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Values Education for Dynamic Societies

Individualism or Collectivism

Edited by

William K. Cummings
Maria Teresa Tatto
John Hawkins



Comparative Education Research Centre
The University of Hong Kong



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CHAPTER 4

UNITED STATES: REASON OVER FAITH

William K. Cummings
 Maria Teresa Tatto
 John Hawkins
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Introduction

Values educators, particularly those from Asian nations, often ask why American schools take such weak stands on values education and religious and moral issues. They cannot understand why the American curriculum fails to include courses on moral or religious education, whereas such courses are fundamental in most Asian curricula (Bereday and Matsui, 1973). They wonder about the laxity of behavioral rules in American schools that allow pupils to wear diverse clothing, have unusual hairstyles, chew gum, and even smoke; and they are puzzled by about the relative silence schools keep with regard to right and wrong responses to drug use, the value and respect due to human life and other crucial moral issues. Of course, not all American schools are so lax. Still, the general tendency in the U.S. is quite different from that elsewhere. Why?

Implicit in this question is the assumption that values development is an essential component of human development that can/should not be divorced from formal education. American educators are as concerned about the full development of their pupils as their non-American counterparts. Why then have the Americans devised a distinctive educational approach that focuses primarily on the cognitive side of human development, and tends towards a neutral position on religious and moral issues? This study seeks, through comparative and historical analysis, to provide insight on the American approach. The first section explores historical trends in Moral and Values Education in the U.S., and the second part presents the results of our survey of elite perceptions of the current and prospective state of values education in the states of New York, Michigan, California, and Hawai'i.

The American Approach in Comparative Perspective

Plymouth Rock: Faith and Reason

Historians trace many of the peculiarities of American culture to the profound hold of Puritanism on the American conscience. Just as Plymouth Rock still stands on the shores of the Atlantic, so does Puritanism still reside in the American soul.

Puritanism certainly has had a profound impact. It declares that Man can establish a direct relation to God with no church intermediary. Faith is the key to salvation, and Piety a manifestation of faith. Faith is a matter of the heart and soul, which presumably is expressed through morality or virtue and Piety. Puritans developed clear right and wrong

answers to most moral dilemmas, and took stands on these dilemmas that seemed as firm as Plymouth Rock. Thus the inhabitants of the New England colonies early on developed a reputation as a moral people.

But what is Faith? To gain the fullest understanding, man needs knowledge and Reason, and proper education can thus assist in furthering this understanding. Because the Puritans valued reason, they felt a strong commitment to public education. From the earliest days that the Pilgrims arrived in America they took the trouble to establish schools in every community. And as a continuation of local education, they supported outstanding colleges: Harvard from 1636, Yale in 1701, and other private and non-private institutions. Consistent with these beliefs, the region where the Puritans first settled has always been pioneer in American education: fostering such new initiatives as the common school, the land grant college, and the research university.

So Puritanism had a profound impact on the birth of American education. Yet curiously the schools set up in Puritan communities had a remarkably non-sectarian curriculum. The goal was to teach Reason, not faith (Cremin, 1970, p. 278 ff) as faith was a disposition cultivated before young people came to school in the homes and churches. So in a curious way it may be that roots of a neutral position on religious and moral issues in American education were imbedded in the Puritan approach to education, with Piety taught in the home and church, and Reason in the school.¹

Local Government

Of course, Puritanism was not the only faith in early America. Even in New England there were other religious persuasions, some that splintered off of Puritanism and some that were quite different. In the early years of the Puritans the church leaders were determined to set up a local theocracy. But this was defeated, as the other groups refused to be subjugated. After all, why had they come to America? And as time passed such groups were ever more frequent. Indeed within ten years of their arrival, the Puritan monopoly in Massachusetts Colony was broken.

Reinforcing opposition to the Puritan theocracy were the philosophical arguments being propounded on the Continent. John Locke in *Of the Conduct of the Understanding* argued for a separation of church and state as did various of the French Enlightenment scholars. These arguments were particularly persuasive in the colonies, where typically several religions were prevalent making it impossible to identify a set of principles that all could accept.

The rejection by other groups of the theocratic idea led the Puritans to place reliance on local town governments for the preservation of their ideals. Over time, this preference for the sanctity of local government came to be widespread, allowing each distinctive group to protect its own beliefs within the confines of its distinctive township.

¹ It is important to point out however that Puritan codes of behavior prevailed as the community was mono-cultural and controlled the school.

Communities, so long as they achieved consensus, were allowed to set their distinctive agendas. Some extremes are the Mennonites in Pennsylvania or the Shakers throughout the Northeast. Some local communities, especially those in New England and elsewhere where the Puritans had strong influence, placed a strong emphasis on schools to be locally controlled and financed. Thus out of this heritage also came the commitment to local control. Communities were encouraged to do as they wished, or to not do, so long as broader principles were not violated.

Over the early years of the American republic, local communities proliferated as the nation expanded its territory. Circa 1900, there were over 100,000 local communities that had established school systems. Some of these communities were of course quite large such as New York City, Chicago, and Boston, while most were small. Over the twentieth century, there was some consolidation of these communities, or at least to their school systems, so that today there are about 15,000 distinctive school systems. Each sets its own curricular rules (Fuller, 1982).

The Contradictory Constitution

While in early America local communities enjoyed much autonomy, the core political unit was the colony and it was at this level that major issues were thrashed out. Thirteen such colonies had been granted charters by the English crown. Miller (1965, p. 36) reminds us that by the time of the Revolution the principle of separation of church and state had been firmly established in all but two of the colonies.

It was the colonial assemblies that one by one decided to rebel against England and it was these same assemblies that financed the soldiers who joined the colonial army. At the conclusion of the war, the colonies drafted the Articles of Confederation, and when these proved inadequate they assembled anew to draft the Constitution forming the federal republic of the United States of America. What stands out in this Constitution is the limited powers that are specifically assigned to the federal government, principally in foreign policy, defense, and international trade. The Constitution specifically notes that those powers not assigned to the federal government reside in the states. Education is one such power of the states.

