



University of  
Massachusetts  
Amherst

## **Foxfire-Vermont : a retrospective case study of a rural staff development curriculum program.**

Item Type	Dissertation (Open Access)
Authors	Shapiro, Howard S.
DOI	<a href="https://doi.org/10.7275/11192194">10.7275/11192194</a>
Download date	2025-07-04 15:40:48
Link to Item	<a href="https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/13867">https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/13867</a>

UMASS/AMHERST



312066013586577

FOXFIRE-VERMONT:  
A RETROSPECTIVE CASE STUDY OF A  
RURAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT CURRICULUM PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

By

HOWARD S. SHAPIRO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1980

Education

(c) Howard S. Shapiro 1980  
All Rights Reserved

FOXFIRE-VERMONT:  
A RETROSPECTIVE CASE STUDY OF A  
RURAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT CURRICULUM PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

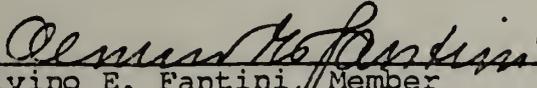
By

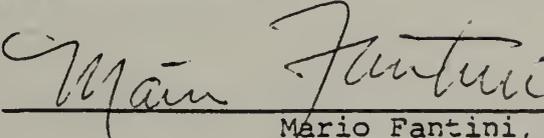
HOWARD S. SHAPIRO

Approved as to style and content by:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Patrick J. Sullivan, Chairman of Committee

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Lynne C. Miller, Member

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Alvino E. Fantini, Member

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Mario Fantini, Dean  
School of Education

December 1979

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Dianne, whose love, infinite patience, and support sustained me throughout the long and demanding process.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks go to my dissertation committee who have offered valuable guidance, encouragement, and criticism. Specifically, I wish to acknowledge:

Patrick Sullivan: for his rigorous standards of excellence which I have come to appreciate and value

Lynne Miller: for her continued support and faith in the value of my work

Alvino Fantini: for serving as the "outside member" and offering valuable perspective and encouragement

I would also like to acknowledge the participants and staff of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program whose cooperation has made this dissertation possible.

ABSTRACT

Foxfire-Vermont:

A Retrospective Case Study of a Rural  
Staff Development Curriculum Program  
(February 1980)

Howard S. Shapiro, B.A., University of Miami  
M.A.T., Antioch-Putney Graduate School  
Ed.D., University of Massachusetts  
Directed by: Professor Patrick Sullivan

In 1974, the Georgia-based Foxfire approach to education was brought to Vermont through an inservice teacher education program sponsored by the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont. The primary goal of the program was to introduce and train concerned Vermont teachers in Foxfire techniques and philosophy so that their students could create a literature about traditional aspects of rural Vermont life. The program included a two-week summer training workshop and an implementation phase conducted during the school year.

A retrospective case study of the Foxfire-Vermont program forms the basis for the present study, which is conducted through qualitative methodologies, including participant observation and personal documents. The study specifically addresses the following research question:

What tensions and issues arise in a program designed to prepare rural inservice teachers to implement a new curriculum based on the Foxfire concept?

The study includes an overview of the social and educational conditions in Vermont, along with a critical review of the literature on the current state of inservice education and on the Foxfire concept of education. A narrative account of the design and implementation of the Foxfire-Vermont program is given, as well as an analysis of the intended and unintended consequences of the program. Conclusions and implications of the study for research and practice are offered.

The following key issues that arose during the program are described and analyzed:

Issues of the Training Phase:

1. tension between Foxfire and humanistic education values, i.e., the issue of product versus process
2. tension between the demands of the intentional learning community formed during the training phase and those of the surrounding communities
3. tension between directed and non-directed learning experiences

Issues of the Implementation Phase:

1. tension between the expectations set in the training phase and the realities of school-year application

2. confusion about the roles and responsibilities of the staff and the teachers in relation to each other and to the local projects
3. contradictions inherent in the decision to create a product and the tension created by distracting the teachers from their local projects

The study demonstrates that it is neither possible nor desirable to completely eliminate tension from staff development programs. It recommends that planners and participants need to be constantly aware of and continually responsive to the demands of the ongoing program process. Further, the study recommends that strategies addressing this need must be an integral part of the program.

In general, the present study challenges what it finds to be the often simplistic definitions of staff development which do not take into account the nature of the local school and community setting. Staff development, the study finds, is linked to many factors, including the social organization of the school, its environment, and the characteristics of its population.

Four areas for further research are suggested by the study:

1. identification of comprehensive and innovative means for building on-site support for curriculum change projects

2. analysis of the specific training needs of teachers in rural areas who are considered outsiders by the school and community
3. study of the specific differences between urban, suburban, and rural staff development needs
4. identification of the long-term effects of Foxfire projects on the teachers who initiate them

Under implications for practice, the study addresses:

1) the need for the content of inservice training programs to be compatible with their design and 2) the need to create and build local support for curriculum change into every phase of inservice programs.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION . . . . .		iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .		v
ABSTRACT . . . . .		vi
Chapter		
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .		1
Statement of the Problem . . . . .		1
Purpose and Significance of the Study . . . . .		5
Delimitations of the Study . . . . .		8
Methodologies and Design of the Retrospective Case Study . . . . .		9
Data Sources and Utilization of Data . . . . .		14
Approach to the Analysis . . . . .		16
Vermont: The Social Context of the Study . . . . .		18
A profile . . . . .		18
Local control versus centralization . . . . .		22
Educational issues for Vermont . . . . .		25
Footnotes . . . . .		32
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE . . . . .		35
Introduction . . . . .		35
Section One: Inservice Education . . . . .		36
Overview of the field: issues and problems . . . . .		36
Value orientations for inservice education . . . . .		38
Teacher participation in inservice planning . . . . .		40
Recent thinking on inservice education . . . . .		41
Special considerations for rural inservice education . . . . .		46
Implications of the literature for the design of the case study . . . . .		49
Section Two: The Foxfire Concept . . . . .		53
Definition and overview . . . . .		53
The origins of Foxfire . . . . .		54
The Foxfire documents . . . . .		56
The educational content and process of Foxfire . . . . .		60
Foxfire: its social and educational context . . . . .		68
Footnotes . . . . .		76

Chapter

III.

THE CASE STUDY: THE BACKGROUND, PLANNING, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOXFIRE-VERMONT PROGRAM . . . 80

Introduction . . . . . 80

Section One: Background and Planning of the Program Design . . . . . 83

    Program purpose and design assumptions . . . . . 83

    Educational conditions in Vermont . . . . . 86

    A Peace Corps training model . . . . . 92

    Staffing and participant selection . . . . . 99

    Final workshop organization . . . . . 119

Section Two: A Narrative Account of the Training and Implementation Phases . . . . . 125

    The training phase: the workshop . . . . . 125

    The workshop evaluation . . . . . 143

    Design of the implementation phase . . . . . 147

    The implementation phase . . . . . 148

Footnotes . . . . . 159

IV.

ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL DECISIONS OF THE PROGRAM . . . . . 166

Introduction . . . . . 166

Section One: Analysis of the Training and Implementation Phases . . . . . 168

    The initiating decision: the use of Foxfire techniques with a humanistic education orientation . . . . . 168

    Organizational decision No. 1: a two-week summer workshop . . . . . 172

    Organizational decision No. 2: the creation of a temporary intentional learning community . . . . . 175

    Organizational decision No. 3: the development of a printed product . . . . . 179

    Organizational decision No. 4: the integration of directed and non-directed learning experiences. . . . . 186

    Summary of the training phase . . . . . 194

    Analysis of the implementation phase: organizational assumptions . . . . . 200

    Organizational decision No. 1: four day-long, follow-up sessions . . . . . 203

    Organizational decision No. 2: each teacher was allowed to define and develop his or her own project based on local conditions . . . . . 205

Chapter

IV. (continued)

Organizational decision No. 3: production of a publication . . . . .	211
Section Two: Summary of Findings from the Case Study . . . . .	214
Footnotes . . . . .	219
V. FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS. .	220
Summary of Findings . . . . .	220
Conclusions of the Study. . . . .	222
Implications for Research . . . . .	228
Implications for Practice . . . . .	234
Content must be compatible with the design. . . . .	236
Importance of maintaining focus on local communities . . . . .	240
Footnotes . . . . .	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	244

# C H A P T E R I

## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of the Problem

Guidelines for developing rural curricula are slowly emerging, but one of the highest priorities in rural education is the development of a curriculum that is appropriate to the community in which it will be utilized.<sup>1</sup> The rural school too often has felt required to imitate its urban counterpart, with the result that the "natural advantages" of rural communities have been ignored. Jonathan Sher addresses this problem:

The movement to urbanize rural schools and emulate urban and suburban models greatly dampened any latent desire to create a uniquely rural curriculum in most districts. Predictably the effort to imitate what metropolitan schools used to do did not result in rural educational excellence. As a consequence, the need to develop uniquely rural curricula is as acute today as it was decades ago.<sup>2</sup>

Disputing the belief that the size and homogeneity of rural communities preclude variety in the resources offered by the population, Faith Dunne sees the sense of "community responsibility" in rural schools as a possible tool for enrichment:

