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Associating democratic methods in correctional education and postmodern critical theory

Teri Ann Hollingsworth

ASSOCIATING DEMOCRATIC METHODS IN CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION AND POSTMODERN CRITICAL THEORY

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

In an endeavor to improve the education of today's prison population, this thesis investigates the democratic anomaly created by William George and Thomas Mott Osborne in the early 1900s. Their work in the correctional education field proved a successful anomaly in the dominant corrections paradigm. Components of postmodern critical theory are also investigated to scrutinize whether they explain the success of the historical correctional anomaly. The thesis endeavors to apply critical theories to correctional practices and investigate the possibility of using parallel components to improve today's prisons.

The thesis first explores the work of Paulo Freire who was successful in changing lives of oppressed peasants in Brazil in the 1950s. It then followed the work of others who took his theories of critical consciousness and praxis and applied them to education today. The thesis then explores the historical events of the early 1900s. The occurrence of changed lives that resulted from involvement in The Junior Republic, and later participation in The Mutual Welfare League are then explored.

Both explorations reveled roots in abuse and dehumanization. George and Osborne created situations in which students, who were otherwise stifled and muted, could dialogue and be heard. They took this dialogue and created action that benefited themselves and their peers. Postmodern pedagogy promotes dialogue that leads to praxis. Both theories promote critical thinking and construct social consciousness. Empowerment of the student to create his/her own meaning and action is common in both theories as well. Both theories endeavor to humanize the systems and society.

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CHAPTER ONE:

BACKGROUND

Introduction

This paper will investigate the components of postmodern critical theory to examine whether they can resolve the democratic anomaly created by George and Osborne's work in the correctional education paradigm. It will endeavor to apply critical theories to correctional and investigate the possibility of using them to improve today's prisons.

Background

The history of prisons has been characterized simultaneously by man's inhumanity to man and humanitarian reform. Plato wrote about prisons in his book of Laws, saying that, in prison, the sick criminal should be made better or at least less bad (Eriksson, 1976). Eriksson (1976) wrote that Christianity carried with it the message that it would redeem sinners. Disciples were sent into prisons to do charity work in order to bring the fallen back into the fold. These antithetical themes are just as evident today. In every country many feel prisons should be tough and prisoners should be punished, as well as others who feel prisons should be humane, and prisoners reformed.

Here in America, prison history is laced with harsh treatment, as well as reform. This relationship has stretched from a campaign to end severe punishment and torture by the Quakers in the seventeenth century, to a current concept of restorative justice. This paper examines one period of reform, that of the democratic anomaly, and seeks parallels between this anomaly and the postmodern critical theories that are shaping educational curriculum today.

MacCormick (1931) stated that education, while offering no guaranty, is a powerful aid in transforming character. The correctional educator needs to do something different to educate prisoners, something unlike the traditional, modern curriculum of secondary and post-secondary education. The educator who uses the behaviorist approach to has failed this group. The old definition of learning as changed behavior stifled what MacCormick, founder of the Correctional Education Association, (CEA) called a high aim for the school program. Gehring (1993) director of the Center for the Study of Correctional Education, reports that MacCormick felt the correctional educator must find a new definition of learning, a definition that emphasizes ethical decision-making and personal responsibility. Critical theory may answer that

need through its emphasis on reflection, dialogue, and praxis, or action based upon reflection, all aimed at social responsibility.

In a prison the educator needs to look at curriculum a new way, similarly Pinar stated that education must become "an inward journey" (as cited by Slattery, 1995, p. 56). The student as well as the educator must enter the curriculum and live it in order to experience every aspect of it. There is no better way to know something than to experience it. In order to learn, "events cannot be separated from their context, just as the knower cannot be separated from the known" (Slattery, 1995, p. 62). Prisoners should be experiencing study through reflection and action, providing a way to know through the process of doing. Prisons have taken the experience of normal daily living away from the prisoner by taking away all responsibilities. The prisoner is degraded, immersed in violence, and made totally dependent. All the while society is asking prisoner to be responsible, positive, nonviolent, social, and in control of themselves and their life (Halstead, 1999). Halstead, felt these antithetical ideas could not possibly constitute success for alteration of prisoner lives.

Postmodern critical theory offers another alternative.

> The postmodern world view allows educators to envision a way out of the turmoil of contemporary schooling that too often is characterized by violence, bureaucratic gridlock, curricular stagnation, depersonalized evaluation, political conflict, economic crisis, decaying infrastructure, emotional fatigue, demoralization of personnel, and hopelessness (Slattery, 1995, p. 20).

This can be directly tied to prisons as well as public schools through Holl's (1977) statement that, "Both school and prison are institutions of social control that rest upon similar cultural presuppositions...." (p. viii) Through linking educational pedagogy in prison and in traditional school, this research seeks to demonstrate that postmodern critical theory, and the pedagogy it proposed for traditional schools, delivers a way out of the dilemma correctional educators experience as they search to answer the problem of transforming prisoners. Critical curriculum is important for K-12 education, and could be crucial for correctional education.

Correctional education's history is rich with leaders who provided alternatives to the retributive justice approach. There were two major figures involved during the period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Their contributions, anomalies in the

correctional education paradigm of the time, were in the field of democratically managed institutions. George opened the first student run facility in New York (Eriksson, 1976). It was meant as a summer camp for troubled street youth of New York City, but evolved into the Junior Republic, a town managed by its juvenile residents. The other contributor to this field was Osborne. He served on the board of directors for Elmira Reformatory, the Junior Republic, and was later to become warden of three different adult prisons, Auburn, Sing Sing, and Portsmouth Navel Prison. In each prison Osborne facilitated a prisoner managed government, whereby the inmates not only had a voice in their daily life, but were responsible for the institutional discipline, as well.

One sees a resemblance to critical theory in the historical correctional education pedagogy when, at the Junior Republic, George applied school lessons to the actual needs of the community and spent time in harmonizing and coordinating the educational system of the Republic with the republic's underlying principles of democracy (as cited in George, 1937). To do this George created processes whereby students became immersed in the curriculum. "Rote memorization was banned from the Junior Republic. George stressed interest, exploration, and

spontaneity in his school at the expense of order, regularity, and silence" (Holl, 1971, p. 183). George was an educational reformer whose ideas were ahead of his time. Another example of similarities correctional education history has to postmodern critical theory was apparent when Osborne insisted that prisons should reflect the outside world. Osborne stated that:

> The prison system endeavors to make men industrious by driving them to work; to make them virtuous by removing temptation; to make them respect the law by forcing them to obey the edicts of the autocrat; to make them farsighted by allowing them no chance to exercise foresight; to give them individual initiative by treating them in large groups; in short, to prepare them again for society by placing them in conditions as unlike real society as they could well be made (as cited by Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 62).

The contradiction Osborne refers to is similar to that provided by Halstead above, which suggests that correctional education is still struggling with the problem today.

Osborne and George both created conditions in which the student/prisoner was involved with the curriculum. They created situations in which the student became the teacher. "The emphasis is upon experience, upon doing, and not upon preaching, moralizing, instructing, education, reforming" (Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 62). This emphasis upon

experience is very much like the points made by critical theorists. For instance, in the words of Hinchey (1998) "To become change agents in the world, students need to learn how to question their daily experience." (p. 21) Prisoners need not only to become change agents in the world, they need to become change agents in their own lives. Students "act against their own interest because of constructed consciousness: they accept a value system that demeans their own worth" (Hinchey, 1998, p. 21). This is another parallel between prison education and critical theory. Critical Pedagogy has its roots in the work of Paulo Freire, an educator who in the 1950s worked to liberate the oppressed masses in Brazil from plantation overlords. He taught that creating a critical consciousness was the key to liberation. (Freire, 1970/1999).