However, in that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land, certain principles promulgated in it have had a long-term impact on education; of particular relevance for religious/moral education is the first amendment:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

This amendment clearly articulated the separation the separation of church and state at the federal level. In the early years of the American republic, schools were not a matter of federal concern as their finances were derived exclusively from local revenues. But as the federal government came to be involved in schools through subsidies for particular items such as buildings, textbooks, school lunches and training the federal laws came to

have implications for local schools. A series of court cases led to the progressive reduction of religiously specific material in local curricula. The current symbolic issue in this series of legal actions is the appropriateness of requiring children to pray while in school. The current view is that a moment of silence is appropriate so long as that moment is not framed in terms of the precepts of a particular religion. In contrast with some other systems, the American solution currently does not allow for separate religious classes on the premises of public schools for children of different faiths. On the other hand, if a child attends a private school the child may be required to participate in the religious activities characteristic of that school.

The Fourteenth Amendment is another constitutional provision that has had a profound impact on public education:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

This amendment has proved particularly instrumental in promoting equal access to public education and to other public opportunities of people from various backgrounds.

The Rise of Common Schools

While separation of church and state is noted in the constitution, it was not rigorously interpreted for several decades. For example, as late as 1833 Massachusetts continued to have established state religion while at the same time non-established religions were allowed to practice as they wished.

The federal constitution made no specific recommendations on education, leaving this up to the individual states and local communities. In some areas such as the Northeast, the local interest in education was comparatively strong and public education was provided free of charge, but it was not until half way through the century that certain states began to discuss the thought of making education compulsory for all young people.

Several factors were behind these discussions. Distinct from the religious need of improving reasoning so as to develop faith, there was the practical need of developing basic literacy and numeracy in order to work in the industrializing economy. With the influx of immigrants from non-English speaking nations, there was also the concern to Americanize these new groups so they could serve more effectively in their various social and economic roles.

A response that, in hindsight, stands out was the move to establish common schools. Up to that time, diverse private groups had led in the establishment of schools. But from the early nineteenth century in some of the states a movement emerged to establish free public education. Massachusetts was a leader in this movement going so far as to establish a statewide Superintendent of Schools. While this state office had little formal authority, its occupant could orchestrate consensus through the holding of state meetings and other

means. Perhaps the most noted among Massachusetts' Superintendents was Horace Mann, appointed in 1840 after a successful career as a politician. On the issue of access, Mann proposed

A Free school system. It knows no distinction of rich and poor, of bond and free, or between those who, in the imperfect light of this world, are seeking through different avenues, to reach the gate of heaven. Without money and without price, it throws open its doors, and spreads the table of its bounty, for all the children of the State (quoted in Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 167)

Mann also sought to accommodate religious differences in the schools. In the early years a curriculum had been proposed that met with the approval of the most prevalent religious groups, but this was severely criticized by the Calvinists. Edward Newton, for example, argued as follows:

The idea of a religion to be permitted to be taught in our schools, in which all are at present agreed, is a mockery. There is really no such thing unless it be what is called natural religion. There is not a point in the Christian scheme, deemed important, and of a doctrinal character, that is not disputed or disallowed by some. As to the "precepts" [of Jesus], perhaps, there may be pretty general agreement, and that this one great branch of the Christian scheme we allow. But is this all: all that the sons of the Puritans are willing to have taught in their public schools? (quoted in Glenn, 1988, p. 141).

In the face of continuing criticism of this kind, religious education was gradually removed from the schools and with it many of the more restrictive dictums of New England morality. What remained was an exhortation to discipline, good work habits, and clean living, and political participation or what might be called a civil morality.

The common school ideal gradually spread across the United States. It gained impetus in the Western regions with the passage of the Morrill Act (1862), which required each new community established in the new territories to set up a public school. By the turn of the twentieth century, the common school was the prevailing model for the public sector. As Tyack (1974) observes, America developed "one best system".

Private schools, however, could do as they pleased. So during this period Catholic Schools began to be established; starting in the late forties with only a handful of Catholic schools, by 1900 they provided places for over 10 percent of all enrollees in private education. Some Protestant groups also continued to maintain their own independent schools, though in view of the growing strength of public schools for basic education, these religious groups increasingly focused their resources on higher education. Thus the last half of the nineteenth century brought a big boom in private tertiary education, and a gradual decline in the private sector's share of primary and secondary education.

Once established, the common school ideal demonstrated considerable tenacity. Through World War II, in some areas of the United States there was a practice of setting up distinct common schools for blacks and whites, defying the original principal of diversity, but that has since been forbidden. Other groups have proposed single-sex schools,

also to have that rejected. Similarly, the pressure of particular religious groups to restore some form of religious education into public schools has also been resisted.

While the common school purged the curriculum of religious bias, thereby weakening moral education, it did nevertheless seek to highlight one moral theme, that of patriotism and civil duty. The American flag and commitment to America's democratic institutions was promoted as a unifying moral theme, and specific areas of the common school's curriculum were allocated for the fostering of a sense of civic duty. In particular, a course in civics was proposed for the secondary level, and social studies and history courses at the primary and secondary levels were also expected to stress this moral theme.

The Excesses of Nativism

America has always been known as a nation of immigrants, and especially from the mid-nineteenth century as the economic fortunes of several European nations faltered the numbers heading to the United States began to swell. The first wave of immigrants was from Northern Europe and resembled both in speech and appearance those groups already settled in America. They assimilated relatively easily into the American way of life, and caused little controversy.

However, over time increasing proportions of the immigrants came from the more Southern and Eastern parts of Europe, and from the points of view of some groups already residing in America the new immigrants were perceived as too foreign. While, from an economic point of view, these new immigrants were welcomed to assume low wage jobs in the rapidly expanding industrial sector, they were not welcomed as prospective neighbors and citizens. A political movement known as the "Know-Nothings" emerged to raise the barriers to the immigration of these new groups. A bill was proposed before Congress in the 1850s to extend the number of years of residence required for citizenship from five to twenty-one years; another urged a formal declaration of English as the national language.

These same concerns extended to the schools, where increasing stress was placed on patriotism and nationalistic symbols and customs. It was during this period that school holidays were established to celebrate the fourth of July, Washington's birthday and so on, and the American flag came to appear at the front of classrooms. At the same time, tolerance of ethnic idiosyncrasies was restrained. The common school movement became increasingly popular as a means to make the new immigrants become more American.