The rural school can call upon the traditional interconnection between school and community to provide a kind of variety rarely available in cities and suburbs and as enriching, in different ways, as museum field trips and compartmentalized third grades. Within even the small, homogeneous rural community there is a wide variety of skills,

experiences and memories. If the school can tap the traditional sense of community responsibility for the school, that wide range of people can be brought into the school to interact with the children, to teach, and to remember earlier times.<sup>3</sup>

One move to create curricula that address the needs of rural education is represented by Foxfire. Developed in rural Georgia in the late 1960's, the Foxfire concept of education grew out of a need to involve young people directly in exploring and documenting their cultural heritage. It has resulted in a variety of adaptations in schools and communities throughout the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Dunne comments on the potential for Foxfire in the creation of a rural curriculum:

Foxfire-type studies and other oral history projects can teach a wide variety of skills to children, while engaging them in work of value to the community and to their perceptions of themselves as country dwellers. In addition, rural areas are ideal sources of oral history, populated as they are by farmers who can generally spare some time in the middle of the day; old people who feel alone with their memories; and local businesses whose owners might be convinced that their duty to the town lies in letting employees contribute time to the schools in letting children come to learn the business.<sup>5</sup>

However, despite the well-intentioned calls for new and appropriate rural curricula, there are considerable obstacles in the way of this goal, including lack of funds, lack of expertise, and lack of time for staff development in most rural schools. What emerges out of experience and the literature is a need to expand inservice opportunities for rural

teachers and to do so in such a way as to directly involve them in the process. Foxfire as a rural educational experiment has come to provide a model for curriculum development. In this model, the role of the teacher is crucial and exceptionally demanding. The teacher is put in the position of making a number of decisions about what is appropriate to the community involved and acting upon these decisions.

The adoption of Foxfire techniques has been accomplished through the training of teachers in the skills needed to implement Foxfire-style projects.<sup>6</sup> In the spring of 1974, the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, embarked upon a program to adapt the Foxfire concept to selected schools and communities in Vermont. Financial assistance for the program was obtained through a grant under Title I of the state's Community Service and Continuing Education Project.

Although the Vermont program developed independently from the "official" Foxfire network, the original Georgia Foxfire project was helpful in the initial planning stages. The Vermont program differed from the pattern set by Georgia Foxfire in its approach to training teachers in Foxfire skills.

Foxfire-Vermont, unlike the early Georgia workshops for teachers and students, was a training and support program for twelve teachers from within a single state. Designed

especially to draw on the resources in Vermont, the program was based on the assumption that a regional approach would be effective. Staff development was emphasized on the assumption that the program's goals could be achieved through effective teacher training and through support for the development of local Foxfire projects.

Currently there is little information on the design and implementation of rurally based staff development programs aimed at curriculum change.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, a well-documented need to describe staff development programs through case studies or other means.<sup>8</sup> The value of retrospective case studies in the area of curriculum development is convincingly noted by Robert Wise, when he argues that,

. . . curriculum workers should take time to write accounts of their experiences in doing curriculum development, and . . . the literature on curriculum development should contain a much higher proportion of accounts and analyses by curriculum workers of their experiences.<sup>9</sup>

A critical analysis of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program provides insights into the process of training and supporting teachers in their use of Foxfire in their schools and communities. It also analyzes critical questions for the development of guidelines for other rural inservice training programs.

### Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this retrospective, critical study is to analyze and assess the development of an inservice program for rural teachers based on the Foxfire concept. Specifically, the study examines the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program by addressing the following major research question:

What tensions and issues arise in a program designed to prepare rural inservice teachers to implement a new curriculum based on the Foxfire concept?

The study provides important data on a relatively un-studied phenomenon: the processes involved in training and supporting teachers in the use of Foxfire in their schools and communities. At the same time, the study offers findings and conclusions to guide the development of other rural inservice programs with an orientation toward curriculum change, helping them to identify and assess possible sources of tension or support. The study analyzes the issues relating to Foxfire and staff development. While Foxfire in the past has not been viewed as a concept related primarily to staff development, it is clear from the study that the adaptation of Foxfire on a regional level raises important issues for the field of staff development.

The conceptual framework for the study has a three-fold purpose: first, to describe the setting for Foxfire-Vermont by offering an overview of the social and educational

conditions within the state; second, to relate the program under study to the overall field of inservice education by examining staff development and the special needs of rural inservice education; third, to analyze the major concept on which the program was built by presenting an examination of the original Foxfire concept.

By focusing on the process of the design and implementation of the program under study, the present research makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on rural staff development. Foxfire-Vermont was the first effort in the country to develop a state-wide inservice program to train selected teachers to implement Foxfire-style projects in their schools and communities. The value of this study is enhanced by the use of an actual set of events and situations as its basis. Although impossible to quantify and control statistically, the study of the program offers scholars and practitioners valuable insights for future planning and research.

At present there is relatively little research on the process of rural staff development as it relates to curriculum change. At the same time the overall quality of the literature on staff development is characterized as "uncritical and on the lowest level of generality."<sup>10</sup> What does exist is not very useful because most studies pay little attention to the processes employed in staff development programs.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, this study describes and analyzes the processes

involved in the Foxfire-Vermont program and the tensions and issues that arose.

The present research also responds to a call within the field for documentation of curriculum development efforts. Wise, for example, holds that to improve practice, the field of curriculum development must develop a literature that reflects how it is practiced. Retrospection, he observes, is a legitimate form of inquiry into curriculum development practice: "An account can study and illuminate the pervasive aspects of practice, those aspects that adhere in the fundamental and enduring problems that curriculum workers address."<sup>12</sup> Wise specifically suggests a variety of "productive forms of inquiry" into the curriculum development process, including case studies by participants and document analysis.<sup>13</sup> This study answers that call and helps to focus future research efforts.

### Delimitations of the Study

Certain advantages and disadvantages are to be expected from a descriptive study based on qualitative data rather than controlled research data. This study does not formally measure or evaluate program outcomes, and the lack of statistical evidence and quantitative data delimit the study in terms of controlling several variables.

This case-study approach offers no control groups and looks at only one program in depth over a one-year period, a relatively short time span. The conclusions of the study must be considered in light of these delimitations.

Finally, personal bias must be considered, as the program director is also the author of this study. The author was very aware of this problem and made every effort to eliminate biased reporting and analysis. The passage of time has been valuable in providing perspective on the program.

Methodologies and Design of the  
Retrospective Case Study

The present study employs the case-study method as a way of providing a natural basis for analysis, criticism, and interpretation. This method is effectively presented by Robert Stake when he contrasts the case-study approach to the dominant trend in social science research based on the positivist tradition.

The positivist orientation rejects the study of the particular, assuming it to be idiosyncratic and therefore limited. This tradition values the pursuit of the rationalistic and the use of quantitative measures. Positivists search for facts and causes which produce quantitative data, allowing them to prove relationships statistically between variables.<sup>14</sup>

Stake argues against the positivist tradition and calls for the use of phenomenological or qualitative methods as the "most effective means of adding to understanding for all readers."<sup>15</sup> The phenomenologist is concerned with understanding human behavior by looking at how the individual experiences the world.<sup>16</sup> Through qualitative methods, such as participant observation and personal documents, the phenomenologist uses descriptive data which helps him or her perceive reality as the subjects see it.

The phenomenological perspective values the full and

thorough analysis of the particular case, leading to a form of what Stake calls "naturalistic generalization." It is arrived at by recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in and out of context:

Naturalistic generalizations develop within a person as a product of experience. They derive from the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them, and how these things are likely to be later or in other places with which this person is familiar.<sup>17</sup>

The use of qualitative methods in social research in the 1960's and 1970's has increased. Wilson views this increase of qualitative methods in the field of education. Cicourel has also reported the growing use of these methods in the study of educational organizations, emphasizing the advantages of gathering information based on direct involvement in the day-to-day life of students, teachers, and administrators.<sup>18</sup>

Qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior.<sup>19</sup> This approach directs itself at people within settings in a holistic manner. Two sources of data which have served as the mainstays for qualitative methods are participant observation and personal documents.

Personal documents are those materials in which people reveal in their own words either their view of their life or some other aspect of themselves.<sup>20</sup> Personal documents

include materials such as diaries, letters, and autobiographies, which allow the researcher to examine facets of people, events, and settings which are not directly observable.

In participant observation, the role of the researcher can vary greatly in terms of involvement and distance. At one end, participant observation can be characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects in the milieu of the latter.<sup>21</sup> On a wider scale, Raymond Gold identifies four possible roles for field workers and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of each as they relate to maintaining a balance between the "participant" and the "objectivity" of the "observer."

The roles Gold identifies include:

1. complete participant
2. participant as observer
3. observer as participant
4. complete observer<sup>22</sup>

Since the present study employs the first role, complete participant, it is appropriate to examine its advantages and disadvantages. These are later viewed in greater depth as they relate to the design of the present study.

The complete participant operates in a role where he or she is totally involved in the setting and activities of the study. This level of involvement allows the researcher access to information that might otherwise be out of bounds to the

field researcher. At the same time the problem is raised of maintaining a balance between the self as a participant and the self as researcher in terms of losing the distance and perspective needed in qualitative research approaches.

In the present study the researcher was a complete participant in the program under consideration; he was, in fact, the director. This dual role as researcher and full participant raises important issues as they relate to the objectivity and validity of the findings.