Prisoners frequently come from a culture of powerlessness. Many of their families are welfare recipients. This creates a spiral of self degrading behavior: "...a welfare recipient might endure rude treatment from bureaucrats without protest, believing that anyone who can't earn a living can't expect respect" (Hinchey, 1998, p. 19). There is then, a misleading and unconscious acceptance of hierarchy that puts people into

superior and inferior roles. Many prisoners feel that, since they did not fit into society and its rewards, they should not have to follow its rules, customs or laws.

People are frightened by talk of empowering prisoners, yet not to empower them, not to lead them out of the constructed consciousness or the "passive acceptance of value judgments that privilege others..." (Hinchey, 1999, p. 18), is to keep them submissive and inferior and continue to risk their rebellion. This rebellion is often expressed in the form of violence. McCall, (1993) while in prison himself, wrote about his angry youth in Makes Me Wanna Holler. He told of how many Black youth, in a society that devalues them, look for self-respect in a code of macho violence (Slattery, 1995).

Freire (1970/1999) related this rebellion to a sociocultural context, stating that:

> If children reared in an atmosphere of lovelessness and oppression, children whose potency has been frustrated, do not manage during their youth to take the path of authentic rebellion, they will either drift into total indifference, alienated from reality by the authorities and the myths the latter have used to 'shape' them; or they may engage in forms of destructive action. (p. 136)

Furthermore, according to criminal psychiatrist Gilligan, (1996) "the attempt to achieve and maintain justice, or to undo or prevent injustice, is the one and

only universal cause of violence." (p. 12) Additionally, Gilligan (1996) cited Gandhi, "The deadliest form of violence is poverty." (p. 3) Our prison curriculum needs to address these issues of hegemony or control by moral and intellectual persuasion. It also needs to address the issue of purpose. If the prison system is meant to keep prisoners in a place of inferiority and submission then it is succeeding. If, on the other hand, its purpose is to return prisoners to society, then empowerment becomes necessary and a curriculum with that purpose in mind must be found.

Goals of Research

Based on the assumption that prisoners are societal failures, carrying with them a constructed consciousness that has led to oppression, correctional educators are challenged to find a way to bring about what Freire referred to as a critical consciousness in their students. Hinchey (1999) defined critical consciousness as "the mental habit of asking ourselves what assumptions are guiding our actions...or that we adopt the habit of not taking the world for granted." (p. 123) This is where Freire's work and the resulting critical theory is most relevant. Freire established a "problem-posing" pedagogy established in Latin America where he viewed the problems

of education as inseparable from political, social, and economic problems. Like Freire in Latin America, George and Osborne created, tested and proved a pedagogical system that works to empower and transform prisoner's lives.

This investigation asserts that there is a strong link between prisoners in America's prisons and the oppressed people that Freire worked to free in Brazil. It therefore follows that there is also a strong relation between the authoritarian prison staff in America's prisons and land overlord oppressors, those groups holding power in Brazil. Through reviewing the literature of postmodern critical theory, and the historic, correctional education anomaly, the research will examine the theories of critical theorists and democratic reformers to connect the prisoner's oppressed status with that of peasants in Brazil.

Significance of the Project

Prisons have a history of abuse, not only of the prisoner, but also of the prison guard, staff and society. Gilligan (1996) researched this phenomenon and found:

> ...prisons resemble hell as much as they do not just because of the character of the people who tend to occupy them, but also because throughout history (and with few exceptions) the societies that construct prisons have specifically wanted

> to make the prisons resemble hell, as much as possible, from their architecture to the relationships between the various groups of people involved in them--especially the inmates, the correctional staff, and the judges who sentence people to them. (p. 157)

Freire (1970) addressed the same matter when he stated "Dehumanization, which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it, is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human." (p. 26)

Prisoners have had their humanity stolen through abuse within prison walls. Gilligan (1996) stated that the social class system holds in place the self-defeating policy of increasingly violent punishment, which stimulates violence. Moreover:

> This is accomplished in the macrocosm of society just as it is in the microcosm of the prison, by lulling the middle class into accepting its subordination to, and exploitation by, the upper class, by giving the middle class a class subordinate to itself (the lower class) which it can exploit, and to whom it can feel superior, thus distracting the middle class from the resentment it might otherwise feel and express toward the upper class. The subordinate classes (middle and lower) are divided into predator and prey, respectively and are more likely to fight against each other than against the ruling class, which makes them easier for the ruling class to control. (p. 185)

This class system within the prison sets the staff in the position of ruling class, or as Freire refers to that

class, the oppressors. The prison guards' loss of humanity also results from the violence of prisoners. "The more violent people are, the more harshly the prison authorities punish them; and, the more harshly they are punished, the more violent they become" (Gilligan, 1996, p. 106).

Gilligan (1996) terms Maximum-security prison as Dante's glimpse of the damned. "'The living dead,' is the least distorted way to summarize what these men have told me when describing their subjective experience of themselves." (p. 33) From violent and cruel childhoods to the violence inside prison walls, their lives are tragic. For prison staff to punish them further, as in the case of one prisoner who spent two years in isolation, "does not protect the public; it only sends a human time bomb into the community where he is primed to explode the moment he resumes his first contact with other human beings" (Gilligan, 1996, p. 150).

As stated above, the loss of humanity influences more than prisoners in the prison system; prison staff are also impacted. In any power system, the oppressor loses humanity in the act of oppression, for, "No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 66). According to a study

conducted by Davis of the Philadelphia jail system, many security guards ignore complaints of sexual assault on prisoners by prisoners because they do not want to be bothered. In another study of prison rape, Dinitz, Miller, and Bartollas charged that, "some guards will barter their weaker and younger charges to favored prisoners in return for prisoner cooperation in keeping the prison under control" (Gilligan, 1996, p. 170). Furthermore, Haywood Patterson, chief defendant in the Scottsboro rape case wrote that at Alabama's Atmore State Prison, "homosexual rape was not only tolerated but actually encouraged by prison authorities" (Gilligan, 1996, p. 196). Prisons therefore rob us of our humanity simply because we are part of society.

Not all prisons have been this way. George showed that this breech of humanity does not have to be. The Junior Republic was an experiment in democracy undertaken and proven to successfully change lives of young adults from the streets of New York City where neither staff nor prisoners were oppressed (George, 1909). Also, in three separate prisons, between 1913 and 1926, Osborne proved prisons could be democratically governed by the prisoners themselves (Tannenbaum, 1933). These two men, George and Osborne, were notables in correctional education who ran

systems whereby prisoners were able to maintain their humanity.