The Know-Nothing movement subsided as America moved into civil war and immigration declined. But a similar pattern emerged towards the end of the century as immigration once again boomed, this time with an influx from Asia and even Latin America. After World War II there was yet another revival in reaction to the large inflow of political refugees from Western Europe. And it can be said that the pattern seems to be repeating itself once again in the late eighties as a new wave of immigrants headed to America to escape the repression and poverty found in various third world regimes, including China, Vietnam, Nigeria, Cuba and Mexico. As in the past, politicians have urged a tightening of immigration laws, a declaration of English as the national language, and a stricter en-

forcement of employment regulations to insure that the new immigrants are not allowed to work for sub-standard wages. Similarly, opposition has risen to provisions for affirmative action that had been designed to give minorities greater access to schools and employment.

Enhancing Minority Rights

The recent re-birth of nativistic politics comes on the heels of nearly four decades of political action to achieve a more equitable balance between the diverse ethnic and racial groups who live in the United States. As noted earlier, the U.S. constitution considers all Americans equal before the law, and the Civil War affirmed this principle through declaring black Americans, many of whom had been enslaved, to have the same rights as white Americans. Despite the accomplishments of that war, for nearly a century thereafter black and white Americans tended to live and work separately. As Gunnar Myrdal (1944) observed, America was divided into two nations, each with their separate places of residence, their separate schools, their separate restaurants, and often their separate workplaces. This was possible through the legal rationale of the "separate but equal" provision of public facilities.

Following World War II, activists began to challenge the separate but equal approach, pointing out that it was not viable. A long struggle for civil rights finally led in the sixties to a series of new laws and regulations aimed at improving the status of minorities. The new provisions included affirmative action in employment to give minorities the prospect of improved opportunities. Concerning education wherever it was found that large numbers of black Americans endured inferior schooling, steps were taken for these blacks to gain access on an equal basis with whites to the same schools. Obligatory busing was introduced in many local areas to achieve this result. Thus the rights gained by blacks were gradually extended to other minority groups.

Initially the reformists stressed equal access to facilities. As time passed, they came to recognize the importance of other factors such as language and culture if the members of the minority groups were to achieve the same accomplishments as members of the majority group. Accordingly, the reformers began to press for greater recognition in schools of the linguistic and cultural needs of minorities. One outcome was legislation to guarantee all children the right to receive education in the language of their upbringing, at least in the initial years of their schooling. Similarly, schools were directed to achieve a greater balance in the cultural lessons they conveyed. The respective policy initiatives are known as bilingualism and multiculturalism.

The American commitment to multiculturalism has had to be worked out within the framework of equality before the law. One implication is that embracing multiculturalism places pressures on educational systems to avoid favoritism to any particular cultural strand. But this very effort to treat all cultures as equal leaves education open to the charge that it has no direction, that all is relative (Bloom, 1990). Where all is equal, it becomes difficult to assert that a particular approach or value should prevail over another, yet in moral education it is often essential to search for such valuation.

As with other educational changes in the United States, the implementation of these reforms has been the responsibility of the various local school systems, leading to extensive variation in outcome. Particularly in the northeastern and western parts of the U.S., there have been comparatively bold approaches.

But these reforms have not always been popular. To the extent that school systems have a relatively homogeneous student body, they tend to be less open to multicultural reforms. On the other hand, the homogeneous communities may sponsor new cultural initiatives focusing on differences between world cultures, by for example building bridges with schools and communities in other parts of the world.

The Rise of Cognitive Psychology

The reformation and the deep religious convictions of that era led many of the earliest immigrant groups to come to America. While these groups sought freedom to practice their faith, most relied heavily on reason to pursue this practice. Thus from the earliest times Americans were firmly committed to logical as contrasted to emotional approaches to problem solving. This commitment to reason was expressed in their preference for a rule of law and in their attachment to constitution to bind the various stages together.

As the young republic evolved, this attachment to reason led to extraordinary innovations in the practice of education. One example is the conviction that all Americans should receive education. One side of this conviction was the belief that reason was required to realize religious progress. At the same time, America's leaders saw value in education as a means to help in solving the problems of everyday life such as bookkeeping and farming. Thus educational institutions prospered in America.

The commitment to reason also had a profound impact on the practice of education. Whereas on the continent, teachers were content to teach traditional subjects in a time-proven manner, Americans began to question those ways. On the one hand, Americans began to introduce major changes in what was taught so as to make American education more relevant to the American condition. On the other hand, these same educators came to ask if there might not be a better way to teach and to evaluate the quality of learning.

Initially in Germany and later in America, interest in learning led to various experiments with mental processes and eventually to the birth of the field of psychology. This field, well established by the end of the nineteenth century, came to play a progressively larger role in the field of education. One of the dictums of psychology was that every child was different, so psychologists proposed various tests to identify differences. Presumably individual differences required different educational approaches, which psychologists sought to devise.

In a cultural setting where schools were not expected to involve themselves with moral education, American educational psychology gradually came to focus on other areas of the psyche, notably the processes of motivation and cognition. Elaborate tests were devised by psychologists to track these processes, and these tests became incorporated in educational decision making ranging from student class assignment to college placement (Boorstin, 1974, pp. 220 ff).

Analyses of the values of young people or their moral behavior was a relatively neglected topic in American psychology until comparatively recently. The first major American theory of moral development, that of Kohlberg (1963), focused primarily on the ability of young people to reason about moral issues, without making any commitment to their convictions. Loevinger's (1976) theory of ego development was equally agnostic. When American schools came to develop an interest in moral education, the initial guidance they received was on moral reasoning rather than moral education. While this approach was consistent with the non-sectarian educational culture of the United States, it did not address the more fundamental concerns of those who sought to strengthen moral education.