Participant observers usually work in settings in which they are personally and professionally detached. That is, their career, status, friendships, past, future, and self-definition are not intertwined with the setting being studied. Yet while the need for the researcher to be detached is widely accepted, there are nonetheless several examples of successful participant-observation studies that have been conducted by researchers who were intimate participants in the settings.<sup>23</sup>

The present case study combines the two qualitative methods of participant observation and personal documents. By using these two approaches, the researcher attempts to develop a balanced view of the program. The combination of these approaches is exploratory in nature and grows out of the special circumstances from which the case study was conceived and developed.

The study was retrospectively developed by the researcher. The retrospective nature of the study provides certain balances that help to insure the objectivity needed in the presentation and analysis of the research data. The years which have elapsed since the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program have provided invaluable distance and perspective to the researcher and helped him to separate his role as researcher from that of participant. The advantages of a participant's careful and thoughtful analysis of his experiences and those of others has significant potential for contributing to the knowledge of the field of inservice education and of curriculum design in particular.

Data Sources and  
Utilization of Data

The data used in the study were gathered over the life of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program. These data sources include:

1. notes and materials from program planning, staff selection, and staff preparation
2. notes and materials from the program description and announcement
3. completed application forms from participants and related correspondence
4. notes from interviews with prospective workshop participants
5. staff and participant field notes from the summer workshop
6. group journal from the summer workshop
7. author's field notes from the summer workshop
8. written and taped oral evaluation by participants at the end of the summer workshop
9. the summer workshop publication Process: About Caring and Learning
10. correspondence between staff and participants during the implementation phase, including the program's newsletter
11. the publication Rowen, produced during the implementation phase
12. author's field notes on four follow-up meetings during the implementation phase
13. end-of-year written program evaluations by participants and staff

The researcher collected field notes during the program, although not for the purpose of formal study. At the same time, however, as the director he had the advantage of being intimately familiar with all aspects and phases of the program. The fact that the director is no longer connected professionally with the program under study is another aid to objectivity.

The use of the personal documents from the program are central to the presentation of the case study because these documents reflect the themes and issues analyzed in the study. Both solicited and unsolicited personal documents are analyzed by the researcher retrospectively.<sup>24</sup>

### Approach to the Analysis

The analysis and interpretation of the data is an integral part of the research process. The data sources listed in the previous section were first carefully re-examined by the author. Transcriptions of the tapes were then made. After all of the data were reviewed, they were coded according to an extensive list of categories, e.g., degree of participation, group interaction, skill development, and self-initiation. These categories merged into themes that form the basis for the analysis.

The themes of the program training phase include:

1. the unanticipated tension between Foxfire and humanistic education values in the context of the product vs. process issues
2. the unanticipated tensions between the demands of the intentional learning community and the use of surrounding communities
3. the tensions between directed and non-directed learning experiences

The themes of the implementation phase of the program include:

1. the tension between the expectations created in the summer workshop and the realities of school-year application
2. the confusion about the roles and responsibilities of the staff and the teachers in relation to each other and the local projects
3. the contradictions inherent in the decision to publish Rowen, and the tensions created by detracting the teachers from their local projects

These themes are analyzed in the context of their intended and unintended consequences. The planning decisions of both the training and implementation phases are examined from this perspective drawing upon the program's data sources. The analysis then builds from two levels: the first develops from a critical review of the literature on social and educational conditions in Vermont, the current literature on the state of staff development with an examination of rural in-service education, and the literature on the Foxfire practice of education. The second develops from a retrospective case study of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program.

Vermont: The Social Context of the Study

A profile. Vermont, according to the 1970 United States census, is the most rural state in the nation, with 68 percent of its population living in rural areas. Though the state ranks thirty-second in population density, its geography offers:

. . . no vast watersheds to urban places, no mountain-flatland junctions at which people might cluster, and no seaports in which to mass the paraphernalia of urbanism. The consistently hilly topography helps explain why, after two centuries, the state's largest city numbers less than 40,000.<sup>25</sup>

Because of its rural nature, Vermont has remained outside the largely urban-oriented development of American culture over the past century. The state was, of course, affected in some degree by national economic and social trends, but it has managed to retain a high degree of individual identity and control.<sup>26</sup>

Vermont was never highly industrialized and is unlikely to become so. Only 8 percent of the population is employed in production work as compared to the national average of 12.8 percent. Agriculture, once a major industry, has declined. In 1949, it employed 23.3 percent of the state's population; 20 years later that figure had dropped to 8.1 percent. The small hill farmer has almost disappeared, replaced by mechanization and modern farming techniques. This trend is most apparent in dairying. The number of people working in dairy farming has declined along with the number

of farms, but because of its dependence on technology, dairying has become a growing industry in the state. The reliance on modern techniques and machines has led to increased dependence on and control by out-of-state investors in industries as diverse as recreation and dairying.

Dairying, the ski and tourist industries, and the charm of its public image<sup>27</sup> make Vermont an appealing place for people in neighboring urban states to come in search of a simpler life style. The sixties and seventies have witnessed a significant increase in the number of retired professional people and upper-middle-class families moving to Vermont from urban and suburban areas. Between 1960 and 1970, the state added 54,000 new permanent residents, more than in any previous decade. Most of these inhabitants came from the neighboring seaboard megalopolis and, though eager to begin a new way of life, were reluctant to leave the accoutrements of an urban existence totally behind them. These new residents, with their active concern for issues such as education, culture and land use, have, perhaps more than any other single group, changed the economic and social life of the state.

The extension of the inter-state highway system through the state has aided this process, and small towns have become like suburbs with commercial and residential sprawl on their outskirts. These physical alterations are the most visible signs of the changes that have profoundly affected

the very core of rural life in Vermont and have created a basic conflict between old and new.

The implications of uncontrolled growth in Vermont became clear in the late 1960's. A number of special commissions were created to study and make recommendations on the alternatives open to Vermonters for the next twenty-five years. Reports on transportation, agriculture, education and other economic and social concerns were presented to the governor, and, in 1971, Act 250 was passed by the legislature. Act 250 is a comprehensive law that regulates economic growth and attempts to protect the environment. It is a landmark in the field of environmental law and was, ironically, conceived and "pushed through" the legislature by a Republican governor who was a former insurance executive.

Act 250 has been fairly effective in curbing unplanned growth, but it cannot totally control the effect on the state of national trends. Its psychological impact combined with its legal requirements for those wishing to develop land has sent many potential developers to other states with fewer restrictions. Act 250 has earned Vermont the reputation of being a tough place to do business and probably helped maintain Vermont's low per-capita income. In fact, the state's Industrial Building Authority lists Vermont as last in the nation in income growth rate.<sup>28</sup>

By restricting "undesirable" growth and preserving the environment, Vermont has created conditions that tend to attract upper-middle-class people from urban areas who are not dependent on industrial development for an income. At the same time, low-income people are becoming alienated by conditions that make it more and more difficult to earn a living. Income differences within the state are growing. According to a 1976 report, the lowest 20 percent of Vermont families receive only 3 percent of the gross state income, well below the national average of 5.4 percent. The top 20 percent receive 44 percent of the gross income.<sup>29</sup> This growing inequality of income presents a disturbing trend that threatens the egalitarian tradition of Vermont life.

It is important to separate myth from reality when attempting to present an accurate picture of Vermont. The magazine Vermont Life presents a bucolic picture of Vermont as many would like to think it is, but the following quotation more accurately describes the tension between myth and reality:

The myth reads that Vermont is a land of home places as recorded in the prints of Currier and Ives. But the home places are gone. The myth reads that Vermont is filled with neighbors who fend for themselves, tend their home fires, and help each other out of snowbanks in winter. But many of the home fires are dead and the hill people are huddled in trailer parks, where land speculation has left them. The myth reads that Vermont is a land of hillside Jerseys, farm boys gnawing timothy, and general stores with big black stoves. But a few beef cows have replaced the Jerseys, the farm boys have vanished, and the general stores

have turned into supermarkets. The myth promotes the Vermonter as the universal neighbor, outwardly hostile to outsiders and imbued with the spirit of community at home. But the rural dweller is now, even more than the city dweller, in the traffic jam, the crowded elevator, the waiting line at lunch. Now the rural man is completely alone, entrapped by technology, cut away from interpersonal relations, linked only to the system whence comes the governing criteria of his activities.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the truth lies somewhere between the two perceptions, for although Vermont has undergone radical change over the past 20 years, it has managed to maintain and even strengthen certain institutions and traditions. Even as economic independence has decreased, Vermonters have clung hard to the tradition of self-government. The town meeting has become an increasingly important form of local government that Vermonters value as one of the remaining pillars of rural identity. Local control of schools is equally cherished and is often a source of conflict between the towns and the state.

Local control versus centralization. The tension between old and new manifests itself politically in the gap between what Frank Bryan calls the "community axiom and system axiom." The community axiom holds "that man is happiest when in close contact with others like himself in places where life styles are in plain view." In other words, local problems can best be solved by local people. The system axiom holds "that man is happiest in a rational arms-length relationship with others--lots of others."<sup>31</sup> The latter is an urban philosophy

and its proponents believe that local problems can best be solved by outside experts. Efficiency is the over-riding principle to which the system axiom subscribes; centralization is an important corollary.

