understand alternatives to the basal readers that we were required to use.

As I considered the research that I was reading and the ideas Dorothy was sharing, I began to reconceptualize my thinking about child development and literacy learning. As I examined the drawings and writings of my three small children, I found that they knew far more about language and literacy than I had ever imagined! They became my teachers about how children learn and I began to understand

more deeply that closely examining children's writing, reading and talk can inform teachers (and parents) about children's curricular needs.

Watson's classes proved popular and more teachers in our area tried whole language practices in their classrooms. Simultaneously, educators from around the world—Jerry Harste and Carolyn Burke in Indiana, Ken and Yetta Goodman in Arizona, Judith Newman in Nova Scotia, Orin Cochrin and Ethyl Buchannan in Winnepeg, Dorothy Menosky in New Jersey, Brian Cambourne and Jan Turbill in Australia, and many others—brought teachers together to examine whole language theory and practices.

In the mid-1980's Ken Goodman published an accessible and thoughtful primer, *What's Whole in Whole Language?* Teachers were asking for information about whole language, and his book gave teachers the confidence to try holistic practices in their classrooms. I recall in one school in Columbia, the principal gave this book to each new teacher as support! Teachers/researchers defined whole language from their own personal and professional histories (Watson, 1989), but it was important not to narrowly define the term, because that limited its dynamic and generative nature.

About that time Dorothy gave me and other graduate students—many of whom were also classroom teachers—another challenge. While editing a book of literacy strategies called *Ideas and Insights: Language Arts in the Elementary School* (1988), she challenged us to write a similar book for middle and high school. We collected whole language strategies from a variety of teachers, wrote many ourselves and in 1988 *Whole Language Strategies for Secondary Learners* (Gilles, Bixby, Crowley, Crenshaw, Henrichs, Reynolds and Pyle) was published by Richard Owen. This book extended whole language to middle and secondary teachers, helping them find ideas and strategies for readers and writers. It also reflected a basic tenant of the WL movement – teachers can use and generate professional literature and teachers working together can enhance their own practice while providing something meaningful to the profession. This collaboration among teachers, with and without university participation, can be found in the work growing out of many Teachers Applying Whole Language (TAWL) groups and further supported the teacher researcher movement and the teacher as professional movement.

Teacher support.

In the late 1980's another mile-stone in whole language history occurred. Goodman, Shannon, Freeman and Murphy published *Report Card on Basal Readers* (1988), which grew out of the Reading Commission of the National Council of Teachers of English. This book questioned the need for basal readers and showed a strong connection of basals to corporate America. Teachers began to question the lock-step nature of the basals and some eagerly turned to trade books and more open curriculum. Teachers were hungry for information about whole language and they sought out other teachers and professors to share practices and ideas. Those people who had taken classes on whole language became consultants to other districts. As a doctoral student, I offered the "Alternative Curriculum" class in many towns in Missouri. I traveled to New York, California, Arkansas and Alaska, sharing ideas and strategies about whole language. I was not alone. There was a small brigade of whole language advocates spreading the fertile ideas of whole language to teachers who were hungry for the professional knowledge needed to be informed decision-makers in their own classrooms.

Teachers supporting teachers needed systemic sustenance. Orin Cochran, Ethyl Buchannan and Orysia Hull recognized this fact and began a teacher support group in Canada, Child-centered Experience-based Learning (CEL) in the mid-1970's. In the U.S. Watson and Yetta Goodman started Teachers Applying Whole Language (TAWL) groups about 1978. (Watson in Wilde, 1996). All three groups provided a safe place where teachers shared their best student examples, supported one another in

holistic practices and extended this joyful teaching and learning. One cardinal rule was that everyone brought an idea or piece of child's work to share in order to focus on what children could do and not what they couldn't do. We shared children's literature, literacy strategies, exciting examples of children making meaning, as well as food and collegiality.

Many TAWL groups were begun by members of the Center for the Expansion of Language and Thinking (CELT), a group of educators who were committed to whole language. CELT, according to the website,

> is a nonprofit educational corporation, international in scope, whose members believe in the principles of education for democracy with a focus on natural language learning and inquiry. These principles are supported by beliefs in learners and learning, teachers and teaching, and language and curriculum. The members of CELT are dedicated to the improvement of education through a greater understanding of the relationship between language, thought, and learning. (http://www.ed.arizona.edu/celt/)

CELT members brought interested teachers together and encouraged them to organize TAWL groups, generative grass roots organizations.