The American Frontier

While it is convenient to speak of America as an entity, the original colonies were founded with different purposes. And as America has expanded, it has incorporated new groups and faced many challenges. Thus there is much diversity in the American people. William Ogburn (1966) has helped document the special features of courtly and expressive southern culture as contrasted with the moral inner-directedness of the northeast. Others have suggested that America, as it moved westward and encountered the challenges of the frontier placed increasing stress on public solutions to common problems combined with a new permissiveness with respect to many moral and political issues (Turner, 1920; Walsh, 1981). Finally, as America joined the Orient in Hawai'i, yet other value streams came to shape the American character. Few studies have reached firm conclusions on the dimensions of regional cultures, but one set of working hypotheses worth exploring is that the further west one goes, the more permissive is the moral culture, the more tolerant are the attitudes to people of varying races and cultures (with some exceptions, e.g., right wing attitudes in California), and the more likely are citizens to think of government as a resource for solving problems rather than as an authoritative organ to which they owe allegiance and service.

Current and Future Perspectives on Values Education

Americans are proud of many of their accomplishments over the twentieth century, as their nation has developed to become the most productive and powerful in the world. But with American ascendancy have also evolved various social tendencies that are troubling, including rising crime, violence, and family instability. Reflecting on these signs of social decay, national leaders have proposed various solutions ranging from the strengthening of local community organizations to the strengthening of values. Particularly concerning this latter theme, eyes have turned once again to the schools and the need to promote a stronger and even a more prescriptive values curriculum.

In contrast with the cognitive theories of moral reasoning that have come from American psychology, over the past decade a number of educators with a background in religion and philosophy have offered approaches that are more prescriptive. Table 4.1 lists the values featured in several of the current works. In virtually all cases, these leaders seek

to identify an agnostic morality agreeable to the great majority of Americans, and based on the American tradition.²

Table 4.1 Moral Values Emphasized in Recent Writings

Butts (1988)	Bennett (1993)	Eyres & Eyres (1993)	Lickona (1991)	Phi Delta Kappa (1993)
Justice	Self-discipline	Values of Being	Respect	Honesty
Freedom	Compassion	Honesty	Responsibility	Democracy
Equality	Responsibility	Courage	Honesty	Ethnic Tolerance
Diversity	Democracy	Peaceability	Fairness	Patriotism
Authority	Responsibility	Self-Reliance & Potential	Tolerance	Caring
Privacy	Friendship	Fidelity/Chastity	Prudence	Moral Courage
Participation	Work	Prudence	Self-Discipline	Golden Rule
Due Process	Courage	Values of Giving	Compassion	Religious
Truth	Perseverance	Loyalty/Dependability	Cooperation	Tolerance
Property	Honesty	Helpfulness	Courage	
Patriotism	Loyalty	Respect	Democratic Values	
Human rights	Faith	Unselfishness/Sensitivity		
		Kindness/Friendliness		
		Justice/Mercy		

As we see in these lists, there are several common themes:

- Toward individual responsibility and away from individualism;
- Toward ethnic and religious tolerance;
- Toward democratic institutions and civic cultures as mechanisms for promoting and defending common values; and
- Toward respect for religious faith while avoiding a public preference for any particular religion.

But these highly visible spokespeople may not represent the full spectrum of contemporary American thinking on values education. To gauge the generality of their views, we decided to carry out a survey of U.S. educational elites that varied both in terms of where they live (from the four states of New York, Michigan, California, and Hawai'i) and what they do (a combination of top officials and politicians on the one hand and front-line educators on the other hand).³ So the primary concern in the following analysis is to deter-

² By this statement, we mean that these educators do not advocate the teaching of the moral and religious positions of particular religions in their proposed curriculums. All of the individuals cited are themselves deeply religious and believe that religious faith is important for individuals. They do not oppose schools teaching some principles of world religions, but they believe the responsibility for conveying an understanding of personal faith lies with families and churches.

³ The total number of respondents was eighty-eight spread across the four states. As with the other studies in this book, the sample in each area included state education authorities, leading educational intellectuals, religious leaders who have educational positions, leaders of related NGOs, politicians, people in educational institutes, academic leaders, curriculum designers in values edu-

mine whether the proposals of the current values-education opinion leaders are consistent with the views of our elite sample. A secondary concern is to see if there is significant variation in the views of our elite sample that might be related either to their place of residence (e.g., the frontier hypothesis) or their social position (are front-liners more school oriented and practical relative to the idealism of top elites?).

Why Values Education?

The Sigma Values Instrument, discussed in the first chapter of this book, includes several major sections. We first will review the reasons U.S. elites believe values education needs to be strengthened. The options elites were asked to rank are listed in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Why Should There be Values Education?

Reasons for Values Education*	State				Total
	New York	Michigan	California	Hawai'i	
Increase a sense of individual responsibility	.1	.92	.73	.74	.84
Promote orderly, caring school communities	1	.88	.73	.68	.81
Provide a guide for behavior in daily life	.94	.92	.53	.65	.76
Combat social prejudice / promote tolerance	.76	.76	.73	.74	.75
Promote values of justice and equity	.76	.80	.67	.71	.74
Combat juvenile delinquency	.71	.76	.67	.61	.68
Encourage civic consciousness	.82	.80	.73	.45	.67
Help young people develop reflective /autonomous personality	.65	.72	.53	.61	.64
Help youth interpret values	.76	.60	.67	.58	.64
Strengthen families	.59	.68	.53	.58	.60
Develop appreciation for Heritage	.41	.72	.47	.52	.55
Foster economic development	.41	.64	.47	.58	.55
Improve respect and opportunities for women	.53	.48	.47	.58	.52
Promote pride in local communities	.41	.60	.40	.52	.50
Combat ecological abuse	.53	.52	.47	.45	.49
Promote world peace	.29	.52	.27	.55	.44
Provide foundation for spiritual development	.18	.40	.27	.48	.36

* Proportion who believe each argument is prevalent in society

cation, and values/moral education specialists. No more than 30 percent were individuals directly in curriculum design and/or teaching of values education.

American elites were most likely to cite the following as their reasons for strengthening values education in the schools: increasing the sense of individual responsibility was most frequently cited followed by promoting orderly and caring school communities, providing a guide for behavior in daily life, combating social prejudice and promoting tolerance, promoting the values of justice and equity, combat juvenile delinquency, encouraging civic consciousness, and helping young persons develop reflective autonomous personalities.