There are three groups in Vermont which subscribe to the community axiom. The first are hill people whose forebears lived off the land. Often referred to as "native Vermonters," this group, unlike many of its contemporaries, did not leave the state after high school graduation to seek better employment opportunities elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> As taxes rose, and the value of land for second homes increased, the traditional Vermont farmers found they could no longer afford to farm. They were forced to sell, first land and then the old family farm, although they were not trained for other work. They moved into trailer parks or other low-cost housing and are generally employed in service-related industries, construction, or state highway department projects. Once the mainstay of rural life, this group has been most deeply affected by land development and the centralization of agriculture. Its members occupy a low position on the economic ladder, second only to the traditional or chronic poor. These people resent centralization because it restricts their lives through laws and limits such activities as snow-mobiling and hunting.

The second group is the old Yankee elite who oppose centralization for nostalgic reasons. This group still controls much political and economic power on a local level as

it has for generations. The third group that embraces the community axiom is the intellectual and artisan left who are, for the most part, young newcomers committed to the concept of "small is beautiful." Their beliefs are based on a philosophical commitment to a simpler life, in contrast to the hill people who regard centralization and bureaucracy as major intrusions on their lives. The coalition of the hill people and the intellectual and artisan left is seldom strong because of the extreme differences in class and cultural background.

The community axiom has broad support even from those who prefer the system axiom, however. Farmers are the strongest supporters of the system axiom because they have learned that to survive they must embrace modern technology and its accompanying values. The middle-class and the technocratic elite are two other groups Bryan identifies as supporters of this axiom. Most are well-educated, erstwhile urbanites who govern the state's growing technocracy. Although they pay lip service to the community axiom and believe town meetings should be preserved, they know that important decisions will be made beyond the confines of the town hall. The technocrats believe in both centralization and specialization, while the community axiom people believe in local autonomy and the citizen generalist who relies upon his or her own resources and skills to solve community problems. The conflict between the two systems has long

existed on both a local and state level in Vermont under various guises, and it has been an important theme in the political life of the state.

Educational issues for Vermont. Nowhere has the conflict been more visible than in the field of education. Those believing in the community axiom have been strong opponents of school consolidation, while the system axiom people have supported centralization and specialization. Official state policy has also supported centralization as a panacea for a multitude of educational problems. Compared with those in other states, Vermont's educational system still remains small and decentralized but there is strong support, particularly from professional educators, for further school consolidation. They argue for the adoption of urban school designs in "even the most rural Vermont school district, often with little regard for local conditions or values."<sup>33</sup>

Stuart Rosenfeld, in his study of school decentralization in Vermont, presents the arguments for and against consolidation and analyzes the potential economic impact. He concludes that the claims made for economies of scale, effectiveness, and equality are not substantiated by the evidence. Little data exists to show that students in larger schools perform better or that larger schools operate any more efficiently. Although larger schools may offer more choice and better facilities. Rosenfeld concludes that this does

not outweigh the benefits of smaller schools which offer increased student participation, closer control of the budgetary process by the community and the classroom teacher, and increased community cohesion and pride--benefits that are often lost as schools grow and school boards combine.<sup>34</sup>

Vermont's students, by any standards, are predominately rural; they come from rural homes, are raised on rural traditions and values, and experience all the strengths and weaknesses of rural life.<sup>35</sup> Rosenfeld maintains that this background must be utilized to insure the continuation of this rural inheritance that Vermonters prize and value.

Concern for the perpetuation of what is unique to Vermont is by no means a recent development. In 1928, a special Commission on Country Life was established to make recommendations for the planning of Vermont's future. Two hundred leading citizens from all over the state were selected to participate in sixteen committees studying the state's economy, educational system, medical facilities, recreation, land utilization, community life, conservation of traditions and ideals, and so on.

The final report, entitled Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future by Two Hundred Vermonters, was published in 1931, and it made several recommendations concerning the state's educational system. One was the development of larger school units, which is not surprising since state policy was well

established in this direction by that time. However, the most novel and interesting educational recommendation to come out of the commission was in the field of teacher training. It called for:

The establishment of a sociological orientation course in all the normal schools based on the study of the economic and social problems of the typical Vermont community.<sup>36</sup>

The report elaborated on this recommendation by supporting an experiential approach to such a course:

The conventional course in rural sociology carried on by lectures or textbook work cannot suffice. Even where such a course is enriched by illustrations of Vermont situations, it should be based on Vermont problems, clarified by frequent reference to authoritative works and to practice in the country at large. The course should be built on actual questions under discussion in newspapers and elsewhere, and other community questions which might or should be in the minds of thoughtful citizens.<sup>37</sup>

The report also urged the adaptation of the "child-and-community-centered school" as opposed to the "teacher-and-curriculum-centered" school. It espoused the principle of making "developments grow out of the actual physical and human nature of Vermont"<sup>38</sup> as primary educational procedure.

In the late sixties, under the progressive leadership of Commissioner Harvey Scribner, the state Department of Education restated a commitment to child-centered education stressing process rather than product. The Vermont Design for Education presented 17 goals that were basically a summary of Dewey's philosophy. Included in the goals is

the following:

The environment within which students are encouraged to learn must be greatly expanded.<sup>39</sup>

If the "environment" is taken to mean the world outside the school walls, there is a contradiction between the state department's support of child-centered, community-based education and its support of centralization. Centralization, according to Rosenfeld, "inserted an artificial barrier that makes it more difficult for parents and community to feel integrated within the school."<sup>40</sup> However, the system axiom continues to dominate education policy in Vermont as it did 50 years ago, and the situation is intensified by local school district's heavy dependence on state funds to balance budgets.

Meanwhile, the parochialism of the past often associated with small town life is giving way to a cosmopolitanism created by urban refugees who actively seek involvement in community life. This group, along with the longer time residents, provides a rich and vital population blend almost unknown until twenty years ago. The newcomers represent a socially aware group and bring a great diversity of talents and skills which can be tapped by education. By combining traditional life styles with a multitude of interests including the arts, contemporary social issues, technology, and agriculture, the state's population offers an interesting array of new resources to education.

At the same time significant improvement in instruction has been made in the state through the creative use of federal funds. In 1966, a Title III project entitled "Planning for Educational Innovation in a Rural State" was undertaken. The result was the establishment of three federally funded regional Action Centers in Vermont. Although the action centers are no longer in existence, they introduced a number of new ideas and, more important, directly supported classroom teachers in the implementation of these ideas. The Action Centers also identified a core of highly professional teachers whose classrooms still serve as models for other teachers. This was the first time official approval had been given to the concept of teachers as the best teachers of teachers, and thanks to the Federal Programs Division of the state Department of Education, support for the idea has continued to grow.

In many ways, the Federal Programs Division has been more sensitive to local needs and values than other divisions in the state office. The local programs they fund require a considerable amount of local support and representation and usually work on the assumption that the classroom teacher is the key to the success of any project. Funding for new ideas is directly available to the classroom teacher through the mini-grant program. These grants, which may be initiated by any individual or group, focus on the solution of both school and community problems. Proposals are judged not only on their educational merit, but also on the extent of community

involvement.

But these are isolated programs and, in general, urban solutions are being used to try to solve rural problems.

It is with irony that Bryan notes:

. . . the functional death of the Vermont town with its profound history of localism, while cadres of sociopolitical engineers are working feverishly to install neighborhood decision-making structures in urban America.<sup>41</sup>

Social relations in rural Vermont are strikingly different from social relations in urban America. In rural Vermont, they are much less dominated by specialization and time orientation, external motivation, competitiveness and hierarchical organizational patterns. The hill farmer prides himself on being a jack-of-all-trades, and this value is important for teachers and newcomers to understand and act upon within the educational process.

Rosenfeld, in describing the effects of the rapid economic and social development on Vermont's teachers and students, points out that specialization has never been as highly regarded or easily accepted as it is in more urban, industrialized regions where the division of labor has a longer tradition. Teachers, he found, felt a pervasive isolation from both the community and the educational process in these larger districts. In smaller districts, teachers by and large felt more comfortable and more effective.

It is clear that teachers are a crucial factor in the

educational process. Rosenfeld believes that organizational designs cannot make up for deficiencies in people. Big schools do not guarantee good teachers any more than small schools preclude them.<sup>42</sup> That teachers have been alienated through centralization suggests the need for more effective inservice programs that creatively merge the traditional and the new human resources available in most Vermont communities.

A report on rural education by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory states that, since rural students frequently depend upon those educational opportunities available to them in local schools for their total exposure to formal learning, it is doubly important to make this experience effective and appropriate. The potential strengths and advantages of the rural environment must be capitalized upon if school systems hope to turn limitations to assets. Small schools, sparse population density, and remoteness from urban pressures must be valued, not vilified; rural education can incubate clarity, perspective and humane concern.<sup>43</sup>

The challenge for education in Vermont then is for educators to examine the values of rural life and to find ways of developing new curricula that acknowledge the uniqueness and strengths of rural life. This study will focus on this dynamic through the documentation of the development and implementation of an inservice teacher education program based on the Foxfire concept.

## FOOTNOTES

### Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>Jonathan P. Sher, "What's Next? A Research and Action Agenda for Rural Education," in Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 285.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>3</sup>Faith Dunne, "Choosing Smallness: An Examination of the Small School Experience in Rural America," in Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Patricia Peterson, "The Foxfire Concept," Media and Methods (November 17, 1973): 16-19.