As TAWL groups began to spring up all over the U.S., there was talk at conferences of somehow taking this movement to a national level. The groundwork meetings were held and on February 18, 1989, the constitution of Whole Language Umbrella (WLU), an international organization of whole language teachers was ratified in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The first president was Dorothy Watson, someone who could galvanize teachers and keep the momentum going. Ken Goodman was designated the originator. The CEL organization added $5.00 to an annual conference registration and the surcharge was given to WLU to fund an office and the first conference. By 1993 when I was Watson's assistant for WLU, I counted over 125 support groups in the U.S., and groups were beginning to spring up all over the world. This groundswell of support for whole language kept the ideas dynamic.

In 1990 the first WLU international conference was held in St. Louis with over 2100 participants. Although no honorarium was given, approximately 100 teachers and researchers presented. A feeling of camaraderie flowed, from the guitar music for people waiting to register to the student examples that covered hotel walls. There were small 'conversation' sessions for teachers to talk at length with researchers like Jerry Harste or Donald Graves. Teachers, not only were listeners, they also presented to the literacy giants. And the giants listened. Because I helped organize this conference, I remember worrying during the planning phase if anyone would come. By early July I was worried that we could not accommodate the numbers of registrants! The first conference brought a national face to whole language. It was not a fragmented movement in pockets around the country, but a real entity that united all the groups in a common purpose.

Curricular Explosions.

Curricularly the late 1980's and early 1990's erupted through a rash of publications extending whole language pedagogy. Constance Weaver drew together much of the holistic thinking about reading in her *Reading Process and Practice* (1988), which became a textbook for literacy courses around the U.S. Peterson & Eeds (1990) and Short and Pierce (1990) extended the reading curriculum through their work on literature study, an alternative to the basal reader. Controlled vocabulary, assigned stories and worksheets were replaced with literature discussions, powerful children and young adolescent books and small groups of students who read and critiqued them. Students read real books and talked and wrote about them. Literature discussion was based on a simple idea – that talk and writing were powerful ways to get kids to think deeply about literature. Of course, to get students reading, thinking and talking about

books, a community of learners had to be established and sustained. Ralph Peterson's work on building and nurturing classroom communities (*Life in a Crowded Place,* 1992) helped teachers realize that the routines they used and the celebrations and ceremonies they employed helped students feel safe in classrooms and ready to tackle challenging thinking. Using literature study also helped us think more deeply about the value of talk in the classroom.

About this time I decided to examine literature groups of special needs students for my dissertation topic. I met with a group of teachers from Columbia and St. Louis, who spent two years studying talk across the curriculum. We were guided by the work of Douglas Barnes (1978) who eventually visited the U.S. to work with us. Our work culminated in my dissertation and the book, *Cycles of Meaning* (Pierce & Gilles, 1993), one of the first examinations of talk across the curriculum in the U.S., although much had been done in England through the National Oracy Project. Examining talk opened still another avenue to whole language. We now were concerned with reading, writing, talking and listening. Because whole language was not narrowly defined, it could expand with new ideas and practices. Our broad definitions allowed Whole Language to expand according to our growing notions of literacy.

It is important to realize how particular threads in the whole language movement emerged, that all of these threads continued and wove the fabric of whole language. By the early 1990's many teachers knew of and some used miscue analysis, big books with young students, language experience, reading strategies, the writing process, and literature study. Educators may have even heard of talk in the curriculum. Each of these areas was supported by an influx of professional books from publishers such as Heinemann, Richard C. Owen Publishers, and Stenhouse. Teachers devoured professional books and attended conferences in record numbers to learn more about teaching with fewer directives from textbooks and mandates.

It made sense that whole language should move beyond reading and writing. Skeptics of whole language asked about evaluation. If whole language advocates rejected testing in favor of observation and kidwatching, then how could teachers be accountable? A number of assessment articles and books were published in response to such questions (Goodman, Goodman and Hood, 1989; Goodman, Goodman & Bird-Bridges, 1995; Harp, 1996). Informal assessment measures including anecdotal records, checklists, observational charts, scoring guides and student portfolios emerged as ways to measure students' learning. Besides evaluation from a teacher, whole language advocates looked to self-evaluation and peer evaluation as important parts of the assessment cycle. Of course miscue analysis continued to be refined as an assessment technique, and eventually retrospective miscue analysis was added (Goodman & Merek, 1996; Moore & Gilles, 2005).

Another area of growth was inquiry. As early as 1989, Watson, Burke and Harste wrote *Whole Language: Inquiring Voices,* in which they introduced teachers to inquiry as a curriculum model. They suggested that instead of depending on scope and skill charts from publishers that teachers organize the curriculum around children exploring their worlds in and outside the classroom. Using themes, children learned about reading and writing as they researched and explored their world (Manning, Manning and Long, 1994; Strube, 1993). Harste and Burke published *Creating Classrooms for Authors* (1988), which helped teachers understand the inquiry cycle. Carole Edelsky, Bess Altwerger and Barbara Flores (1991) extended this idea through theme cycles. Instead of constructing units in which the topics were used for teaching skills and content, the authors suggested that "symbolic skills and tools serve content (p. 65). Instead of working on specific activities usually generated by the teacher, students set the problem, found the resources, and interpreted the data with the teacher acting as a guide to their exploration. This in-depth study encouraged questioning of social and political norms and moved education to one "that fosters understanding, justice and compassion, which emerge equally from the content and process of

teaching and learning" (p. 68). This stance motivated at least some whole language teachers to begin to consider issues of social justice.