These reasons reflect a concern, on the one hand, for enhancing the level of social control and responsibility, with, on the other hand, a fostering of the more libertarian concerns for justice and equity, tolerance, and autonomy.

Looking into regional differences, it turns out the East Coasters followed by the Mid-Westerners are the most concerned with enhancing social control through values education: that is the easterners place the greatest stress on the "puritanical" reasons of enhancing individual responsibility and providing a guide for behavior in daily life. In contrast, and in addition to the puritanical values permeating American life even in the West Coast, the Californians place the greatest stress on tolerance and civic consciousness and the Hawai'ians place the greatest stress on promoting values of justice and equity and in promoting orderly, caring school communities, although less so than respondents in New York and Michigan. Similarly, the East Coasters place the greatest stress on developing civic consciousness, whereas to the extent one looks West there is a greater emphasis on promoting pride in local communities, promoting world peace and combating ecological abuse. Michigan respondents place the greatest stress on fostering economic development and on developing an appreciation for the national heritage. In sum, as predicted by the frontier hypothesis, there are significant regional variations.

What Should be Stressed in Values Education?

As indicated in Table 4.3, the preferences of our elite respondents concerning which values should be stressed in the school curriculum are very similar to those advocated by the prominent spokespeople for values education reviewed in Table 4.1. Our respondents urged placing the greatest stress on civic values followed by democracy, diversity, peace, work and moral values, and gender equality.

Again there are striking regional differences. To the extent an elite is located towards the eastern side of the United States, he/she is likely to place a greater stress on civic values and democracy. To the extent the elite lives resides in Hawai'i or the West Coast, he/she places a greater stress on diversity, peace, personal autonomy and national identity. For certain values, particular regions stand out. New Yorkers rank moral values at the top, which was not characteristic of the other states (Hawai'i is closest with a ranking of third). And Hawai'i is exceptional for its stress on family values and on religion. Californian elites give a relatively high ranking to gender equality and to global awareness.

Table 4.3 What Should be Stressed in Values Education?

Curriculum for Values Education*	State				Total
	New York	Michigan	California	Hawai'i	
Civic values	1.53	1.96	2.13	2.00	1.92
Democracy	1.82	1.68	1.80	2.41	1.98
Diversity and multiculturalism	2.29	2.64	1.57	1.57	2.02
Peace and conflict resolution	2.06	2.72	1.67	1.74	2.07
Work values	2.00	2.44	2.07	1.93	2.11
Moral values	1.38	2.64	2.40	1.97	2.13
Gender equality	2.47	2.44	1.64	2.24	2.25
Personal autonomy	2.47	3.08	2.27	2.11	2.49
Global awareness	3.00	2.80	1.87	2.48	2.57
Ecological awareness	2.94	3.24	2.13	2.41	2.71
Family values	3.25	3.48	3.79	2.07	3.00
National identity and patriotism	3.88	3.16	3.33	2.97	3.27
Religious values	5.47	5.63	6.67	4.38	5.35

* 1=very strong emphasis; 7=should be left out

What Are the Major Issues That Should be Considered in Values Education?

In addition to understanding the priorities and common agenda for the kind of values that should be included in the curriculum, we wanted to understand what values are seen as major issues for schools to deal with—even if these are controversial. We asked our respondents to more explicitly indicate what content areas should have more emphasis in the school curriculum. Their responses ranged from "very strong emphasis" or "1" to "should be left out" or "7". These content areas include issues dealing with autonomy, civic values, nationalism, religion, work, managing diversity, gender, and community. Table 4.4 shows these responses.

Table 4.4 What are the Major Issues in Values Education?

Major issues in Values Education*	State				Total
	New York	Michigan	California	Hawai'i	
Autonomy					
teaching critical thinking in schools	1.71	1.58	1.27	1.29	1.45
help children understand they have individual rights	2.35	2.58	2.07	2.36	2.37
help children develop own values	2.53	3.72	2.07	1.96	2.61
help children understand they have the right to be happy	4.06	3.71	2.43	2.54	3.16
Civic values					
all are equal before the law	2.29	1.64	2.13	1.93	1.95
help young people understand all political/social viewpoints	3.06	2.72	2.07	2.36	2.55
respect hierarchy and support the	4.24	5.08	5.60	4.00	4.65

government					
Nationalism					
promote an understanding and love of nation	3.82	4.20	4.73	3.54	4.00
venerate heroes and promote national pride	3.75	4.28	3.73	3.32	3.76
Religion					
help children understand their own religion	5.59	6.60	6.60	4.96	5.86
schools should foster an understanding of all religions	3.12	3.52	3.47	3.21	3.33
Work					
stress habits of loyalty, obedience, hard work and punctuality	2.31	2.84	2.93	1.82	2.42
competitiveness /creativity for social / economic success	3.82	3.50	4.00	3.39	3.61
Tolerance					
empathy for people of different backgrounds	1.41	2.04	1.73	1.54	1.69
common values to all without differences of class, ethnicity and religion	1.53	1.88	2.07	1.68	1.77
recognize importance of personal pride and identity while understanding unique origins and heritage	3.59	4.08	3.27	2.32	3.26
the fortunate to help those who encounter difficulties	2.65	3.36	2.60	2.64	2.85
Gender					
equal opportunities and encouragement for girls and boys	1.59	1.12	1.13	1.64	1.39
encourage mutual respect between boys and girls	1.47	1.20	1.47	1.50	1.40
take up issues relating to human sexuality and health	2.44	3.12	4.00	2.54	2.95
destiny of girls is to have home-building responsibilities	5.24	5.88	6.73	4.93	5.59
Community					
promote values of solidarity within communities	3.80	3.72	3.21	2.50	3.23
foster values supporting the family	2.82	3.04	3.87	1.89	2.76
promote a truly global view of the world	2.59	2.40	1.53	2.00	2.15
appreciate role of unions in work conditions and fair wages	4.88	4.48	4.47	4.21	4.47

* 1=very strong emphasis; 7=should be left out

Gender

Among the issues receiving strong emphasis are those concerning gender. Our respondents support an egalitarian and liberal position regarding issues of gender and sexuality. For instance the idea that "girls have essentially the same talents as boys and should be given equal opportunities and encouragement in schools" is strongly supported as a content area in the school curriculum, as is the idea that "values education should encourage mutual respect between boys and girls". The idea that "values education should take up issues relating to human sexuality and health, such as chastity, preserving the integrity of the body against drugs and prostitution, and understanding the risks of promiscuity" also receives positive support whereas the idea that "the destiny of girls is to have home-building responsibilities" is firmly rejected.