<sup>5</sup>Dunne, "Choosing Smallness," p. 115.

<sup>6</sup>Beginning in the early 1970's, workshops were set up in Georgia for this purpose and later a number of projects were initiated around the country. These workshops were staffed and run by members of the original Foxfire project in Rabun Gap, Georgia, in collaboration with IDEAS, Incorporated, a Washington-based technical assistance organization.

<sup>7</sup>Jonathan P. Sher, "What's Next," p. 286.

<sup>8</sup>See Robert E. Stake, "The Case-Study Method in Social Inquiry," Educational Researcher 7, No. 2 (February 1978); and Robert I. Wise, "A Case for the Value of Retrospective Accounts of Curriculum Development," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, April 1971.

<sup>9</sup>Wise, "The Value of Retrospective Accounts," p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Alexander M. Nicholson and Bruce R. Joyce, "The Literature on In-Service Teacher Education, An Analytic Review, ISTE Report III." Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1976, p. 4.

- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Wise, "The Value of Retrospective Accounts."
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 17.
- <sup>14</sup> R. Bogdan and S. J. Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 9.
- <sup>15</sup> Stake, "The Case-Study Method," p. 5.
- <sup>16</sup> Bogdan and Taylor, Qualitative Research Methods, p. 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Stake, "The Case-Study Method," p. 6.
- <sup>18</sup> A. V. Cicourel, Organizational Processes in Education: Field Research on Interactions Within Educational Organizations, A Report (Washington, D.C. National Institute of Education, April 1975, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 131 547), p. 21.
- <sup>19</sup> Bogdan and Taylor, Qualitative Research Methods, p. 4.
- <sup>20</sup> Herbert Blumer, "Society as Symbolic Interaction," in Symbolic Interaction, eds. Jerome Manis and Bernard Meltzer (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), p. 148.
- <sup>21</sup> Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," Human Organization 16, No. 3 (1957): 28.
- <sup>22</sup> Raymond Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces 36 (1958): pp. 217-223.
- <sup>23</sup> See Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1961); and Julius Roth, Timetables (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963).
- <sup>24</sup> Written clearance to use these materials has been received from the program's participants and staff.
- <sup>25</sup> Frank Bryan, Yankee Politics in Rural Vermont (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1974), p. 5.
- <sup>26</sup> Matheson Associates, Challenge and Opportunity to Intermingle Old and New 1975-2000: Report to the Vermont Planning and Community Services Agency (Montpelier, Vt.: Matheson Associates, 1970), p. 26.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Vermont Agency of Development and Community Affairs, Vermont Industrial Data (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Agency of Development and Community Affairs, 1976). Appendix D.

<sup>29</sup> Barre/Montpelier Times Argus, April 4, 1976, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Bryan, Yankee Politics, p. 251.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Stuart Rosenfeld, "Centralization Versus Decentralization: A Case Study of Rural Education in Vermont" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1967), p. 120.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>36</sup> The Vermont Commission on Country Life, Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future by Two Hundred Vermonters (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Company, 1931), p. 259.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>39</sup> Vermont Department of Education, Vermont Design for Education (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Department of Education, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> Rosenfeld, "Centralization Versus Decentralization." p. 132.

<sup>41</sup> Bryan, Yankee Politics, p. 262.

<sup>42</sup> Rosenfeld, "Centralization Versus Decentralization," p. 143.

<sup>43</sup> Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Rural Education Program: Basic Program Plans (Portland, Ore.: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, April 1972), p. 2.

C H A P T E R   I I  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction.

The purpose of the review of the literature is to develop a conceptual framework for viewing the study of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program. This review develops a context for understanding the program by examining its conceptual foundations. As an inservice program of teacher education based on the Foxfire concept, the case study under examination can best be understood by examining both inservice teacher education and Foxfire. Specifically, the review seeks to:

1. provide a review of the current literature on inservice education/staff development, with particular attention paid to special considerations for rural settings, and
2. to provide a critical overview of the Foxfire concept with implications for its application to inservice/staff development

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first focuses on inservice education; the second section concentrates on the Foxfire concept and its applications. In Chapter III the case study will examine how the Foxfire concept was applied to inservice education.

## Section One: Inservice Education

The review of the literature on inservice education presents: 1) an overview of the field identifying the issues and problems, 2) an examination of the value orientations to teaching that have shaped inservice education. 3) teacher participation in inservice planning, 4) recent thinking on inservice education, including the Rand study, 5) special considerations for rural inservice education, and 6) implications of the literature for the design of the Foxfire-Vermont program. The review identifies a series of assumptions which serve as part of the study's conceptual framework.

Overview of the field: issues and problems. The field of inservice education presents a confusing and chaotic picture, but there is general agreement that it needs to develop a better understanding of teachers' professional needs.<sup>1</sup> While the literature on inservice education is voluminous, it is as haphazard as the programs it describes. In 1976, as part of the Inservice Teacher Education Concepts Study, Nicholson, et al., conducted an extensive and thorough review of the literature on inservice education which covered more than 2,000 books, articles, and unpublished papers. Nicholson and Joyce, in "Part III, Literature," characterize the quality of the literature:

The majority of reports and articles are on the lowest level of generality: they are expository descriptions, usually uncritical, of specific existing or completed inservice projects. Less frequent are works of a slightly higher order of generality. These include surveys covering several projects; pieces of educational research; directories and guidebooks on reading, workshops, institutes, or consultants; catalogs of teacher training products; and proposed models or suggestions for future inservice. On the most rarified level are found the few works that attempt to deal with the subject of inservice teacher education as a whole: review of the literature or research and a few other comprehensive studies.<sup>2</sup>

The Nicholson and Joyce review concludes that there is very little analytical research data available and that what does exist is not very useful. Most of the studies are concerned with the content of inservice education; very few pay any attention to the processes employed in training teachers.

Despite the lack of hard research data, there is general agreement on what the issues in the field are. Nicholson and Joyce identify two areas of high agreement among two thousand people they interviewed:

1. to include teachers as staff for inservice much more than has been done previously
2. to make ISTE (inservice teacher education) more responsive to teachers' job needs and more relevant to their emergent roles<sup>3</sup>

However, Nicholson and Joyce point out that the more specific the interviewees became on these issues, the more vague they became about just what the objectives and methods of the inservice process should be.<sup>4</sup> The authors identify

two general structural problems. First, the vast varieties of possible training options need to be interfaced closely with teacher needs and the general thrusts of school districts. Theory-based approaches need to be followed up by clinical training which is largely mediated by teachers themselves. Second, the vast problems of time required for training and the necessity to provide training close to the work site obviously have not been solved at all.<sup>5</sup>

Value orientations for inservice education. An examination of what Joyce calls value orientations for teaching provides a useful way of looking at ideas about the nature of teaching and the approaches to inservice education which have developed from them. He identifies three value orientations:

1. program implementation
2. skill development
3. an act of mutual development and self-discovery<sup>6</sup>

In the first orientation, program or curriculum implementation, the curriculum defines both the content and process of inservice work. The teacher is viewed primarily as an information giver and the training is along traditional collegiate lines which emphasize the cognitive aspects of academic disciplines. The academic reform movement in the early sixties exemplifies this orientation; it attempted to make scholars of students. In many cases the teachers were trained to use "teacher-proof" materials.<sup>7</sup> The child, in this approach, was viewed as an information-processing creature

and his emotional involvement was ignored or de-emphasized.<sup>8</sup>

Related to this orientation is the skill development approach which assumes that teaching consists of a series of identifiable skills which teachers must acquire to be competent.<sup>9</sup> This orientation is best known in connection with the movement for competency-based teacher education, which seeks to train teachers in techniques for working with children to induce or maintain certain predetermined behaviors.

Edelfelt places these two value orientations in perspective by offering the following concepts which have traditionally shaped inservice education:

1. the primary role of the school is giving and receiving information
2. learning is the receiving of information
3. curriculum and teaching are fixed elements
4. teacher education is the quest for mastering of relatively stable subject matters and methods<sup>10</sup>

The third orientation, teaching as an act of mutual- and self-discovery, views the teacher as a facilitator rather than an information giver. This orientation grew out of the school of humanistic psychology and gained considerable strength in the late sixties and early seventies. Arthur Combs, drawing on the work of Maslow and Rogers, plays a major role in translating the humanistic school of psychology into education. His personalistic approach views teaching in this way:

A good teacher is primarily a unique personality. If good teachers are unique individuals we can predict from the start that the attempts to find common uniqueness would be unlikely to get results. A good teacher is first and foremost a person and this fact is the most important and determining thing about him. He has competence to be sure, but not a common set of competencies like anyone else.<sup>11</sup>

The humanistic movement represents a reaction to the traditional content and skill focuses of the first two orientations. However, its concern for process overshadows questions of content and context and tends to isolate the teacher from the realities and demands of the school environment. This is particularly true when the organizational patterns and procedures of schools do not change to accommodate changes occurring in people.<sup>12</sup>

Teacher participation in inservice planning. Contributing to the problems in the field is the lack of teacher participation in the design and implementation of inservice programs. Despite the lofty pronouncements on the need to increase teacher involvement in planning and managing their professional development,<sup>13</sup> there remains a large gap between rhetoric and practice.