In the last five years or so, many whole language advocates have begun to explore the critical nature of pedagogy, including critical literacy and critical talk. Critical pedagogy, which first emerged from Australia, drew on the work of Friere (1970, 1985) and Bakhtin (1981, 1984). Brian Street (1995) suggested that children need an awareness of the ideological and social construction of language and literacy. Luke (1995) extended the argument to the social relations and power that surrounds texts. Cambourne (Taylor, 2001) furthered our understanding by defining three kinds of literacy: functional (reading and writing well enough to get by), literacy for personal growth and development (more interpretive literacy) and literacy for social equity and social justice (critical literacy). Although critical literacy is well supported with theory, the classroom practices are not as clear (Behrman, 2006). Many whole language advocates are now working on defining and describing classroom practices that are consistent with whole language principles and critical literacy (Leland, Harste, Davis, Haas, McDaniel & Parsons, 2003; K.Vasquez, 2003/2004; Van Sluys, Lewison, and SeelyFlint, 2006) and critical talk (K. Smith, 2001; Wilson, 2005).

Critical times.

With teachers reading professional books, trying new things in their classrooms and moving away from textbook materials, whole language made enemies. The criticism began in earnest in the 1990's with Adams *Beginning to Read* and continues today. Following are some of the reasons why whole language philosophy was attacked. This list is not exhaustive. For more information see Boran & Comber, 2001; Dudley-Marling & Edelsky, 2001; Goodman, 1998; Goodman, Shannon, Y. Goodman and Rapoport, 2004.

One unfortunate occurrence was that some school districts mandated whole language. This was the antithesis of whole language practice that called for choice, but it was done in the name of progress. Teachers who had little experience in or information about whole language were required to use it. Mandating whole language equated it to a collection of strategies or lessons, instead of a philosophy of language, teaching and learning. Some teachers rejected it simply because it was being mandated. Because whole language was seen as a reform movement, workshops often presented whole language practices in one column with the 'traditional' practices in the other. Although it seemed appropriate to contrast whole language with current practices, using a two valued orientation actually masked many of the complexities of whole language and, at the same time was polarizing. Teachers who found their beliefs termed as *traditional,* began to feel that they previously had been doing everything wrong, and consequently became hostile or tentative in their practices. They were skeptical of whole language and felt polarized by the rhetoric. Although many teachers claimed they "were whole language" because they had taken one workshop, their knowledge base wasn't strong and the practices they advocated were, for them, tentative and problematic. My favorite example was the teacher who had penciled in her plan book "whole language" 10 minutes before lunch. Instead of a philosophy that guided her practice, whole language was 10 minutes of reading aloud!

Parents, unaware of the benefits of holistic practices, questioned them. Parents were concerned that the familiar parts of the curriculum—the spelling tests, diagramming sentences, and vocabulary drills—were no longer used. Teachers wanted to save papers and put them in portfolios instead of sending them home. Parents put pressure on school administrators who pressured the teachers – the very ones who were vulnerable and alienated. (Church, 2001). Fundamental Christian parents were especially critical of whole language because they feared that classroom experiences would conflict with their children's religious upbringing (Brinkley, 1998). Weaver and Brinkley (1998) suggest that the political

far right played on parental fears about authority, control and tradition and attacked whole language through media and the pulpit.

About the same time whole language researchers felt pressure from more traditional reading theorists. At first the debates about whole language and phonics were academic and congenial, held at reading conferences (Smith, 1994). But rapidly the sides polarized into rather inflexible oppositions. Pearson reminded us that since both sides cringed at each other's rhetoric (from *errors* and *time on task* to *miscues* and *empowerment)* it "makes it difficult for individuals with different belief systems to find out what they have in common" (1989, p. 239). Gee (2001) suggests that each of the core values of progressive education has a 'double-sided' twin. For example, "child centeredness" conjures up "permissiveness" for some (p. 31-32). Each value stirs up some directly linked opposite. Thus the language itself intensified the opposition.