This investigation compares the work of postmodern critical theory and these correctional educational democratic anomalies to identify whether a parallel exists. The investigation is important. Our penal system is costing society too much in both humanity and dollars, although not effectively working to change lives or deter crime. It falls to education to continue to search for some pedagogy and andragogy (for adults) that will provide a solution. "Education is never neutral--indeed, when we attempt to remain neutral, like many churches in Nazi Germany, we support the prevailing power structure" (Kincheloe, 1993, p. 42). When teaching utilizes the same old tired methods, the results can only be more of the same. In Slattery's (1995) words, "If we are truly at the end of the modern era, the systems of meaning that have supported curriculum development as a field of study for the past 150 years must all come under rigorous scrutiny." (p. 24)

Delimitations and Methodology

Theorists who subscribe to the modernist cosmology will not agree with many of the theories found here. This investigation will not detail their arguments as they are

not relevant to this paper. This is not an investigation into whether we are now in a postmodern world; that discussion is left for historians to dispute. This will be an investigation into postmodern critical theory and correctional education's democratic anomalies. The intent is to explore the historical and contemporary research in order to gain understanding of the processes of democratic correctional education and critical theory and to seek out the similarities and impact of the data.

CHAPTER TWO:

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Postmodern Critical Theory

According to Caine and Caine, (1997) the paradigm shift is real and the model for education we are now using is being called into question. A paradigm is a pattern or a layout for understanding the nature of the world (Kincheloe, 1993). Kuhn who used the term, paradigm, to describe how idea systems develop, first described paradigm shifts in the Structure of Scientific Revolutions. This paradigm theory was applied to the correctional education field by Gehring (1993) in Plain Talk About Correctional Education. Gehring explained first there is chaos, where any person's ideas or theories are likely to be accepted. When a theory is put forth and accepted by those in the field the normal science period of the paradigm begins. A field, academic, professional or other, may only have one paradigm at a time. Problems that a paradigm cannot solve are called anomalies. "When a period of normal science is strong, the professional community views the paradigm as robust and anomalies are simply ignored" (Gehring, 1993, p. 8). "This ensures that the paradigm will not be too easily surrendered" (Kuhn, 1962/1996, p. 65). If anomalies "pile up" and become too

important to ignore, crisis develops and a period of extraordinary science begins. Careers are often made or broken when the paradigm shifts and this causes many to clutch desperately to their old worldview and attempt to fend off changes. Crisis eventually leads to revolution (Gehring, 1993).

Kuhn's theories are also applied to the general field of education by postmodernists, who believe that the modern educational paradigm is best described as a "linear, cause-effect Cartesian-Newtonian paradigm" (Kincheloe, 1993, p. 28). Kincheloe (1993) suggested that modern education has developed fragmented ways of studying the world, but has failed in the attempt to study the individual's relationships with the world. The advent of this shift in cosmological view will require educators to find a pedagogy and andragogy that supports transformation and critical consciousness. This, Hinchey (1995) stated, should be a goal of all educational efforts. Toward this end critical theorist Slattery (1995), felt students should be given time and space throughout the academic day to question, reflect, and investigate. Students should regularly hold dialogues with grandparents, younger and older students, multicultural professionals, community activists, politicians, and religious leaders in order to

initiate active community involvement in environmental projects, health and social services. The focus of education for the postmodernist is between the school and the community. The curriculum values quality of relationships that replace the quantity of correct answers on tests.

Critical education, based on the postmodern critical theory, permits students to create their own relationships with the world. This is even more necessary now that we are in the midst of a paradigm shift. Today's students need to construct their own worldviews. Critical education empowers students to reconstruct and produce their own knowledge and be their own creators of democratic culture. It also assumes that all thought and power relations are inexorably linked and these power relations form oppressive social arrangements. Language is a key element in the formation of subjectivities, and thus critical literacy or the ability to negotiate passages through social systems and structures in more important than functional literacy or the ability to decode and compute (Slattery, 1995).

In Brazil, Freire (1970/1999)

> evolved a theory for the education of people who are illiterate, especially adults, based on the conviction that every human being, no matter how

> 'ignorant' or submerged in the 'culture of silence,' is capable of looking critically at the world in a dialogical encounter with others. (back piece)

According to Freire, (1970/1999) reformers cannot be committed to human liberation until they enter into the reality that will transform them. Not only must the learner enter the process of liberation, but so must the liberator. This continues until such a time that they are one and the same, with the acceptance of teacher as learner and learner as teacher. "Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students." (p. 53)

Nowhere is this more important than in curriculum development. In the modern cosmology, curriculum is established around individual subjects, such as math, English, history, music and art. These subjects each contain the important facts of the field. To contrast, in postmodern cosmology all knowledge is a matter of the interpretation of each person who must unravel knowledge for themselves. "In the words of John Mayher, 'there is no knowledge without the knower'" (as cited by Hinchey, 1998, p. 45). "Postmodernism challenges educators to explore a worldview that envisions schooling through a different

lens of indeterminacy, aesthetics, autobiography, intuition, eclecticism, and mystery" (Slattery, 1995, p. 23).

Slattery (1995) also stated "society has become a global plurality of competing subcultures and movements where no one ideology and episteme (understanding of knowledge) dominates." (p. 17) He believed there was no way to genuinely define postmodern education in modern terms; there could be no goals, behavioral objectives or outcomes because the learner must create the knowledge. This calls for the curriculum itself to be empowering, rather than the reward, certificate, grade, diploma a student receives at the end (Kohn, 1993).

Because of this shift toward empowerment, critical education is inherently a political field. The state of oppression affects students' ability to know; students must be empowered before they can construct knowledge for themselves. Hinchey (1998) suggested Rosenblatt understood this in 1938, because her work:

> ...argues that schools ought to empower students for participatory democracy, that their emotions have a place in the classroom, that who they are as people must be a prime consideration in pedagogy, that multiple readings of a real world object are not only possible but essential, and that it is a prime concern of education to help students free themselves from paralyzing, hegemonic ideas. (p. 79)

Slattery (1995) stated that, "Political studies have become central to curriculum studies in the postmodern era." (p. 25) Critical postmodern teachers are not politically neutral, as they identify with a critical system of meaning and all of its allegiances (Kincheloe, 1993). This idea is supported by McLaren, (1998) who believed that "The task of reconceptualizing the nature of theory and the role of the educator is currently being undertaken in a very conceptually exciting and politically important field known as 'postmodern education.'" (p. 229) As with all important issues, there are more dimensions; critical theory is spiritual as well as political.

Slattery's work provided an exhaustive review of postmodern academic theories and many trends concerning education and religion. He found that some promote a theology which is spirituality based, yet not the spirituality of organized religion. Slattery (1995) quotes Kung (1988) on this subject, "the intellectual crisis of our time is decisively co-determined by the religious crisis, and that without diagnosing and solving the religious crisis, no diagnosis and solution of the intellectual situation of our age can be successful." (p. 69; emphasis in original) Slattery's point is that religion and education are inseparable in this viewpoint.

For Freire, (1970) "liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferals of information." (p. 60) He used the "banking concept," which is an analogy of the all knowing teacher, teaching and disciplining students who are listening meekly, to describe modern education. For him the teacher is the banker who deposits knowledge into the empty and passive student. Implicit in the banking concept is the assumption of a dichotomy between human beings and the world: "a person is merely in the world, not with the world or with others; the individual is spectator, not re-creator" (Freire, 1970, p. 56; emphasis in original). When educators practice the banking concept they dominate students and prepare them for oppression. So, "those truly committed to liberation must reject the banking concept in its entirety, adopting instead a concept of women and men as conscious beings, and consciousness as consciousness intent upon the world" (Freire, 1970, p. 60).