Autonomy

Issues related to individuals' autonomy and empowerment are also strongly emphasized. Notably, the value of teaching critical thinking in schools is seen as a strong aim for values education. Our respondents support the need for schools to help children understand that they have individual rights, and for schools to assist all children in developing their own individual values as a foundation for their acceptance of broader social values. Not all respondents agree on this last value, however. Respondents from Hawai'i are highly supportive of this idea, whereas Michigan respondents tend to be indifferent or reject the idea. Values relating to the importance of helping each child understand they have the right to be happy were not accorded strong emphasis.

Tolerance

There is a more positive disposition to including in the curriculum ideas dealing with social integration and equality among our respondents than ideas that would tend to separate groups on the basis of origin or wealth. Accordingly, respondents support ideas such as "schools should encourage empathy for people of different ethnic, language, and social backgrounds and create opportunities for growth through shared experiences" and "it is best for schools to teach common values to all children without differentiation on the basis of class, ethnicity, or religion". They are less sympathetic to ideas such as "schools should note social differences and stress the duty of the fortunate to help those who encounter difficulties". The need for schools to recognize the importance of personal pride and identity on average, are not accorded strong emphasis, Hawai'i respondents are most favorable to this idea whereas New York and Michigan respondents tend to be indifferent or even reject the idea. These general trends reflect a tendency towards understanding diversity and racial tolerance across the nation.

Civic Values

Two content areas are considered important for fostering civic values: "the need to stress that all are equal before the law", and the idea that schools should help young peo-

ple gain an understanding of all political and social viewpoints from the most conservative to the most liberal. Respondents differ significantly across the regions regarding the idea that people should be taught to respect hierarchies and support the government. Respondents from Hawai'i and New York are ambivalent, and respondents from Michigan and in a major degree California, reject the idea.

Community

Values having to do with collective matters ranging from family values to worldwide communities' concerns receive mixed support. Strong support is given to the idea that schools should "promote a truly global view of the world" and some emphasis is placed on "fostering values supporting the family, such as respect for parents, fidelity, and taking care of children and elders". Respondents in Hawai'i are most supportive of the idea of family values while respondents from California are largely indifferent. The idea that "schools should promote values of solidarity within communities" is acceptable to our respondents while the view that "schools should help young people appreciate the essential role of unions in guaranteeing safe work conditions and fair wages" provokes indifference or negative views. The response to this question reflects the generalized anti-union stance of a large section of American society.

Work

A number of ideas related to "hard work" are endorsed as having an important place in the curriculum by our respondents. The idea that "as sound preparation for the world of work, habits of loyalty, obedience, hard work and punctuality need to be stressed in school" receives positive support. Less popular though still supported is the idea that "values education should highlight the role of individual competitiveness and creativity in realizing both social and economic success". These answers indicate that, at least for our respondents, education is seen as a means both to increase one's personal autonomy and individual power, and to contribute to increased productivity or economic gain.

Religion

Unlike some Asian countries in our study and like others in the West, the U.S. maintains that the teaching of religion has no place in public schools. This situation may help explain our respondents' negative responses to ideas such as "schools should help every child gain a deeper understanding of their own religion" in contrast with the more positive reaction to the idea that "schools should foster an understanding of all religions". The study of world cultures with some emphasis on the different religions is acceptable whereas a stress on particular religions is not.

Nationalism

Ideas dealing with nationalistic values are not strongly endorsed. For instance, the idea that schooling should "first promote an understanding and love of nation" is viewed

with indifference. Similarly, the respondents were not enthusiastic about the idea that "people should venerate heroes and promote national pride". This shared opinion indicates a period of doubt about the power of traditional institutions that have served to unify American society. This disillusionment may be associated with the recent scandals at the higher levels of government.

In sum, equality of opportunity for boys and girls and solidarity across communities are considered important themes for the curriculum, as is teaching critical thinking in schools. We find a definite disposition to including ideas dealing with social integration and equality as contrasted to ideas that tend to separate groups on the basis of their social origins or wealth. Civic values specially as they relate to understanding the law and to educating citizens vis-à-vis pluralistic ideas are strongly supported for inclusion in the school curriculum. Ideas related to promoting a global view of the world are also supported. There is also support for the idea that education should be seen more in terms of its contribution to individual development than as a means to increase productivity or economic gain for individuals and society. We observe a generalized lack of enthusiasm for nationalistic values, and a rejection of religious teachings in the school curriculum.

What Cultures Should We Include in the Curriculum?

Our study not only set out to explore the why, what and how of values education. We also wanted to know how open our respondents were to including the values of other cultures in the school curriculum. We asked our respondents to indicate what cultures they thought should be given more prominence in the schools. Their answers show, not surprisingly, that the U.S. should receive the most prominence. Japan, China, Russia, the U.K., Mexico, and Canada are ranked next in importance. These are followed by France and Egypt. Our respondents ranked Korea, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia in the tenth through fourteenth places (see Table 4.5). While there were few notable differences across regions, it is interesting that the respondents from Michigan and California rated Mexico as a second and fourth priority respectively. California rated Russia as a second priority, and New York gave high priority to Canada. We also asked our respondents to indicate the degree of familiarity with a number of different societies' values (such as Latin American, socialist, Asian, and Islamic values) and which should be included in the school curriculum. Although respondents expressed a relatively high degree of familiarity with values from these different cultures they seemed reluctant to include them in the curriculum, especially Islamic values. The above discussion highlights areas where further policy dialogue may be needed to build shared understanding regarding the introduction of different cultures to values education.