The media simplified these differences to the "Reading Wars" and defined the issue as a question of phonics versus whole language. At the outset such a dichotomy was inaccurate as whole language instruction includes all the systems of language, including phonics or graphophonics. The rhetoric was reduced to sound bytes and the battle lines had been drawn. Sharon Murphy looked at more than 20 articles from December 1994 to May of 1997 in five major U.S. newspapers (*Christian Science Monitor, Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post.*) She found that only 24% were positive toward whole language. She concluded, "Given the alleged pervasiveness of whole language, the statistics reveal a lopsided position of the press" (1998, p. 164).

Last, on the national level, whole language was first caught in the standards and then in the assessment and accountability push. California attempted to adopt a holistic language and literacy program. When the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test scores were revealed in 1994, California's scores were low. The fact that California had no whole language staff development, the largest class sizes in the nation, severe budget cuts and the largest immigrant population in the country was ignored; nevertheless, whole language was singled out as the reason for the low test scores (Freeman, D, & Freeman Y., 1998).

In 2000 the National Reading Panel published their meta-study of reading research (http://www.nichd.nih.gov/publications/nrp/smallbook.htm). Narrowly defining "scientific research" to include only deductive, positivist, empirical research, the panel ignored a large set of data. They concluded that phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension were crucial to reading success. Since whole language was meaning-centered, founded in the belief that the smaller parts of language were learned in context, the NRP report was a blow to WL curricula.

The NRP data were used in the late 1990's when the Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind) was passed. The federal government mandated testing and accountability measures for schools. In addition, if schools received Reading First money they were required to use particular materials consisting of packaged programs and basal textbooks. Whole language practices and beliefs were outlawed in California and discouraged elsewhere. Goodman believes that NCLB was a "conservative movement to privatize American education present[ing] itself as a reform movement" (K.Goodman, Shannon, Y. Goodman & Rapoport, 2004, p. 5).

The Future of Whole Language

In 2006, is whole language in North America wounded or even alive? Although on the national front it seems discredited and embattled, there are quiet life-forms still at work. The Whole Language Umbrella merged with the National Council of Teachers of English and remains solvent. At first, membership sank and funds were scarce, but the last year looked more positive for the WLU. The summer conference registration was three times that of the previous year. Many of the practices that are currently in place in the United States (language experience, student-centered evaluation, inquiry, holistic reading and writing strategies, transmediation of knowing, literacy in the arts and sciences, etc.) can be linked directly to whole language. I still teach a course named "Whole Language Curriculum" at the University of Missouri and it fills.

Whole language has moved beyond North America. Yetta and Ken Goodman and others have been in Britain, Europe, Africa, and Asia where interest in WL principles is keen. Whole language is growing particularly in settings where teachers and principals appreciate the connections among language, culture and power.

Because whole language is a worldwide phenomenon, I chose to interview those people who had been influential in whole language or who were presently involved in literacy worldwide. I contacted 18 such leaders and ten responded. I interviewed founders and leaders in the North American Whole Language movement, (Ken Goodman, Dorothy Watson and Jerry Harste), current leaders in North American literacy (Rick Meyer, president of the Center for the Expansion of Language and Thinking; Amy Seely Flint, past-president of the Whole Language Umbrella and Randy Bomer, past president of the National Council of Teachers of English); and whole language/literacy leaders from across the world (Brian Cambourne of Australia; Peter Duckett of Cairo, Egypt; Elisa Waingort, past WLU board member from Quito, Ecuador; and Lian-Ju Lee from Taiwan.) Each responded to three questions that I hoped would frame the discussion about whole language's future:

1) How does whole language fit into progressive education?
2) What has been the largest accomplishment of whole language? and
3) What is the future of whole language worldwide?

Each question is discussed below.

How does whole language fit into progressive education?

All of the leaders interviewed concurred that whole language is strongly connected to progressive education. Progressive education is defined by Harste as being "about the business of making schools more effective agencies of democratic community… Key principles involve a respect for diversity and the development of a critically and socially engaged citizenry." Most leaders linked progressive education to the contributions of John Dewey (1938, 1943) who rooted the child firmly at the center of the curriculum and explored the role of democracy in education. Meyer suggests the basic tenets of progressive education are "teacher reflection, locally grown curriculum, child-centeredness, teacher research, a view of children as fundamentally good and curious, a view of learning as social and cultural and the importance of on-going teacher conversations." Waingort defines it more locally as "forward looking and addressing the needs of teachers, schools, parents, students and local communities…[It] is finding new solutions to problems by using the expertise and knowledge of everyone that is impacted and impacts schools at a local level."

Within progressive education, leaders varied somewhat about the role of whole language. However, many felt it extended knowledge in language and literacy. Harste felt that whole language is an "expression of progressive education" and as such contributes to "a deeper understanding of the role that oral and written language played in language learning specifically and all learning more

generally." Goodman feels that "whole language brought to the philosophical base scientific understanding of how language relates to language and literature." Bomer believes that whole language is a "continuation of progressive education under a different name with new insights from linguistics and reading." He suggests the important contribution of whole language is that "ordinary readers are good enough to make something of what print says, that they can bring their interests, their aims, their daily competence and use it to make meaning."