Critical educators engage in dialogue with students. Both the educator and the student are responsible for transformation. "People teach each other, mediated by the world, by the cognizable objects which in banking education are 'owned' by the teacher" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 61). Examples of critical curriculum are found in

Shor's book, Critical Teaching and Everyday Life. Here Shor not only described the composition of critical educator's curriculum, but gave excellent examples from his own teaching experiences.

In the first step of a five-step example, students were asked to describe a common object in detail. Step two requires students to examine the object within its immediate social setting, such as how it relates to society. Step three has students examine the global relations of the object. Step four asks students to look at the object in time, past, present, and future. Lastly, step five asks for examination of the object through a long-range time-span. The final step is the, "Utopian phase of the investigation. It calls upon students to re-invent the thing being studied, so that the future will not reproduce the present." (Shor, 1980/1987, p. 166) Shor asked students to study the object from their own point of view in order to know it instead of simply telling students his knowledge of the it.

Another method used in critical pedagogy is problem-posing education, which requires that students are no longer passive in the process because a constant dialogue is maintained between student and teacher. A strong component of the system is reflection, which is mediated

through dialogue and action. "Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 69). The essential elements of dialogue are love, humility, faith, and critical thinking. One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program that fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion (Freire, 1970/1999). All this must lead to praxis, but note that praxis does not always mean militant action. "Those who through reflection perceive the infeasibility or inappropriateness of one or another form of action (which should accordingly be postponed or substituted) cannot thereby be accused of inaction. Critical reflection is also action." (p. 109)

Hinchey (1998) stated that critical educators do not try to save students from the experiences of their lives. "The effective critical educator facilitates a process in which students learn to analyze their lives for themselves and to make their own, very conscious choices." (p. 152) With this empowerment, students must become eager to experience and interpret knowledge and excel as communicators so they have a voice in community dialogues. To attain this empowerment, critical curriculum must

include research, reflection and activism (Freire, 1970/1999).

McLaren (1998) described a need to re-pattern ourselves and our social order. In order to do this, teaching and learning needs to involve inquiry and critique; it should be a process of construction, building a social imagination that works within the dialect of hope. A great possibility exists for making learning relevant, critical, and transformative. Knowledge becomes transformative only when students use it to help empower others in the community. It then becomes praxis; it becomes linked to social reform and can therefore help us forge the basis of "social transformation: the building of a better world, the altering of the very ground upon which we live and work" (McLaren 1998, p. 192; emphasis in original).

This better world cannot exist side by side with hegemony. Modern education as a proponent of the current social structure promotes hegemony. Hegemonies exist through "... maintenance of domination not by the sheer exercise of force but primarily through consensual social practices, social forms, and social structures produced in specific sites such as the church, the state, the school, the mass media, the political system, and the family"

(McLaren, 1998, p. 177). This brings about further need to educate for freedom.

Greene (1988) agreed that the acceptance of hegemonic ideas may lead students to drop out or find other means of alienation. "Lacking an awareness of alternatives, lacking a vision of realizable possibilities, the young (left unaware of the messages they are given) have no hope of achieving freedom." (p. 134) To pursue freedom one must realize there are always possibilities and multiple perspectives, that no accounting, disciplinary or otherwise, can ever be finished or complete. Greene saw freedom as a matter of power in a diverse society. Without equality, uniqueness, or distinctiveness, people would have no need for speech or action to make themselves understood. To be free, people must critically explore, reflect, and analyze, all matters relevant to their lives. As Hinchey (1998) put it, we do not need more social reproduction which to her is the schools' tendency to take students in, to run them through a variety of placements, evaluations, and coursework in order to deposit them years later in precisely the same social class where they began. Critical education offers a way out of the oppression brought on and fostered by the hegemony inherent in modern education.

Modern education has roots in Americanizing immigrants; its rules were devised in part to fit the "self-controlled, God-fearing, patriotic, hardworking, law-abiding" new citizens into American society (Greene, 1988, p. 112). Today the same methods are being promoted as a "fix" for the effects of too much freedom; acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), unwed mothers, gangs, addictions, etc.... Greene (1988) suggested that, instead of being a result of too much freedom, these problems are a result of not teaching for freedom. The practices of letting the system carry students along without question is what is causing these forms of alienation.

This goes to the very root of the difference between modern and postmodern theory. I goes to their Epistemology defined by Hinchey (1998) as "the branch of philosophy that seeks to define 'knowledge,' that seeks to explain what it means 'to know' something, that seeks to understand how humans come to 'know' things." (p. 38) Modern theorists conceptualize knowledge as a thing, as verifiable information born of scientific investigation. This epistemology organizes curriculum around subjects, each of which have important facts associated within them (Hinchey, 1998). Assessment in a modern epistemology is based upon testing for facts.

For the postmodern theorist epistemology is the meaning we individually assign to facts, rather than the facts themselves and knowledge is the sense that humans make of factual information (Hinchey, 1998). Postmodern teachers are more concerned with the process of education than the product. Assessment is based on reflection, journals, learning logs, and discussion.

Clarity is derived when looking at those who are engaged in the two opposing theories. According to Hinchey, (1998) Piaget is a modernist, and his one-description-fits-all model of intellectual stages makes human uniqueness irrelevant. Today, contemporary researchers such as Howard Gardner, Robert Sterberg, and Daniel Goleman, are discovering multiple intelligences, contextual intelligence, and emotional intelligence.

Correctional Education History Pre-Anomaly

Prison reform is a result of humanitarian efforts, "incarceration was an alternative to hanging, mutilation, torture, excessive fines paid by the lawbreaker's family, or criminal exile" (Gehring, 1993, p. 14). One of the first responsible leader to impose imprisonment as a corrective treatment for major offenders was a Quaker, William Penn (McKelvey, 1977). The democratic anomalies in the correctional education paradigm are also humanitarian

efforts. To George and Osborne it was considered more humanitarian to teach prisoners to think critically and empower a transformation within them than it was to oppress them for years in completely controlled environments.

Using Gehring's analysis of shifts in correctional education's paradigm, the chaos/reform period began in the late 1700s and early 1800s with one of the original leaders in reform, Howard. Founder of the prison reform movement, he was also the first to substitute jailer fees for fixed salaries, and wrote the first prison reform handbook (Gehring, 1993; McKelvey, 1977). John Henry Pestalozzi and Elizabeth Fry were also notables of this reform period. Pestalozzi established juvenile institutions for Swiss war orphans, and Fry promoted biblical literacy instruction, work, and women's programs in prisons. (Gehring, 1995)

Lewis provided a picture of what prison education looked like at the time when he asked us to,

> Envision the chaplain late at night or on Sunday, standing in the semi-dark corridor, before the cell door, with a dingy lantern hanging from grated bars. In this dismal setting the chaplain attempted to teach the wretched convict the rudiments of reading and numbers (as cited in Ryan, 1995, p. 60).

Gehring (1995) analyzed this piece, and the rest of correctional education's history according to Kuhn's paradigm theory. He found that normal science in correctional education began with the work of Maconochie, and continued with the work of such leaders as Crofton, Carpenter, Hill, and Brockway. The period that ran from about the 1840s to the early 1920s was marked by the inclusion of new theories in the field such as education in prisons, indeterminate sentences, progressive housing, and the beginnings of parole.

> Maconochie declared that a labor sentence was the only enlightened basis for the correction of offenders, and that it must be combined with a system that provides first 'specific punishment for the past' and, in a second stage, 'specific training for the future' (McKelvey, 1977, p. 36).