Table 4.5 Cultures/Societies That Should be Given Most Prominence in the School Curriculum

Cultures/societies*	State				Total
	New York	Michigan	California	Hawai'i	
USA	1.19	1.39	1.08	1.28	1.26
Japan	2.25	2.32	1.92	2.17	2.19
China	2.44	2.26	1.85	2.44	2.29
Russia	2.56	2.48	2.33	2.65	2.53
UK	2.81	2.52	2.08	2.77	2.59
Mexico	3.13	2.09	2.00	3.23	2.63
Canada	2.88	2.52	3.08	3.50	2.99
France	3.50	3.41	3.31	3.50	3.44
Egypt	3.81	3.45	3.08	4.05	3.64
Korea	3.93	3.91	3.67	3.59	3.77
Indonesia	4.63	4.23	4.55	4.10	4.33
Singapore	4.94	4.50	4.33	4.30	4.51
Thailand	4.88	4.19	4.85	4.38	4.52
Malaysia	5.13	4.27	4.77	4.33	4.57

*1=much prominence 7=little prominence

How Should Values Education be Carried Out?

In the previous section we have begun to understand the aims and general content of values education in the U.S. In this section we turn to three issues concerning the implementation of values education. One concerns the time or amount of effort that should be given to values education as a whole—indicating the level of importance attributed to this area in the curriculum. The second aspect has to do with the target population, and the third has to do with settings.

How Much Time Should be Given to Values Education in the School Curriculum?

We asked our respondents to indicate what percent of a school budget (money, time and effort) should be devoted to values education. Most respondents indicated that, on average, close to 10 percent of the curriculum should be contained in specific classes such as moral education or civics, and close to 20 percent should be integrated across the curriculum. This answer indicates that, at least among our respondents, subject-specific values education does not seem to have a very prominent place in the school curriculum. These views however, vary significantly across the regions. California and New York respondents would like to see more of the curriculum reserved for subject-specific values education classes while respondents from Michigan and Hawai'i would like to see less. New York respondents also are most likely to propose an integration of values education across the curriculum, whereas Michigan and California respondents are intermediate and Hawai'i respondents are the least supportive of this approach.

Who Should Receive Values Education?

In our survey we approached the second implementation aspect by asking who should be targeted for values education. Overall our respondents agreed that values education should begin at an early age under the assumption that the foundations of values are established in early childhood. Conversely our respondents are in strong disagreement with the notion that values education should only begin in secondary school after young people have a clear idea of what they believe to be important. We also asked how the values education curriculum should be constructed. Congruent with responses examined in the section above, our respondents agree that values education should be integrated throughout the curriculum rather than taught in separate subjects; and they support teaching a common curriculum (e.g., as opposed to designing different programs according to ability). We did not find significant differences across the regions in this aspect (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Who Should Receive Values Education?

Target group for Values Education*	State				Total
	New York	Michigan	California	Hawai'i	
Begin in secondary school	6.65	6.80	6.87	5.71	6.40
Begin at an early age	1.35	1.24	1.47	1.58	1.42
Different values programs by academic ability	6.65	5.92	6.27	5.45	5.95
Integrated throughout the curriculum	2.18	1.68	1.80	1.87	1.86

* 1=strongly agree; 7=strongly disagree

Where Should Values Education be Taught and to Whom?

We also asked more specific questions regarding the relationship between specific target groups and settings for conducting values education. Answers to these questions vary relative to the particular orientation of the curriculum such as religion, moral or civic education (see Table 4.7). Simply put, religious education is seen primarily as a private matter to be carried out in the home and church. Moral education is seen as a shared responsibility of the home, the school, and the community. Concerning civic education, the elite respondents placed the greatest emphasis on the role of the school relative to other educational venues.

Our respondents' answers to the implementation questions in values education point to a number of dilemmas. Whereas their answers to the why and what questions indicate their concern for schools to play an important role in the formation of responsible, autonomous and productive individuals, in their discussion of implementation they downplay the role of schools relative to other venues. One possible explanation for their indifference to schools may be the perception of our respondents that teachers are not adequately prepared to play an effective role in values education. To the extent they are right, this naturally leads to a consideration of greater emphasis on values education in the curriculum of teacher preparation programs.

Table 4.7 Where Should Values Education be Taught and to Whom?

	Religious Education (count)	Moral Education (count)	Civic Education (count)
Groups ranked "first" as needing most exposure:			
Inservice teachers	2	9	10
Teacher learners	3	7	5
Young children	11	7	3
Pre-school children	8	8	0
Primary level	23	32	26
Secondary level	14	7	19
High school level	5	7	13
University level	4	1	3
Not ranked	18	10	9
Settings ranked "first" as most effective:			
During school as a class	4	9	24
During school through rules of behavior	1	8	17
Outside school activities (clubs, sports, art)	3	1	3
Internship and community service	0	0	5
Camps	1	2	0
Religious groups and institutions	25	1	0
Military training and national service	0	0	1
Home and family	47	56	27
Media	0	1	0
Not ranked	7	11	11

N=88

Discussion

Over the past two decades, values education has been given considerable attention in the United States, in both policy and research circles. An academic society has been established to co-ordinate thinking on moral education, and there are several action groups. Thus there is considerable information to draw on for clarifying the principal characteristics of the American approach:

1. Morality is closely associated with religion. In the West and the Middle East where Christianity and Islam prevail, this association is common. Moreover, it is common in Western societies for more than one religion to be practiced by the citizenry. This condition of religious pluralism leads to moral pluralism; among Western nations, perhaps none has such a diversity of religions as the U.S., the world's melting pot. The condition of moral pluralism creates pressure for a creative solution that minimizes conflict between the various religious groups. In contrast to the Western condition of religious and moral pluralism, in many Asian societies (Japan, China, Taiwan) morality is not associated with religion but rather with the state philosophy. In that there is one state, it is relatively easy to agree on a common morality. In other Asian societies, there may be a number of religions practiced, some of which take di-

vergent positions on certain moral issues. In these cases, as for example in Malaysia and Indonesia, the state may allow for parallel moral coda, with each group expected to practice the coda it affirms.