Seely-Flint sees whole language as an integral part of progressive education because both share a belief about developing curriculum that is "holistic, relevant and authentic." She sees whole language as foundational to critical pedagogy and in particular critical literacy, which "invites students to consider the multiple and varied ways literacy practices matter to the participants and their place in the world."

Cambourne suggests that progressive education according to Dewey fits whole language "like a glove." He emphasizes the importance of literacy in a democracy. He believes
Whole language is more of an ideology founded in social equity and the democratic process based on the assumption that schools must produce highly productive critically literate graduates if democracy as we know it is to survive. Given this assumption teachers and policy makers have no right to make learning to be literate any more complex than necessary and WL principles are currently the best principles that fully and correctly applied will make it as easy and barrier free as possible for all learners.
One of Cambourne's points that struck me was that in his view WL made learning to read and write easier than the more traditional literacy curriculum. This fits nicely with Frank Smith's "12 Easy Ways to Make Learning to Read Difficult and One Difficult Way to Make it Easy" (1973).

Waingort, from Ecuador, finds whole language is progressive education because it "sees the learning of language as a holistic experience and therefore addresses classroom-based problems in much the same way. Whole language research takes a local issue and tries to find local solutions." She finds whole language quite relevant to the issues faced by teachers today in Ecuador.

Lee speaks about whole language specifically in her country of Taiwan. She sees whole language as more accepted and influential in early childhood education (ECE) in Taiwan. She believes, "ECE and whole language have the same roots in progressive education."

Goodman adds one more important aspect of whole language and progressive education. He maintains, "progressive education in the university never seriously affected a large number of teachers. Private schools were the most affected. Whole language helped established the emergence of a real profession." Goodman feels that when teachers began asking for and receiving in-services, attending conferences and reading professional books and journals, they moved from "workers at the chalk face" to professionals. Whole language helped teachers make this move. Another progressive education movement, the National Writing Project also helped teachers be more professional and "help their students become successful writers and learners" (http://www.writingproject.org). Both movements are grounded in teacher study groups, teacher research and the importance of writing in the learning process.

In summary, these leaders find whole language sharing the same fundamental principles and theorists with progressive education. Whole language has added information about literacy and language, made strong connections to democracy and teachers as professionals and laid the groundwork for critical pedagogy, and especially critical literacy.

What has been whole language's greatest achievement?

The ten leaders are quite diverse. Yet, surprisingly, their comments were similar and centered on three themes about the achievement of whole language: 1) theoretical breakthroughs in language and literacy, especially miscue analysis; 2) empowerment and professionalism of teachers and 3) changes in curriculum for students and teachers alike.

Cambourne believes that the greatest achievement of whole language has been the following:

> development of a grounded theory of literacy learning and teaching that currently is the best, most elegant, parsimonious, robust and powerful (William of Occam would approve) explanation (theory) of how literacy is best learned/not learned, taught, not taught, given the assumptions about social equity and democracy.

Harste concurs that whole language was a "grass roots movement (meaning it was rooted in practice and therefore encouraged the development of practical theory of literacy learning); one teachers understood and identified with." For Duckett, whole language's greatest achievement is the "pulling together and naming of a salient set of principles that guides educators in supporting learners with respectful and engaging learning experiences." All three of these leaders emphasize the power of theory/practice union in whole language.

Watson reminds us that whole language theory is dynamic and impermanent. She suggests "the skills people [more traditional teachers] think everything is permanent and you learn the permanent stuff or you are not literate, and you learn it in a particular order." In contrast, whole language teachers realize that "language at whatever system or subsystem of the language is impermanent. It's changing…. With all of these changes critical ideas and practices can emerge. Growth and richness of thought can't emerge in a permanent literacy situation." Watson helps us see why whole language theory has lasted and grown over 30 years. It is dynamic, generative and constantly seeks to outgrow itself.

Some leaders specified the reading process and miscue analysis as the greatest achievement of whole language. Meyer suggests that whole language gives "a deep understanding of the reading process" and that miscue analysis is the catalyst for changing the way reading is taught, the way nonfiction is approached and even "development and teaching are studied in a completely different and informative light using miscue analysis." Seely-Flint also concurs that whole language's greatest achievement has been "the identification of the cueing systems and the miscue work of the Goodmans."