"Maconochie's system demonstrated that brutality was not needed to manage a penal colony" (Gehring, 1993, p. 16). His treatment program was endorsed by many notable reformers of the time, among them were Hill and Carpenter. Their program was most successfully embodied a decade later in Crofton's famous Irish system. This system was based upon four levels of treatment. Level one was solitude for two years, then "congregate labor under a marking system that regulated privileges and determined the date of discharge, then by an intermediate stage"

where prisoners could work on outside jobs, and lastly conditional release (McKelvey, 1977, p. 37).

Carpenter stirred controversy over prison reform when she visited America and stated publicly that American prisons were deplorably managed and overcrowded. She believed, based upon her successful experiences with juveniles, that if we could compel American juveniles to attend our schools regularly, or be apprenticed to some suitable occupation, it would do more to "improve the morals of the community, prevent crime, and relieve the city from the onerous burden of expenses for the Almshouses and Penitentiaries, than any other conservative or philanthropic movement with which I am at present acquainted (Dell'Apa, 1973, p. 11)" (Gehring, 1995, p. 41).

Brockway, superintendent at Elmira Reformatory, from 1876 to 1900, utilized Maconochie's and Crofton's influences to experiment with a series of controlled institutional activities that proved to be the beginning of what we now know as special, vocational, physical, cultural, and individualized adult basic education. Normal science was made up then by Maconochie, who ushered in Reformatory Prison Discipline; Crofton, who confirmed and expanded its application in various types of institutions;

and Brockway, who expanded and chronicled the importance of education in reformatories (Gehring, 1993).

Democratic Anomaly

The normal science anomaly occurred when George opened the Junior Republic. It started as a summer camp for inner city youth and soon became a village managed according to the system laid out in the Constitution of the United States. As it evolved, it included, popular election of wards for the offices of president, representatives, and senators as well as appointments to their Supreme Court (Gehring 1993, p. 18). Osborne, who later supervised the creation of the Mutual Welfare League that also contributed to the anomaly by founding democratically managed prisons, also served on the Junior Republic's board of managers.

In his youth, George lived on a farm near Freeville, New York, where he was to eventually found the Junior Republic. When he was still young his family moved to New York City, where he yearned to return to the country. As a young man George began a small business making jewelry cases. Little by little, as he became involved with volunteering to transform in his words, "law-defying" youth to "law-enforcing," he gave up the jewelry case business (George, 1912).

Frustrated over his charges' inability to be transformed, George came upon the idea that spending summers in the country might mold them into responsible citizens. After several semi-successful summers in Freeville, George became frustrated again with the unfolding evidence that his charges did not improve. Instead, their attitudes were becoming worse; each time he brought them to the country, they had a wonderful, carefree time, took everything that was offered, and soon started to expect more. When George (1909) asked how they could possibly expect more, one little girl claimed, "Mister George, what do yer tink we're here fer enywhay [sic]?" (p. 17) "The Mission could hand out food, clothing, and a place to sleep to those who professed conversion, but it did not really save the poor. Instead it pauperized them and thereby added to their degradation" (Holl, 1971, p. 67).

George eventually came upon a plan to instill a social conscience in the minds of his charges. He declared that no one would receive anything without earning it. This began the adventure that eventually became an international experiment. George's methods created a system of education that he found suitable for all boys as

well as girls. The Junior Republic's motto became, nothing without labor (George, 1937).

The Republic was not a camp or boarding school, or even reform school; it was a village, whose citizens were between 16 and 21 years old. Citizens worked at farming, carpentry, banking, printing, sewing, cooking, ditch digging, or anything else the village needed in order to earn a wage and pay for lodging and living expenses. Citizens slept or ate in different sorts of lodgings depending upon the amount they earned. "Certain lodgings offered rooms furnished with dainty curtains, comfortable chairs and fine bedclothing. Others had more ordinary fittings, while the cheaper places provided little more than the necessary bed" (George, 1937, p. 19). Those who decided not to earn a living spent time working for the village while living in the jail. They usually decided it was better to earn a living and have a choice as to what to spend money on than to work for nothing and have no freedom (George, 1937, p. 19).

Laws in the new Republic were made and enforced by the young citizens. The citizen lawmakers were made up of the young heads of the police department, bank, post-office, and other departments; and the judges of the civil and criminal courts (George, 1937). Daily life was

based upon the Constitution of the United States as a government of youth, by youth, and for youth. George set out to prove that one could make a citizen of a youth, but first one must train a youth to be a citizen through practice. In the Junior Republic, all citizens took part in the town meetings and each had to choose which political party made the most sense.

Citizens in the Junior Republic learned by doing, which often opened them up to failures. There were many examples of failed experiments in the village, yet each time they failed, the citizens learned from their mistakes and moved on. Just as often, citizens were successful. In one case a visiting judge, who had been on the bench for seventeen years, questioned a ruling by the Junior Republic's female judge. When she pointed out the page and line her ruling came from, the visiting judge apologized and, later, sent her a kindly written tribute (George, 1937, p. 39). As is evidenced by the female judge, the citizens of the Junior Republic were far ahead of the adults; they voted, much before U.S. suffrage, that females had all the same rights of citizenship as males. The Junior Republic also held a balance in religious matters; a chapel service was held every Sunday for all sects.

Many notable adults served on the Junior Republic board and worked toward its success but, "In [Theodore] Roosevelt's judgment 'Daddy' George, with his love, compassion, and moral guidance, was as essential to the success of the Republic as the economic and governmental principles on which it was founded" (Holl, 1971, p. 8). George's struggle to keep the Junior Republic pure with "emphasis on youth, his frank acceptance of sex and race, ... and his insistence that the Junior Republic was in no way an institution, contributed to his radical image" (as cited by Holl, 1971, p. 32), and therefore his struggle to survive in the adult political atmosphere of the time.

There were those who believed the Junior Republic would not survive under George's direction. Osborne wrote in 1899 that he had great admiration for George's genius and intuition, but that he was exasperated by George's slipshod methods, imperfect logic, and careless development. Osborne felt George's insistence on hands off, laissez faire, governance provided for an irresponsible fiscal policy. The business affairs of the Junior Republic were eventually transferred completely to the Executive Committee which Osborne helped establish. Later, to aid in the management, a business manager was appointed as George's assistant (Holl, 1971).

Investigations conducted by the Herald newspaper found the village to be dirty, disorganized, have a poor quality of instruction and, because of the girl citizens, an immoral environment (Holl, 1971). Yet, "the Junior Republic was to be praised, [President] Wilson believed, because it taught the boys that self-government did not emanate from the city hall, nor the state capitol, nor the national congress, but began in his own heart" (Holl, 1971, p. 10). Largely because of Osborne's help, and that of the committee he established, the good work being done at the Junior Republic was publicized. More Junior Republics opened and, in 1908, the National Association of Junior Republics was formed. The Association provided the Junior Republic with an appearance of professional continuity (Holl, 1971).