2. Values education should take place in the family. In all societies, values education begins in the family. What seems exceptional about the United States is the conviction, even in the colonial period, that family education was sufficient to establish sound values and moral convictions—though this may have been justified given the homogeneity of the population at the time—in modern days this assumption is questionable. Schools from the earliest days were considered vehicles for the development of reason, as a complement to piety. In contrast, in most other societies schools were also looked to as vehicles for character education whether through the curriculum or, as in the case of England, primarily through the co-curriculum of school chapels, athletics, and dormitory living.
3. Values reasoning can be taught. Commitment is personal. In view of the complexity of modern American society, much stress is placed on values reasoning as contrasted with particular standards or dogma. America was the first society founded with a mission to promote change, to realize progress. This activist American conviction extended to the frontier and even beyond: on the international scene, Americans often express a mission to involve themselves in foreign settings so that other peoples can enjoy the benefits of the American experiment. Because of the open-ended quality of the American dream, American moralists have been reluctant to set firm standards for individual behavior. Even in the American home, a young person is often told to figure out things for themselves. Parents stress self-reliance over fixed prescriptions. The same principle of figuring things out has influenced American thinking on values education which is characterized by such concepts as values clarification and moral reasoning, as contrasted with the more directive approaches common in other settings.
4. American morality is in crisis. In recent years there has been considerable debate and reexamination of the American approach. Robert Dreeben (1968) in a classic study of youth socialization referred to the American school's approach to moral education as the hidden curriculum. Gerald Grant (1988) in a recent study of a New York high school notes that this curriculum was once neglected but over the past decade has moved to a more prominent position in school planning as a result of the combined efforts of parents, administrators, teachers and students. As evident by this study, politicians and educators have come to raise frequent and major questions about the American way. It is often argued that youth's susceptibility to drugs or the high incidence of crime in American society is a sign of moral decay, of relaxation in the moral upbringing and standards of the American people. However, in terms of the new debate the concerns in the U.S. seem to parallel those in most other modern nations.
5. Consensus on many issues, deep divisions on others. While on most issues, there is still much flexibility and common ground, around a few issues such as the right to life

there is deep polarization. The polarizing issues tend to be grounded in religious differences commonly characterized as fundamentalism versus liberalism. On the particular issue of the right to life for pre-natal fetuses as contrasted with the right of a mother to choose an abortion for an unwanted child, various protestant denominations as well as the Catholic Church have taken official positions. This tendency of religious-based polarization is characteristic of many Western societies, and in some instances has been behind the movement to divide these societies: witness the schisms in the former Soviet Union, the former Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Canada. In the U.S., separatist movements as such have not emerged. Nevertheless, the religious-based sentiments stand in the way of reform.

6. In a new America, schools may have a greater role in values education. Similarly there has been a reexamination of the role of schools. Many of America's current critics believe that at least a part of America's moral decay can be traced to the neutrality regarding values characteristic of the American school. Former Secretary of Education William Bennett (1993) has proposed a new role for moral education in the schools. At the other end of the political spectrum, President William Clinton has come to advocate the restoration of "prayer in the schools", a code-phrase for strengthening religious and moral education.
7. There are several common themes among the contemporary proponents of values education:
 - Toward individual responsibility and away from excessive individualism;
 - Toward ethnic and religious tolerance;
 - Toward democratic institutions and civic cultures as mechanisms for promoting and defending common values; and
 - Toward a respect for religious faith while avoiding a public preference for any particular religion.

There is no inherent reason why American schools need to eschew values education so long as the principles taught are disembodied from the associated religions. Our survey indicates that most respondents concur with these themes, differing only in the relative emphasis on particular dimensions. These differences in emphasis relate to personal conviction as well as local culture. Over the past decade, a growing number of school systems have found ways to define and teach religion-neutral values education (e.g., Michigan has instituted the Michigan Model, which directly deals with values education). While there is no comprehensive survey yet available of the incidence of such programs, they are extensive. Thus it can be said that the American approach to values education, as with the American approach to so many other things, is more complex than might be suggested by the title of this chapter. The American public is continually searching for the best way to realize values education, and in recent years that search is leading to a new focus on the role of schools in this important challenge.

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VALUES EDUCATION OF HAWAI'I: THE INTERSECTION OF HAWAI'IAN, AMERICAN, AND ASIAN VALUES

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Introduction

Which values should be taught in Hawai'ian schools according to Hawai'ian elites? In this chapter we are able to scratch at the surface of convergence, divergence, and indigenization in the Pacific region by taking a closer look at what is occurring in Hawai'i, the geographical center of the Pacific Basin region. Hawai'i is, in more than one sense, at the crossroads of American and Asian spheres of influence. The United States and Japan, in particular, have had a visible impact on the economy and demography of Hawai'i. To what extent, and how, did these two countries also have a cultural impact on Hawai'ian values education? Have Hawai'ian educational elites also adopted the value systems from these two countries? What we will examine here in more depth for Hawai'ian elites might reflect trends within values education in other countries of the Pacific Basin region that are similarly exposed to American and Asian value systems. The study helps to address a topical question that is genuinely comparative (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000): Are there signs of transnational convergence or divergence in Pacific Basin countries?

Social and Political Context

The first introduction of a foreign value system in Hawai'i came in 1819 when Hiram Bingham was sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to establish the Sandwich Islands Mission as the first Christian mission in Hawai'i. His arrival along with the 1778 arrival of Captain James Hook are commonly pointed to as the beginning of Hawai'i's modern history (Tabrah, 1984: xiii). The subsequent promotion of immigration was prompted by the decrease in the Hawai'ian population from around one million to 82,000 resulting from the introduction of Western diseases. The following waves of immigrants consisted of predominantly Asian immigrants who provided labor for the sugar plantations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The sheer number of immigrant populations in Hawai'i has given the immigrants a prominent role in the formation of Hawai'ian culture in the twentieth century. The following examples of waves of immigration illustrate the magnitude of immigration in Hawai'i. A tax on agricultural land in Japan, introduced in 1873, impoverished many farmers leading to the immigration of 180,000 Japanese to Hawai'i between 1885 and 1924. In addition to the Japanese population, over 46,000 Chinese had settled in Hawai'i by the time of annexation in 1898. The Hawai'ian government made several attempts to curtail Japanese immigration in particular. For example, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Japan and the United States was signed in 1908 to prevent fur-