Literacy leaders also identified changes in teachers and curriculum due to whole language. Goodman suggests "teachers can rise to a much higher professional level if they are treated like intelligent professionals. Ultimately the teacher liberates the kids and the curriculum." Waingort explains "Whole language empowered teachers and students. Whole Language has said to educators, 'You are the experts in your classrooms. You know what the problems are. Now get your hands dirty and try to find solutions that will work for your students.'" Her comments signal a respect for teachers, but also an expectation that they will succeed. Lee believes that "whole language causes teachers and students to change, self-willingly. [It] helps teachers to see that they can help students to be better learners." All of these statements focus on whole language's respect for learners, including teachers and how that respect led to a deeper professionalism.

Bomer extends the idea of teacher as professional when he suggests that whole language has been successful in "helping many teachers to take on the identity of theorist and researcher . . . . [T]he best whole language teachers have understood that their thinking as professionals creates their interactions with their students, and that those interactions create the character of the learning (and living) that goes on in their classrooms." This is a powerful comment, because prior to whole language

teachers consumed research from the universities. Whole language encouraged teachers to not only look to research to govern their practices, but to be researchers in their classrooms every day.

Curricular change is also considered one of the greatest achievements of whole language. Harste believes that whole language "taught and supported teachers in building curriculum from children rather than doing curriculum to children … and it did this all without doing violence to what we know about language and language learning."

Again we can see the respect for the learner in Harste's comment.   Goodman reminds us that "children were given opportunities to learn without ceilings and artificial grade levels," so they learned more. He also suggests that the "greatest success were those kids who had not been successful—African Americans, Native Americans, Appalachian children." Watson agrees that kids are put at the heart of the curriculum: "their interests, their lives, their culture, and literature, including all varieties of genre have the potential to be critical." Lee suggests that as whole language has spread in Taiwan, it has caused teachers "to rethink language teaching" and made some of them "adjust their thinking and practice." In all of these comments from whole language advocates the knowledge of both teachers and students is central to developing language learning.

In summary, literacy leaders see whole language as a robust theory that explains literacy and language in an accessible way for teachers to understand. It encourages teachers as professional researchers in their own classrooms and it supports students by putting them at the heart of the curriculum. There is a profound respect for all learners in whole language. In such ways, ideas of social justice beliefs are developed and nurtured.

What is the future of whole language?

Although all of the literacy leaders mention that whole language has been battered and attacked, every one of them is hopeful about the future. Their comments center on the continued development of whole language, perhaps under another name or in a slightly different form; learning to survive in the present day world, and looking to the world for the next iteration of whole language.

Harste suggests that whole language will survive, perhaps called *education as inquiry* or perhaps *critical literacy* that highlight principles of whole language. Bomer does not suggest a new name, but believes that "as long as there are people loving kids and wanting the best for them, they will find their ways to these traditions." Bomer believes that there will always be those teachers who believe that progressive education is the best and most right fit for children.

Watson proposes that for whole language to survive, WL teachers must both learn to exist with those who don't believe in whole language, and at the same time stand up for their beliefs. She says, "We've got to learn how to handle ourselves, how to get help from each other, and how to meet the other person who believes something 180 degrees different than we—we've just got to learn." She suggests that TAWL groups still have a purpose and function to support teachers and that "the future of whole language is in the individual, in the individual holding the hand of their colleagues and holding the hands of kids." Such collaboration of teachers and children is at the heart of whole language.

Cambourne suggests that WL advocates stand up for what they believe: "they need to use Lakoff's (2004) work to reframe whole language so that it resonates with the moral and ethical beliefs that underpin the cultures of their countries." This will help others understand WL in terms that are familiar to them and perhaps prevent some of the misunderstandings and polarization that occurred previously.

Waingort concurs with Watson:

The future of whole language is to recover its base: teachers in their classrooms doing awesomethings! We need to go back to our roots and meet teachers where they are. Whether or not they identify themselves as whole language educators is beside the point.

Seely-Flint suggests that whole language may be able to reach out to those parents "who are disillusioned with the results of federal mandates and testing." In addition she sees the Whole Language Umbrella "offering meaningful and effective professional development for teachers wanting to explore alternative to what is currently in place." As teachers become disenchanted with the highly prescriptive curriculum and mandates, the WLU will become a viable alternative, offering support to child-centered, meaning-focused practices.

Goodman captures the importance of whole language extending beyond the borders of the U.S., Canada and Australia to the wider world:

There is a rising tide of professionalism among teachers in Latin America, Asia and South Africa. A rising tide of professional teachers who are better educated, think of themselves as professionals and are backed by theory. They are moving ahead as we (US) are moving back. After our insanity, they will have a lot to offer us. They can share what they have achieved. We see this in the progressive movement over a long time. There will be another cycle, another time to re-emerge and be stronger. We must build on what we have learned. It is not a pendulum swing, but an ebb and flow in politics. Politics limit access to education. As we become strong the truth of what we are doing emerges. Bad ideas will keep coming up. We need to use common sense to give those bad ideas failing grades.