As a school "by most standards, the Junior Republic developed a respectable, if not outstanding, curriculum and record" (Holl, 1977, p. 180). Rote memorization was not used, rather interest, exploration, and spontaneity were stressed. George felt the best teacher was experience because it tested the students' ideas and theories. The Junior Republic stressed vocation, education, and child-centered schools. Education for him was a too for social reform (Holl, 1971). The Junior Republic's

educational experiences were favorably compared with Froebel's Educational Principles by Eliot, President of Harvard University. Froebel was the originator of the kindergarten system. The principles he promoted included the belief that self-reliant, autonomous children can be taught social and civic responsibility, that children are best educated by appealing to their natural instincts, impulses, and activities, and that education is most effective if it creates productive, visible achievement (Holl, 1971). George also seems to have been influenced by Maria Montessori's work. Both the Junior Republic and Montessori schools stressed freedom of choice, individual work, and personal responsibility. They both believed the instructor creatively facilitated the process whereby students educated themselves (Holl, 1971).

As more and more Junior Republics opened around the country, one thing became evident; each ought to be operated as if it were a small village. Yet almost without fail, businessmen, intellectuals, managers, and professionals who did not trust the democratic process, could not resist the temptation to reform. Rather than realize, as George did, that the best way to run a Junior Republic was "not to run it," each manager tried to manage. "Surveying the seven Republics established by

1911, George reported to the National Association that not one was operating according to true Republic principles" (Holl, 1971, p. 165).

Although there are two Junior Republics still in operation today, the original concept of George's Junior Republic ended in 1914 when the trustees, including Osborne, resigned over friction with George. For the next decade George devoted his time promoting citizenship training in high schools and other organizations (Holl, 1971).

Osborne came by his zeal for reform naturally; his aunt Lucretia Coffin Mott was an organizer of the famous Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Chamberlain, 1935). He was often found observing while the women met in his home to plan strategies. Another cause he experienced early because of family ties was that of the abolitionist. He took these and the methods he saw work while on the boards of both Elmira and the Junior Republic further while as warden, he applied them to three separate adult prison institutions, New York State's Auburn and Sing Sing Prisons, and the U.S. Naval Prison in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (Chamberlain, 1935). The Mutual Welfare League

was created at Auburn and transformed these prisons into establishments of self-discipline (Chamberlain, 1935).

Osborne took his reform beliefs seriously; "he stood squarely on the fundamental principle of Romanticism: the inherent goodness of human nature" (Chamberlain, 1935, p. 17). Rather than go into the family business that his father had built, he drifted toward politics. "He believed that in the long run the great mass of common people in wiser than the privileged few" and that "the judgment of the many remains unselfish; that of the few is perverted by ambition and greed" (Chamberlain, 1935, p. 19).

Osborne was convinced that "Charity alone did not build good citizens" (Chamberlain, 1935, p. 222). He felt that it was a mistake to give money to the needy, even harmful. What these people needed was responsibility without interference by outsiders. As with the lessons of George's Junior Republic, Osborne believed in the direct involvement of the citizens in matters that concerned them. He believed people would rise to the occasion if they were given a voice in decisions (Chamberlain, 1935).

After his appointment to State Commission on Prison Reform in 1912, Osborne became convinced that he needed to inform himself about the inner conditions of prisons and the prisoner's needs (Gehring, 1995). He took his talents

for empathy with him into Auburn Prison where for one week he posed as prisoner Tom Brown. There he asked himself, "to which side, the better or the worse, does the Prison System now appeal?" (Osborne, 1924, p. 102). In a system where "officers have what almost amounts to the power of life and death over the convicts," (p. 103) Osborne found himself siding with the convicts in matters of intolerable brutality. He found that prisoners "can only cower and endure in silence; or be driven into insanity by a hopeless revolt against the system." (p. 134) Osborne did not want to be misunderstood in his criticism of the prison system; he believed the majority of prison staff were honorable and kindly men, just as he believed that most of the slaveholders before the Civil War were good men. Yet, he felt it was correct to judge the right or wrong of an issue by all the facts. He stated, "we must recognize, in dealing with our Prison System, that many really well-meaning men will operate a system in which the brutality of an officer goes unpunished, often in a brutal manner" (Osborne, 1924, p. 135). Osborne (1924) believed that prisoners should not expect to like prison, "but neither can keepers expect their charges to be blind to hypocrisy, or to acquiesce in brutality." (p. 153)

While still in the guise of Tom Brown, Osborne discussed the situation with Jack, another prisoner. Together they came upon the idea that was to evolve into the Mutual Welfare League. With Osborne's Junior Republic experience, and his belief in human nature, he developed a system of prison administration that was to prove successful in transforming prisoners' lives into that of productive citizens. He gave the prisoners themselves a voice in their governance, modeling it after the town meeting.

Osborne found it was best to test his theories on the toughest prisoners first, then once they were won over, the rest were easy (Chamberlain, 1935, p. 299). He approached the men of the Knit Shop who reportedly hated work and had had many aggressions posted against them. He told them that he was removing all their guards to ensure no further trouble. His reasoning was, that if there was no one to make trouble for, there would not be any trouble. The very next day a representative from the Knit Shop requested that one of the guards be assigned as the assistant foreman. They reasoned that the men liked the guard and he would be a good role model. Trouble in the Knit Shop was from then on "ironed out" by the men themselves (Chamberlain, 1935).

Osborne said in 1904, "Outside the walls a man must choose between work and idleness, between honesty and crime. Why not let him teach himself these lessons before he goes out?" He went on to say, "The prison must be an institution where every prisoner must have the largest practicable amount of individual freedom, because 'it is liberty that fit men for liberty!'" (as cited by Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 62). All men are just plain human beings, even in prison, and so they all respond to friendship and kindness, hatred and fear, and distrust and confidence, according to Osborne. It was not long before prisoners of Auburn pledged their loyalty to Osborne and proved their word through action. They together created the Good Conduct League (Tannenbaum, 1933; McKelvey, 1977).

The concept of the Good Conduct League, which evolved into the Mutual Welfare League, was based upon positive application of peer pressure. "The feeling which binds you together against the keeper is public opinion. The feeling which says that no man shall 'snitch' on another is public opinion, somewhat distorted" (Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 80). The League took this strong feeling and turned it into a healthy source for expressing peer pressure.

They came to realize that if public opinion pressure were against the troublemaker rather than for him, then it would support the healthy choices and those chosen to enforce them (Tannenbaum, 1933).

Along with this idea came the realization that the guards were also a part of the equation. One prisoner/delegate from the first League convention stated that he wanted to add no privileges that would require increasing the hours of the already overworked guards. He realized that they represented authority and that the League must work with them because the guards' attitude toward prisoners decides much about how things run (Tannenbaum, 1933).

Another point brought up for discussion at the convention was that along with this new privilege comes responsibility. Osborne explained to the group, "You are either going to be ruled by Arbitrary Power, or else you are going to rule yourself and assist those whom you select" (as cited by Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 82). The roughest part of the undertaking they realized was that everyone must be responsible for making sure the others behave. In an atmosphere of distrust, how would the delegation be able to assign power to one prisoner over the others? After a lengthy discussion, it was decided to

create the position of Sergeant-at-Arms whose responsibility it would be to keep control at all meetings, with no fear of being called a stool pigeon. The position would be elected by all in a general election of all prisoners, and subject to recall (Tannenbaum, 1933).

The organization consisted of 49 delegates who were elected from each workshop. Of these 49, nine were elected to the executive board. The executive committee elected the Sergeant-at-Arms and, with back-ups from the other 40; they were also to act as rotating grievance committees. Delegates held office for six months, unless a special election was called for inability to serve (Tannenbaum, 1933).