Although there is strong evidence that full teacher participation in this process is desirable and effective,<sup>14</sup> there remains the traditional belief that inservice education is a remedial activity, and that it is determined from above. This deficit model views teachers as needing inservice training because they lack the professional skills to teach

effectively.<sup>15</sup> It leads to a defensive posture which, in turn, discourages teacher initiative. These current inconsistencies in the field can be viewed as challenges to the improvement of inservice education.

Recent thinking on inservice education. Judith Schiffer identifies two current prevailing approaches to inservice education that are consistent with Joyce's values orientation: the organizational-goals bias and the personal-change bias.<sup>16</sup> The first approach views organizational goals as the appropriate focus for staff development efforts and views teacher involvement in attempts at self-improvement as incompatible with the goals of any given setting. In this approach staff development programs are developed by some objective process and not upon the felt needs of teachers.

The personal-change bias, on the other hand, holds that there is value in making personal changes in teachers as a way of fulfilling overall organizational goals. It assumes that individual personal and professional growth will enhance the school. This approach has a wide variety of applications, ranging from taking college courses to participation in T-groups.

Both of these approaches have serious deficiencies. The organizational-goals bias fails to take into account individual differences between teachers in attitudes, values, and teaching

styles. Also, this approach fails to recognize the need for teacher participation in a collaborative approach to goal setting which, as research indicates, enhances the chances of long-range successful change.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the personal-change bias neglects the need for organizational accommodation to personal change.

Schiffer concludes that staff development designs must provide for personal change.<sup>18</sup> However, this in itself will not necessarily result in school renewal; the latter requires that organizational adjustments be coordinated with personal change. Lack of attention to important organizational factors leads to frustration on the part of persons who are changing; they tend to revert back to old behaviors and, ultimately, fail to implement innovations.

One of the more recent and significant contributions to some of the questions regarding teacher growth and staff development is the Rand study authored by Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin. This study of innovative federal programs encouraging local educational change efforts examines closely the factors that support teacher growth. Although this change agent study is not concerned with inservice training per se, it looks at a number of issues related to the design and implementation of staff development programs, including 1) what motivates teachers to gain new skills? and

2) how do variables including teacher commitment, reward structures, training activities, support activities, the scope of change, and the role of administrators affect the local project?

More broadly, the Rand study identifies four areas crucial to successful implementation of innovative efforts:

1. institutional motivation
2. project implementation strategies
3. institutional leadership
4. particular teacher characteristics

According to the study, local commitment to a project is critical to its success. Also, teacher commitment to the project is the single most important factor in attaining the project goals.<sup>19</sup>

Project planning strategies and the scope of change are also significant. The study finds that "collaborative planning," in which everyone involved in the project is on an equal basis, is the most effective strategy in terms of short-range and long-range success. Another type of planning strategy--grass roots planning--is considered ineffective. Grass roots planning is defined as including those activities planned by teachers in relative isolation from school or district officials. Although these projects are often carried out effectively in the beginning, lack of administrative support or subsequent teacher turnover leads to their discontinuation.

The other factor relating to teacher motivation is the scope of project change. The study states that the greater the scope and the more work required of teachers, the higher the proportion of commitment among them.<sup>20</sup> It also finds that intrinsic professional rewards are far more important to teachers than extrinsic rewards such as extra pay or credit on the salary scale.<sup>21</sup>

The second criterial factor includes project implementation strategies, which the study defines as staff training and staff support activities.<sup>22</sup> It finds that training activities are ineffective in the long run if they are not followed up by staff support. At the same time, though, the study acknowledges that the most effective staff support activities are those that encourage full teacher participation in decision making and problem solving. This also helps develop a sense of teacher "ownership" of the project.<sup>23</sup> Support personnel with characteristics similar to the facilitator role described by Combs are the most helpful, according to the study.

Regarding the third factor, institutional leadership, the study indicates that school administrators are far more important to the project's long-term outcomes than is the project director. In some cases, though, where projects have neutral or indifferent principals, project directors score high. These projects typically involve curriculum change.<sup>24</sup>

The fourth factor, teacher characteristics, offers some interesting insights into teacher attributes. The most important identified by the study is what it calls "teacher efficacy," a belief, on the part of the teacher, that he or she can help even the most unmotivated student.<sup>25</sup> This characteristic was viewed as the factor most strongly related to project success.

In summary, the Rand study suggests that effective staff development should incorporate the following five assumptions about professional learning:

1. teachers possess important clinical expertise
2. professional learning is an adaptive heuristic process
3. professional learning is a long-term, nonlinear approach
4. professional learning must be tied to school site program building efforts
5. professional learning is critically influenced by organizational factors in the school site and in the district<sup>26</sup>

The Rand study greatly expands the understanding of staff development in an organizational context and contributes significantly to the knowledge of what works, what does not work, and why. The study equates successful change with staff development and provides useful insights into the process of teacher growth in an organizational context.

Special considerations for rural inservice education. The current state of rural inservice education is in many ways comparable to that found in its urban and suburban counterparts. However, the literature in this field is even more scarce and plagued with the same problems cited earlier in this review. The rural teacher has even less access to the traditional sources of professional assistance. As Faith Dunne states in her study of rural schools:

. . . the amount of professional support given the rural teacher by state departments of education or colleges and universities will not compare with that given the urban and suburban teacher for many years to come.<sup>27</sup>

Jonathan Sher, in his recent book on rural education in which the Dunne article appears, cites the expansion of inservice education as a high priority in his agenda for the field:

In most rural communities, the professional growth and development of school personnel are impeded, first because rural districts rarely provide continuing inservice programs and second, because the kinds of external opportunities for professional development available in urban areas are notably absent in rural areas. Teachers need time to share ideas and problems with counterparts, both within their own, and other, school systems. They also need the time and resources to develop curricula materials, take needed courses, and keep up with recent advances in their fields.<sup>28</sup>

Another factor that directly affects the rural teacher is the distinct lack of appropriate curricula for the rural child. Dunne observes:

For fifteen years curriculum developers have undertaken countless projects for urban children, ranging from Sesame Street to minority-oriented social studies curricula for high schools. For twenty years, carefully designed suburban curriculum packages have been available. During the same period, virtually nothing has been done for the rural child.<sup>29</sup>

The relative isolation of rural teachers from the traditional resources for professional development, including the support of other teachers, combines with the lack of appropriate curricula and material resources to present special problems for rural inservice education.

Sher calls for increased sharing between teachers in different school districts as one way to develop more effective rural inservice programs. At the same time, he views the teacher as a logical participant in the development of curricula appropriate to the local community. Sher suggests that such curriculum design efforts should build upon the "natural advantages" of rural communities by:

1. returning to the rural traditions of individualized instruction and cross-age teaching
2. making extensive use of the local community as a learning resource for rural children <sup>30</sup>

Along these lines, Sher calls for the establishment of "community faculty" by involving local people, including older people, as part of the educational process.

The relationship of the community to the school in rural education is a factor generally overlooked in inservice teacher education. It is a factor of particular significance

in rural inservice education because the community generally has a more direct voice in school and curriculum decisions than in urban settings. If teachers are going to participate in the process of developing local curricula as part of professional development, the community must be seen as a resource, not a barrier. Again, Sher states:

. . . rural schools need teachers who are specially trained to be generalists. The best rural teachers are the ones who are able to cope with sparsity, utilize community resources, invent curricular materials, and, above all else, are oriented toward teaching children rather than subjects.<sup>31</sup>

Sher has made a significant contribution to the field of rural education through his documentation and analysis of the field and recommendations for reform. The rationale for these reforms is convincingly developed and suggests some important guidelines for the design of effective rural inservice education. Sher's acknowledgement of the community as an important resource provides rural inservice education with a social context lacking in most other inservice literature, including the Rand study.

The Rand study does, however, offer important implications for rural inservice education. The five assumptions previously listed about professional learning certainly apply and in some cases may be even more important than the social context. For example, teacher efficacy may be an even more crucial factor in rural teachers given their isolation and the lack of resources. Teachers working alone in their schools need a

sense of self-confidence, and a reasonable expectation of success, in light of limited material resources and few provisions for planned staff development activities. In addition, intrinsic rewards may be the only rewards available in rural schools because of the scarcity of funds.

Implications of the literature for the design of the case study. The literature cited in this review provides a background to the design and practice of the Foxfire-Vermont program. While it must be acknowledged that much of the literature was not available in 1974 when the program took place, the concepts and ideas are similar to those which formed the basis of the thinking involved in developing the program. The data discussed in Chapter III that were used as background for the program planning were based on research in Vermont and were strikingly similar to the findings of the Rand study.

The Foxfire concept, to be reviewed in depth in the next section of this chapter, makes certain assumptions about the role of the teacher which help to define the content and process of a staff development program. Foxfire requires an integration of all three of Joyce's value orientations, curriculum implementation, skill development, and personal growth.<sup>32</sup> Foxfire defines a curriculum with specific skills which seeks to enhance personal growth. At the same time,

there is no textbook or set curriculum for the teacher to follow: he or she must develop a curriculum unique to local conditions. The teacher is viewed as a facilitator, structuring and guiding students in a learning process which involves specific skill development.