Goodman's projections are already occurring. Lee suggests that in Taiwan, "more and more teachers, administrators, teacher educators and researchers are interested in finding out how whole language can be implemented within our particular social and educational contexts." Taiwan is in a process of educational reform and people are seeking "more learner –oriented, flexible, problem solving rather than skill performing, autonomous, equal and less stressful kinds of educational opportunity for all students." Whole language is becoming more popular where teachers and administrators are open to reform. Researcher such as Kathy Short, Yetta and Ken Goodman, Wendy Kasten, Alis Hedlam and many, many others are working all over the world to support and develop international views of curriculum based in inquiry and grounded in whole language principles. Progressive educators in schools around the world are asking for support to develop the kinds of classrooms that the U.S. is abolishing.

The Future Worldwide: A Postscript

Listening to the voices of literacy leaders worldwide helps readers see that the "Reading Wars" and the attacks on whole language weren't actually about phonics, or spelling workbooks, or even diagramming sentences. Those issues hid the real concern, which was that some people feared progressive education was incarnate in whole language in the U.S., Canada and Australia. Whole language is against schools reifying society, sorting the haves from the have-nots, and empowering some while disempowering many. Whole language principles say everyone has the right to read and write and think critically and the job of the teacher is to support students to meet those challenges. There are no ceilings for students. Parents, teachers, and kids make the best choices for themselves, not politicians miles away from the classroom. Such thinking is powerful and frightening for many because it moves beyond class, color and race. Whole language returns the power of teaching and learning back into the hands of teachers and parents and kids. Whole language has been attacked by those who fear sharing power with "others" deemed less worthy of leading and making decisions about what goes on in classrooms around the world.

The principles of whole language, whether it is called *inquiry learning* or *critical literacy*, when coupled with the ideas of Freire (1970, 1985) leads to liberation pedagogy. Principles of liberation pedagogy are blueprints for people to empower themselves through literacy and create more democratic and critical societies. As messy as democracy is it still honors the individual within the group. Perhaps the lessons shared within this discussion will prove useful for educators worldwide who are contemplating beginning or joining a fledgling whole language movement in their country. Perhaps teachers and administrators will gain from the positive and negative experiences described here. I hope that teachers around the world will not make the same errors we did. The whole language journey may be fraught with dangers, but it is always stimulating, even intoxicating. And, as Goodman reminds us, "I'm an optimist. I believe that eventually good ideas will triumph."

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Book Review

Lewis, B. (1975). *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented***. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. ; ISBN: 0-691-03547-4**

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Abstract

How is history used? What are the ways history is used? In this book review, Nihat Kahveci analyzes how Bernard Lewis's *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented* seeks the answers to these important questions. Lewis states in the preface that the historian sometimes "needs to leave his period, his area, and his topic, and take a boarder look at the nature of his vocation and discipline". The book is such reflection on nature of historical knowledge and discipline of history. Organizing different examples of historical events, the book takes a broad look at the discipline of history.

How is history used? What are the ways history is used? Bernard Lewis's *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented* seeks the answers to these important questions. Lewis states in the preface that the historian sometimes "needs to leave his period, his area, and his topic, and take a boarder look at the nature of his vocation and discipline". This book is such reflection on nature of historical knowledge and discipline of history. Organizing different examples of historical events he takes a broad look at the discipline of history.

Lewis distinguishes three senses of history. The first one is "remembered history," "the collective memory of a community or nation or other entity-what it, or its rulers and leaders, poets, and sages, choose to remember as significant, both as reality and symbol." (p. 12). The second is "recovered history" which is forgotten historical events rejected at some stage by the communal memory and recovered by academic scholarship--- the reconstruction of a forgotten past. The third is "invented history," that is described as history for a purpose. From Lewis's description of his "invented history," it is hard to distinguish "invented history" from other two categories of history (remembered, recovered).

In the first lecture Lewis argues what makes up history. Lewis gives examples of his argument of "use of history". Lewis categorizes three pasts of Turkish people. The first is the remembered past of the Ottoman-Islamic period. "This was the common, corporate recollection of the Ottoman Turkish people, embodied in their schoolbooks, their poems, their literature, and their self-awareness." The second is the recovered history of Turkish people which has developed in two different directions. One is that the local history of Turkey, the ancient peoples and civilizations of Anatolia going back ancient times – the Hittites as ancestors of the Turks. The second direction is the history of the Turks before coming to Anatolia. Sources of the recovered history came from European science of Turcology. Lewis argues that there were two essential contexts framing the two dimensions of Turkish history: The first dimension is patriotism which can be defined by loyalty of country. The second dimension is the idea of unification of all Turkish speaking countries which is named as the Pan-Turkism. Pan-Turkism is a nationalist doctrine based on common identity, that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk made the conscious choice by choosing patriotism and rejecting pan-Turkism. Lewis clearly highlights the relationships between historiography and political identity by quoting an example from Republican Party Program: "The fatherland is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history and with its past glories still living on the depths of its soil" (Lewis, 1975, p. 39).