The prisoners were now charged with controlling the problems of violence, escape, immorality, and drugs. Another function of the League was to make judgments and hand out punishments. It was decided that if a member, who had been enjoying all the privileges of membership in the League, made mistakes, he was reported to the Sergeant-at-Arms and punishment was then decided by fellow prisoners, through the grievance committee. He would not be reported to the prison staff, but would most likely lose League membership and with it, his privileges. He could reapply

for membership later, if he changed his ways (Tannenbaum, 1933).

After accepting the challenge of Auburn Prison and attaining such a huge success, Osborne was asked to be warden at troubled Sing Sing Prison. He accepted, and while there he encouraged prisoners to organize another Mutual Welfare League. Here, under the intense eye of external publicity, several disciplinary problems acquired a lurid character and prompted an investigation of the Osborne administration (McKelvey, 1977). He was acquitted, but the experience proved to be too much for Osborne. The mutual welfare leagues he established persisted but in modified form, and the efforts of his supporters to develop similar leagues in other penitentiaries evolved to weaker versions, with the organization of inmate committees to supervise recreational and other special programs. Osborne, in the 1920s, went on to establish another League at U.S. Naval Prison at Portsmouth, and through that, influenced another great icon in correctional education, Austin H. MacCormick (McKelvey, 1977).

According to McKelvey, (1977) the growing pains of the nation at the time made it impossible for these ideas presented by George and Osborne to receive a fair trial.

The democratic anomaly in the normal science of correctional education's paradigm was short lived.

> Its deviation from the pedagogical techniques of Brockway's reformatory penology was clear, yet it had a greater affinity with the spirit and purposes of that movement than with the newer techniques of the analytical students of criminology who were bidding for control. (p. 263)

Not all agree that it was strictly the influence of these heroes that created the anomaly. Davidson (1997) alleged that it was the political atmosphere, social and economic forces, as well as the complex relationships between prison overcrowding and a war economy that was responsible for the Mutual Welfare League's rise and decline. Holl (1977) contended that the era of Progressive politics had its effect on the reforms presented here. Yet the literature agrees "Osborne's work was not merely theoretical. He developed a sound and workable system of prison administration. His results were profoundly significant" (Arbenz, 1995, p. 47).

Correctional Education History Post Anomaly

The reforms did much to change how prisons look in America as well as the mind set of Americans about the treatment of prisoners.

> The old theory that years of imprisonment were to be meted out to fit the crime had been almost entirely erased from the statute books; in its

> place had been written the right of the convict to his freedom, within certain limitations, as soon as he could be reformed (Mckelvey, 1977, p. 264).

As in the problems with the Junior Republics' managers who needed to manage, the majority of prison officers were failing to apply Brockway's carefully balanced program. There was also the problem of growing populations that taxed the institutions beyond capacities. Labor laws, created to protect the working union member, restricted industrial activity. Statistical reports revealed high numbers of repeat offenders, seeming to infer that prison terms only briefly interrupted criminal careers. Osborne's bold attempt to give a measure of self-government to the mass of criminals had produced startling results, but of uncertain significance. A new school of penologists, though pointing in another direction, would have to coordinate these divergent trends to achieve effective leadership after World War I (McKelvey, 1977).

In an effort to achieve this leadership MacCormick toured America's prisons from November 1927 to August 1928. He learned that education was so limited in American prisons that he altered his original intent, to record what was being done in prison educational and library programs, and instead turned to designing a workable

program (MacCormick, 1931). In the Education of Adult Prisoners, he profiled the average prisoner of the time. He stated that the prisoner came in "disproportionate numbers from the undereducated group of the general population." (p. 4) The average sex was male and the average age was in the twenties. Although they did not differ mentally, they were usually vocationally unskilled, from underprivileged groups in both rural and urban communities, and a high percentage came from broken homes. "Viewed sympathetically, the prisoner is rather a tragic figure, with failure in his past and a fair chance of failure in his future" (MacCormick, 1931, p. 15). Continuing the work of Osborne, MacCormick spoke often to Congress and other influential gatherings as Executive Secretary of the Osborne Association (McKelvey, 1977). MacCormick also "founded the Correctional Education Association, established the Journal of Correctional Education, began the Federal Bureau of Prisons' education and library services, and implemented many other relevant reforms" (Gehring, 1993, p. 18).

During World War II and the following Cold War period, correctional education entered the crisis paradigm phase. Because everyone was marching off to war, prisons suffered a decline in populations, and a decline in

educators. After the war, the Cold War created a long period of authoritarian leadership. It impacted all aspects of correctional education. "Instead of being on the cutting edge of teaching and learning, where we belonged and used to be, the definition of correctional education was reduced to mere education in the institutional setting" (Gehring, 1993, p. 19). Although this crisis has left correctional education decisions and authority in the hands of non-educators, there were three heroes in the field during the cold war period (Gehring, 1993).

In Russia, from the 1920s to 1930s, Makarenko succeeded the work of Pestalozzi and George when "He emphasized social education through Communist youth groups, worked against antisemitism and sexism, and employed armed wards in the effort to reinstate a justice system in the Ukraine" (Gehring, 1993, p. 20). In America, Scudder was able to prove that California Institution for Men at Chino, a maximum security prison, could be transformed into a medium-security institution. He accomplished this by separating its mounting population into several separate units and involving the prisoners in the transformation (Scudder, 1952). An advocate of correctional education, he put educators in charge of

educational decisions (Gehring, 1993). World War II began during Scudder's time as Warden. Prisons, including Scudder's at Chino, became war support factories. Scudder was able to prove that prisoners could not only contribute to the war effort, but could be a valuable asset (Scudder, 1952). Also carrying on the struggle, Kendall, whose work stretched from 1939 to 1973, recognized that correctional education's development of social education was the most significant trend of the 1950s because "it promotes insight about personal attitudes and enhances social adjustment" (Gehring, 1995, p. 149). He also worked to create the first statewide correctional education bureau and place correctional education in the hands of educators rather than correction's staff. After this period and throughout the Cold War period, there was little progress in the correctional education field beyond that of the work of Kendall (Gehring, 1993).

In the 1980s America began to enter a new, cultural phase of the paradigm in correctional education. The democratic anomalies of the previous paradigm, along with the work of many educational theorists of the field are all being explored. The work of Gehring, Eggleston, Ross and Fabiano, Duguid, Werner, Wright, and others is centering on the concept of culture and the holistic

ethical decision-making approach to correctional education (Gehring, 1993). Because we are moving toward a new paradigm, it is impossible to say just where it will all end. It is parallel to the controversy in education itself, between modernists and postmodernists. It is not possible to define postmodern correctional education precisely because it is still shaping and forming itself.

Gehring (1993) alleged that the increase of authoritarianism may be the most important issue of our time. Leaders plot to undermine our democratic systems. Traditional cultures are dissolving in a sea of plastic and technology. The planet suffers from pollution, ozone failure, diminishing rain forests, and overpopulation. "We need a new way of thinking, a new agenda, new antidotes for these toxins. The agenda of the culture period in correctional education emphasizes the dismantling of the authoritarian Cold War culture and the structures that support it." (p. 21-22)

CHAPTER THREE:

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Overview

The following eight characteristics summarize the similarities found in the readings and throughout this paper from both the historical correctional education anomaly and postmodern critical theory.

Common Characteristics

1. Preparation for Democracy

Correctional education: "... he created out of the sympathies of his soul, the logic of his mind, and the vividness of his imagination, a republic 'of the children, by the children, and for the children...'" (George, 1937, p. xi).