Foxfire assumes that the teacher is the key participant in designing local curricula. Sher and Dunne support this assumption and emphasize the appropriateness of such an endeavor in rural settings like Vermont. Teachers for Foxfire-Vermont were recruited on a voluntary basis and asked to participate in some aspects of the program planning. This is in contrast to one of the noted deficiencies of other inservice programs in which teachers are told--not asked--what they need to learn and are excluded from the planning. The literature also cites the importance of support activities as part of a successful inservice program. These activities take on even more significance given the isolation of teachers in Vermont.

The implications of the Rand study for Foxfire-Vermont in terms of teacher characteristics and motivation provide a significant dimension to the design background. Teacher efficacy and motivation become important criteria for participation and prove to be the most important factors in program success. Voluntary participation is a key corollary to this aspect of the design.

A collaborative planning approach based on an integration of organizational goals and personal goals seemed to the planners of the Foxfire-Vermont program to be appropriate to the program's design. The organizational goals included needs in the context of the communities which they served. Personal and professional goals would complement the organizational goals. The Foxfire-Vermont program placed the teacher in the position of acting in a relatively autonomous way on a local level while at the same time creating a training program that supported the teachers in these local efforts at curriculum design and implementation. The training and support activities needed to be compatible with the perceived realities of rural life in Vermont and the Foxfire approach to learning.

In summary, the development and approach of the program under study can be understood in light of the findings from the literature reviewed in this section. They include the following:

1. Teachers need to be actively involved in designing and implementing inservice programs based on their perceived professional needs.<sup>33</sup>
2. Organizational and personal goals must be considered to insure effective inservice programs.<sup>34</sup>
3. Teachers possess important clinical expertise.<sup>35</sup>
4. Professional learning is an adaptive heuristic process.<sup>36</sup>
5. Teachers must participate in inservice programs on a voluntary basis.<sup>37</sup>

6. Curriculum-oriented rural inservice programs need to be built upon the natural advantages of rural communities.<sup>38</sup>
7. Inservice training programs which integrate the three major value orientations for teaching-- curriculum implementation, skill development, and personal growth--are almost nonexistent.<sup>39</sup>
8. Support activities are an important program design element following initial training activities.<sup>40</sup>
9. Teacher efficacy and motivation are crucial factors in selecting participants and are directly related to program success.<sup>41</sup>

## Section Two: The Foxfire Concept

"How shall the young become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in appreciation of the living present?"<sup>42</sup>

The Foxfire concept of education stands as one answer to John Dewey's forty-year-old challenge to make the past come alive in the minds of young students. Over a decade ago, a new teacher in rural Georgia drastically revised his English curriculum to increase its significance to the present lives of his students. The literature on that concept of education, which forms the conceptual basis of the program under study, is reviewed here. The Foxfire books and related literature form the basis for the review. The section is organized in the following way:

1. definition and overview of the Foxfire concept
2. the origins of Foxfire
3. the Foxfire documents
4. the educational content and process of Foxfire
5. Foxfire's social and educational context

Definition and overview. Foxfire is an educational concept that teaches basic academic and vocational skills by helping the student develop a sense of self, community, and tradition. Students are involved in the extensive interviewing of people in the community, often those in the oldest living generation. From the data collected, the students document the wisdom of

the past and capture the essence of their own cultural heritage. Skills are developed in the following areas: interviewing, writing, editing, photography, marketing, book-keeping, transcription, layout and graphic design, and public speaking. The result is the production of a magazine or some other form of public media.

Foxfire is a community approach that assumes education can best take place in the context of the immediate social milieu. Its interdisciplinary nature suggests the interrelation of subjects usually taught in isolation from one another. Cultural journalism is the generic name for Foxfire, and it is used in subject areas such as English, history, folklore, and science.

Although it began as the modest attempt of a teacher named Eliot Wigginton in rural Georgia to reach a few intransigent students, the Foxfire Magazine now reaches all 50 states and 12 foreign countries. Selections from the magazine have appeared in book form and have become national best sellers. At the same time, the concept has spread throughout the United States, and adaptations have developed in both rural and urban settings. The success of the Foxfire concept deserves closer examination as does its broader educational implications.

The origins of Foxfire. Twelve years ago, Eliot Wigginton, a young English teacher just out of Cornell University, started

teaching at the 240-student Rabun Gap-Nachoochee School in Appalachian Georgia. Finding the traditional English curriculum of little interest to his students, Wigginton became more and more frustrated as the school year continued. After his lectern was set on fire one day by a student, Wigginton decided that his curriculum had to be changed. As he tells it, "The next day, I walked into class and said, 'How would you like to throw away the text and start a magazine?' And that's how Foxfire began."<sup>43</sup>

Although it came at a time of great educational and social ferment, Wigginton's project developed in relative isolation from the mostly urban educational experiments of the day. Foxfire was the response of a frustrated teacher seeking a more appropriate approach to academics for his students, not the carefully planned, innovative curriculum projects characteristic of the late sixties.

This is not to suggest that Foxfire is unique or that it does not, at least in part, derive its theoretical base from other sources. Students, particularly at the college level, have long served as collectors of folklore. Foxfire, however, offers a much longer rein and sense of involvement for its students than traditional academic projects undertaken primarily to satisfy course requirements.

Foxfire portrayals in word and photograph are reminiscent of Philip Agee's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. It is a

revival of the genre of reporting that characterized the WPA writers during the 1930's, although it lacks the political thrust and intensity of that era. Its spirit reflects Robert Flaherty's approach to filmmaking in its gentle and sympathetic treatment of the human experience. It is a process akin to anthropological research, whereby the explorer (the interviewer) must first have an intimate knowledge of the people and culture he chooses to document. In a more contemporary sense, Studs Terkel's Working also reflects the spirit of Foxfire.

The Foxfire documents. The results of the Foxfire program in Georgia have been collected in five volumes: The Foxfire Book, Foxfire 2, Foxfire 3, Foxfire 4, and Foxfire 5. In addition, two supplementary books have appeared, explaining the Foxfire process in educational terms: Moments: The Foxfire Experience by Eliot Wigginton and You and Aunt Arie, a description of the technical aspects of Foxfire, by Pamela Wood, advisor to Salt, a Foxfire derivation in Kennebunk, Maine.

In a sense, the Foxfire books represent a modern re-enactment of an old ritual: young people sitting and listening to the words of their elders. In Foxfire, neighbors, family, and community members are interviewed on a range of subjects from hog dressing to faith healing and most of the resulting

articles are told in a "how-to-do-it" fashion. The personality article, focusing on a single individual who tells his or her life history and philosophy, is another popular form. The books focus on the complexity of mountain life and the ways in which the mountain people come to terms with nature. Yet since most of these traditions have been passed on orally, the act of writing them down for future generations is a significant one in scholarly terms.

It is difficult to identify a single thematic strain in the books since the anthology format precludes this, but the strong feelings the authors have for their subjects is striking, as shown in this example written by Barbara Taylor and Sheila Vinson in Foxfire 2:

The grass hasn't grown greener up at Maude's; she has never won any world titles or medals; but if there ever was one to be recognized for just plain simple old-fashioned ways, Maude would certainly be a prime candidate. She lives rough, but has pride, dignity, warmth and a joy and enthusiasm for life that is boundless. And she has our respect and affection.<sup>44</sup>

The personality articles follow a relatively set pattern, beginning with childhood reminiscences and progressing to topics such as family relations, work, and attitudes toward sex and religion. The interviewer selects questions from his standard repertoire, basing his or her choice on the direction the interview takes. Perhaps the message that comes through most consistently is the strong commitment the people interviewed have to their way of life:

I wouldn't swap this little shack here for the finest house in New York. I wouldn't do it. That's just the way I feel.<sup>45</sup>

The personality interviews reflect a rapport between the interviewer and subject that often results in the sharing of a highly personal part of that person's life. The reader feels very close to the people in these pages. Sometimes the things shared are difficult to understand; for example, the feelings of the black woman who worked for a Ku Klux Klansman on his dairy farm. She found him and his family to be among the nicest people she had ever known. Her conclusion was that there must be some good in everyone.

The "how-to" articles describe, in considerable detail, a variety of survival crafts of Appalachia. One of the most ambitious of these articles is "From Raising Sheep to Weaving Cloth," in Foxfire 2.<sup>46</sup> Drawing upon the knowledge of five people who either raised sheep or had memories of their parents raising sheep, the article describes the background of the enterprise. It documents the range of skills involved: raising sheep, shearing, carding and spinning, making a spinning wheel, dyeing with wild plants, and weaving.

Each stage is generously illustrated through step-by-step photographs. Drawings are also used, showing, for example, how a corn shuck bobbin is made. The photographs are often close-ups, allowing the reader to see the process as it develops. Fifty-three separate photographs and

illustrations with captions complement the eighty-three pages of text. A glossary of terms and a reading list are provided, contributing to the thoroughness and lucidity which make it possible for the novice to recreate or adapt the enterprise to his or her needs.

Although the article concentrates on the "how-to" aspects of the subject, the personal dimension is by no means eliminated. Since all of the information is acquired through interviews, the way the people feel about their craft is effectively integrated into the text.