Lewis identifies that the third type of history "invented history," as "devised and interpreted from remembered and recovered history where feasible, and fabricated where not" (p.12). Lewis states that invention of history requires rejection of undesired past to build new identity and future: "Nationalist historiography rejects the dynastic past, rejects even the previous basis of group identity" (p.65). Lewis gives an example from the 19th and early 20th centuries to show how invented history is formed: "Jewish, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish historical novelists did much to form the self-image of the new, secular-educated reading public among these peoples, with far-reaching political consequences" (p.58). After Turkish Independence War, the new Turkish Republic was constructed a new, modern, secular, nation-state by rejection of the Ottoman Past. Even tough Lewis describes 'Recovered History' as reconstruction of a forgotten past, his description might create ambiguity between the terms 'Recovered History' and 'Invented History'. Lewis argues "reconstruction begs the basic question, and disguises what would be better described as construction. The word itself indicates the dangers of the process, and leads us to third type of history" (p.12).

In the second lecture, 'Medium and Message', Lewis explores the types of the collective memories of a community. Then, he explores the invention of history. According to Lewis, idealization of history has a purpose:

Invention is of several types, and has several functions. Broadly, its aim is to embellish -- to correct or remove what is distasteful in the past, and replace it with something more acceptable, more encouraging, and more conductive to the purpose in hand. It may be spontaneous, as in heroic sagas, romantic, as in a good deal of 19th and 20th century writing, or officially sponsored and even imposed (p.57).

Lewis goes on to introduce another function of history --as invented-- which legitimize authority. He suggests that at first sight, this function of history has similar purpose as embellishment, but it is the more specific with its aims and methods. Thus Lewis suggests that sometimes invention of history can aim to undermine authority instead of legitimating it: "to assert new claims and new arguments, sometimes even a new identity, in conflict with the old order." (p.65). Lewis explains this situation by illustrating nationalist effects of 19th and 20th centuries' historians on historiography. It is stated that nationalist historiography refuses the old loyalties, and the previous basis of group identity. "Nationalist historiography, coinciding with the romantic age, presents highly colored version of the past, the purpose of which is to encourage these new notions and destroy the old" (Lewis, 1975, p.65).

Lewis also gives attention to Soviet historiography as a practice of historical rewriting. He describes the Soviet type of historiography as state –imposed control and direction. Lewis argues that there are many ways of expressing intentions of history. Among the ways of invention of history, he claims, the most effective is force. But Soviets have had a difficulty to continue that historiography in accordance with changing official necessities:

> This is not only means that the past has to be written to accord with the requirements of the present; it further means that every time there is a change in the present though the triumph of one faction over another, or even a change of policy within the ruling faction, the past must again be rewritten to accord with the requirements of the new present (Lewis, 1975, p.65).

In the third and last lecture, Lewis gives the examples of history "As it Should Have Been", rather than telling history "like it was". At this point, it is worth quoting Lewis' words about the essentials of scholarly historical research. According to Lewis, the essential and distinctive characteristic of scholarly historical research is not to have directed and predetermined results:

> The historian does not set out to prove a thesis, or select material to establish some point, but follows the evidence where it leads. No human being is free from human failings, among them loyalties and prejudices which may color his perception and presentation of history. The essence of the critical scholarly historian is that he is aware of this fact, and instead of indulging his prejudices seeks to identify and correct them (Lewis, 1975, p.54).

In regard to Turkish History, Lewis argues that from the eighteen century to nineteenth century a new picture of Turkish History emerged in the view of Pre-Islamic history. The ideas came from new European science of Turcology. This Turkish history of the pre-Islamic period was a forgotten and rejected chapter of Turk history, which can be classified as "recovered history" (Lewis, 2002). By means of having new sources and studies of pre-Islamic Turks and their history and language, Turks accomplished a great change in their understanding of their corporate identity, "their relations with other groups past and present, and their place in the two fundamental visions of the human predicament, the historical and the philosophic" (Lewis, 2002, p. 345).

I think that this is an invaluable book in the area of history. Answering purposive use of history and distinguishing it some categories can be considered as answering the question "what the history is." Lewis's *History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented* may offer a way of thinking about history curricula

and textbooks and their transformation in Turkey by means of explaining what the use of stages of history and historiography.

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Miscellany

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