"The answer to civic and social responsibility was participation" (Holl, 1971, p. 99).

Postmodern Critical Theory: I was convinced that the Brazilian people could learn social and political responsibility only by experiencing that responsibility, through intervention in the destiny of their children's schools, in the destinies of their trade unions and places of employment through associations, clubs, and councils, and in the life of their neighborhoods, churches, and rural communities by actively participating in

associations, clubs, and charitable societies (Freire, 1969/1998, p. 36 emphasis in original).

2. Paradigm Anomaly

Correctional education: The prison system endeavors to make men industrious by driving them to work; to make them virtuous by removing temptation; to make them respect the law by forcing them to obey the edicts of the autocrat; to make them farsighted by allowing them no chance to exercise foresight to give them individual initiative by treating them in large groups; in short, to prepare them again for society by placing them in conditions as unlike real society as they could well be made (Tannenbaum, 1933, p. 62).

Postmodern Critical Theory: His early sharing of the life of the poor also led him to the discovery of what he describes as the 'culture of silence' of the dispossessed. He came to realize that their ignorance and lethargy were the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social, and political domination--and of the paternalism--of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept 'submerged' in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 12).

3. Dialogue Becomes Action

Correctional education: "The plan included popular election of wards as president, representatives, and senators; appointment of [a] Supreme Court that ruled on disciplinary infractions; and all the related accouterments of American democracy" (Gehring 1993, p. 18).

"...every inmate in the prison was eligible for League membership after meeting qualifications set by the League itself. Candidates for League office, unscreened by prison officials, were elected by the prisoners" (Holl, 1971, p. 277).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "In critical theory, the need for action is embodied in the concept of praxis... . Praxis involves figuring out what we can do to contribute to change--and then doing it" (Hinchey, 1998, p. 146-148).

"Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 69).

4. Promotes Social Consciousness

Correctional education: "The new Junior Republic plan was to begin at the beginning: to grasp hold of the child and, with him in hand, reform the larger society" (Holl, 1971, p. 289).

"Incidentally, the fellow has learned one of the most important lessons one of his kind needs to know: namely, that law-breaking loses all glamour and romance when dispassionately weighed in judgment by one's own companions and punished by them" (George, 1937, p. 46).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 66).

"In addition to questioning what is taken for granted about schooling, critical theorists are dedicated to the emancipatory imperatives of self-empowerment and social transformation" (McLaren, 1998, p. 167).

5. Student Enters Curriculum

Correctional education: "Rote memorization was banned from the Junior Republic. George stressed interest, exploration, and spontaneity in his school at the expense of order, regularity, and silence" (Holl, 1971, p. 183).

"The old method of preparing the youth of the land for citizenship was the textbook method; the new plan is to organize the school into a community and by actual training fit our young citizens for adult citizenship" (Kiernan as cited by George, 1937, p.30).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "Knowledge consists not of facts themselves (which critical theorists often

pointedly refer to as 'factoids'--untrustworthy, decontextualized bits of information). Instead, knowledge is the sense that humans make of factual information" (Hinchey, 1998, p. 45).

"As allies to the powerless, liberatory teachers need a working knowledge of the anti-critical field in which a critical pedagogy evolves. The systematic investigation of mass reality prepares the teacher for using daily life as subject matter" (Shor, 1980/1987, 47).

6. Empower Student to Create Meaning

Correctional education: "If he [a student] preferred to save on food and lodging and put his wages into clothes, he could do that. If, on the other hand, he concluded to save up capital and launch some sort of business enterprise, that, too, was his privilege" (George, 1937, p. 20).

"The first of these fundamental principles is that the real object in education, so far as the development of character is concerned, is to cultivate in the child a capacity to an overwhelming, arbitrary, external power, but a habit of obeying the dictates of honor and duty, as enforced by active will power within the child" (George, 1937, p. 58).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours" (Freire, 1979/1999, p. 77).

"Student voices must be heard, their particular knowledge affirmed, and their concerns addressed" (Hinchey, 1999, p. 157).

7. Teacher as Student, Student as Teacher

Correctional education: "Perhaps the greatest immediate and continued need for such a set-up would be leaders or helpers--a better term, non-citizens--who would unobtrusively, yet inspiringly, stand behind the structure and coordinate its various parts" (George, 1937, p. 53 emphasis in original).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so both are simultaneously teachers and students" (Freire, 1970/1999, p. 53).

8. Promote Critical Thinking

Correctional education: "I gained the ability to judge mankind, learned to sympathize and get along with

men of any class, the value of working for a living, resourcefulness" (George, 1937, p. 29).

Postmodern Critical Theory: "The effective critical educator facilitates a process in which students learn to analyze their lives for themselves and to make their own, very conscious choices" (Hinchey, 1998, p. 152).

Conclusion

Gehring (1993) believed that the correctional education's current paradigm is rooted in behavioral psychology and its diagnostic prescriptive model that empowers authorities and disfranchises others. Similarly, according to Freire, the passing educational paradigm is one in which the oppressors hold the power, and the oppressed suffer the results. Both fields come out of a history of abuse and dehumanization to not only the oppressed/prisoner, but also the oppressor/prison staff. Both fields of study, local school education and correctional education, have come out of modern times where the world view believed scientific explanations for how things worked were always possible, and where it was accepted that one group of people or one person could have power over another. Both fields of study are entering a new paradigm.

The new paradigm brings with it a new world view. Normal science has not yet settled in, so it remains to each of us to dialogue toward forming that new world view. Taking past successes into account, it would seem plausible that what is coming will be based on what has worked. In this sense, this research is attempting to match past successes with the most contemporary educational theories.

George and Osborne created situations in which students, who were otherwise stifled and muted, could dialogue and be heard. They took this dialogue and created action that benefited themselves and their peers. Postmodern pedagogy promotes dialogue that leads to praxis. Both theories promote critical thinking and construct social consciousness. In both theories the student is required to enter the curriculum. Rote memorization is not valued in either theory. Rather, the ability to negotiate social systems is valued over the ability to decode and compute in both theories. Empowerment of the student to create his/her own meaning and action is common in both theories. Both empower the disenfranchised, the underskilled, and underprivileged, undereducated populations from the lower ranges of society. Both realize that helping the poor does not mean

charity. Both manage change without trying to save the student, instead both empower the student to choose, through dialogue, analysis and action. These factors promote critical thought in both theories. Both theories endeavor to correct the hegemony created by the modern paradigm, therefore humanizing the system and society. Finally, both theories not only empower the student, they empower the teacher. Both create situations whereby the teacher becomes the student, and the student becomes the teacher, each gaining personal growth. One major point stands out in the research, George and Osborne were ahead of their time. There are of course many things about the two theories that do not match. One of the major points is George and Osborne did what they did to manipulate their charges into becoming Americanized citizens. Holl put it, "George and Osborne are best described as conservative reformers whose criticism of educational and penal institutions can be read as a radical critique designed to gain conservative ends" (Holl, 1971, p. *x*). "'The immigrant problem' was the reason George first took his charges to the country and 'military drill' was used to keep social control" (Holl, 1971, p. 80-83). This need for social control slowly evolved into self-government. "Had corporal punishment proven effective, there is no doubt

George would have continued it" (Holl, 1971, p. 98). This intent is opposed to critical theory in that critical theorists endeavor to empower students to bring about social change, they do not fit students into whatever social order is status quo.

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