In addition to the skill-oriented and personality articles, folktales, particularly ghost stories, round out Foxfire's offerings. The stories are presented verbatim with dialects accurately transcribed as in all other articles. The commercial success of the Foxfire books speaks to their appeal to a variety of audiences. Wigginton identifies the various audiences in the following way:

You get a set of grandparents who used to live in the mountains, who want to be able to take this book and give it to their grandchildren and say: "When you're reading about the people in this book, you're reading about me, because this is the way our family was brought up too." A school-teacher buys the book for a totally different reason and sees it as something he or she might implement in his or her classroom . . . A lot of other people are buying it because they're sincerely interested in doing some of the things described in the book. You get people who really do want to make banjos or build a log cabin.<sup>47</sup>

The Foxfire books themselves are attractive and engaging, but their content--folklore collections--was offered in such publications as the magazine Mountain Life and Work years before Wigginton was born. The difference here is that high school students rather than professional folklorists produce the high-quality Foxfire publications, serving as a reminder that the educational process underlying the publication is far more significant than the final product.

The educational content and process of Foxfire. In its broadest sense, Foxfire is a repository for craft and folklore. But the creation of this body of knowledge involves a complicated educational process drawn from a variety of traditions. The collaboration between young and old adds an extraordinary dimension to this process and sets human relationships at its center, relationships which represent an unusual departure from most educational practice in American society. Foxfire is unique in that it transcends even what has come to be called "humanistic education," which focuses more on the relationships of the learner to his or her peers than to people of another generation or social class. Unlike its contemporary, progressive counterparts, Foxfire integrates these intergenerational relationships into the educational process.

In Moments: The Foxfire Experience, a gentle sermon on the Foxfire process, Eliot Wigginton addresses himself to

teachers, discussing the intangibles of teaching, student involvement, and the stages of development students go through. Wigginton identifies four levels that are central to the Foxfire process:

Level 1--gaining skills and confidence

Level 2--growing, refining, checking bases

Level 3--beyond self

Level 4--independence

Each of these levels is described in detail through the use of charts and generous anecdotal material. Achieving Level 1--gaining skills and confidence--is accomplished by each individual through the writing of an article. By mastering the skills needed for such an undertaking, the student begins to develop a positive self-image. Wigginton expresses it this way:

First, I celebrate the community and the rich variety of folks that live within it. That is the force I use to awaken, direct, and give energy to the kid's own competencies. Second, I emphasize to them the notion that they are going to be trying to touch others through what they do--to reach out and help others feel what they have felt and share what they have shared. I like each student to approach an article conscious of an audience out there, saying to himself, "I just had a great experience, and I'd like to share it with you."<sup>48</sup>

Level 2--growing, reinforcing, checking bases--has the same goals as Level 1, but the intensity is increased so that the student is not only confident of his or her self but also responsible to the needs of others. Wigginton identifies what he calls "keys" that may be helpful. These

"keys" refer to moments that highlight significant relationships and correlations; examples include working with younger students on skill development, talking to a local service organization about the Foxfire project, or learning to give and take constructive criticism without feeling threatened.

Level 3--beyond self--develops as the student becomes truly capable of moving beyond himself or herself to a sensitive awareness of others. Wigginton recognizes this as a tremendously complex phase and gives as an example the help given to Aunt Arie, an elderly woman, who needed assistance with her gardening and household chores after an illness. She was an early contact of the Foxfire students, and Wigginton notes with pleasure that they continue to visit her.

The complexity grows as students increase their contact with the outside world. For example an advertising agency wanted to do a series of coffee commercials featuring mountain people. The agency approached Foxfire to ask for help in identifying subjects for the commercials. It fell to the students to decide whether they wanted to become involved and to set their own terms in this relationship. In the end, they agreed to help, but they set several conditions and chose people who were willing to participate, using need as a major criteria for selection.

Wigginton believes that one of the most difficult things for a teacher to impress upon students is the existence and

voracity of exploitation around them and their responsibility to do something to combat it. It is his hope that by exposing students to the impact of social injustice, greed or ineptitude on themselves and their community, they will be moved to action. He describes his approach in the introduction to Foxfire 2:

The only way I can see to get our kids committed to our neighborhoods and our communities is to get them involved in their surroundings, that they become determined that the community's destiny will be in their hands, not in the hands of commercial rapists.<sup>49</sup>

He offers no easy formula for dealing with injustice and greed, but he sees the coming to terms with this as a part of the individual growth process.

Level 4--independence--is seen as an exit phase during which the student looks toward the future. The student is on her or his own and often is involved in projects the teacher neither initiates nor knows about. Wigginton lists a number of social action projects in which he would like to see students at this level involved, but it is not clear how many of these projects will be undertaken. In the final analysis, however, the projects are secondary. "What's more important is that you now have on your hands a kid who is about to make some real tracks into a humane future and is anxious to get on with it."<sup>50</sup>

Moments is filled with anecdotes about the people who fill the pages of Foxfire. The following is but one:

John Conley, an old blacksmith, once made a wagon wheel for us. An error in the pattern he used to cut the felloes for the rim caused it to take on a slightly scalloped effect instead of being perfectly round. We told him it wouldn't matter for we had all the instructions we needed to describe the technique for making one, but when we went back several days later to pick up the wheel, we noticed that the rim was perfectly round. Stan Echols, one of the students in charge of the interview asked him about it, and John told him that the error had bothered him so much that he had gotten up in the middle of the night, drove to his shop, had cut out a new pattern and a new set of felloes because everything that had come out of his shop to date had been representative of his best, and he didn't want this wheel to be any different. Stan talks about that moment in the Foxfire film and says, "Now whenever I start out to do something, that always pops into my mind and it gives me the incentive to go on and try to do better."<sup>51</sup>

The title of the book represents Wigginton's belief that Foxfire provides moments such as this one that will stay with the students forever. He also calls them "peak experiences" that have significant impact on the student's development. It is the teacher's role to structure the learning environment in a way that will maximize the chances of these moments occurring.

In a radical departure from most curriculum development efforts, Wigginton maintains that there can be no textbook for Foxfire. In a sense, the students make the textbook not only to educate themselves but also to educate people in their own communities about their own lives. One adaptation of the Foxfire concept on an Indian reservation in the western United States produced magazines which are used in local elementary schools as culturally relevant reading

material.

From another perspective, Foxfire can be seen as a humane use of communication media. The gentleness and respect with which the Foxfire contacts are treated stands in sharp contrast to the attitude of media studies projects, in which students are armed with electronic equipment and sent out to "shoot" people in the community. Media studies grew in part out of an ambivalent reaction to the impact of media on society, working to create more knowledgeable, if also more cynical, consumers. While the goals of media studies programs are not very different from those of Foxfire, they do exclude the development of human relationships.

In Foxfire, the learner is placed in a "demanding reality context," according to Ronald Gager. Learning by experience occurs, he says, when,

. . . the learner is placed into a demanding reality context which necessitates the mastery of new, applied skills, followed immediately by responsible, challenging action, coupled with an opportunity for critical analysis and reflection.<sup>52</sup>

It is apparent that Foxfire meets this condition for experiential learning. Students in Foxfire actively participate in creating something and sharing it with others. There is less deferred learning than in traditional education where students sometimes must wait years to apply acquired skills and knowledge. Also, the learning that takes place could not easily happen in a traditional classroom. Along these lines, Wigginton reminds us that "Foxfire must reflect as well as

influence reality."<sup>53</sup>

Foxfire introduces students to people who are usually outside the traditional educational experience and who often provide positive adult role models. "Out there, the kids meet people who are special, and who make them feel special, and that's a big part of what it's all about."<sup>54</sup> James Janetti, following the publication of his first article in Salt, the Maine derivative of the Foxfire Magazine, reflects on his experiences:

Seeing Mary awakens me to a different reality. Actually, a more realistic reality, where a person's fate depends directly upon desire and motivational force. Whether it is deer hunting and fishing or farming, Mary's life is always a direct challenge of determination against obstacles. I find it easy to respect a person who has dealt all her life in these terms.<sup>55</sup>

In a film produced in 1973 about Foxfire, several students involved in the Rabun Gap project present their views concerning the significance of their experience:

Foxfire has enabled us to sit down with our grandparents and discuss things and listen to what they have to say and feel is important. It's helped the older people as much as the young people. Before, they didn't think we thought they had anything to say and it's changed all that.<sup>56</sup>

One of the better known people from the Foxfire books is Aunt Arie. One student has this to say about her:

Aunt Arie knows exactly where she is in the world. She knows where she is, where she's going and where she wants to go. And that's all she wants to be. She just wants to be heard and the wealth of information has come from what she's been through in her lifetime. She's learned from her experiences. She goes on in spite of things that would put me away.<sup>57</sup>

One student observes in summation:

Old people provide another way of looking at ourselves. By talking to them you can see there's still hope.<sup>58</sup>

A crucial issue in the Foxfire concept is the lack of value placed on objective truth as contrasted with interpretations presented by those interviewed. The process is subjective by its definition, although research and verification of facts is an integral part of writing an article. Hayward Crewe, the teacher-advisor of Fulcrum, a Foxfire offspring in Hanover, New Hampshire, takes the following position:

. . . the reader is asked to remember that we are not writing a history book, a textbook, or even a series of clinical case studies. We are learning to know people and their personal perceptions of the world of the present, past, and even the future. If errors creep in (and we have been told that we allow this to happen), it is because we value what people tell us beyond the objective truth, since it speaks of the human experience. It is quite obvious, then, that the people we interview are more important to us than so-called facts. These people are our prime resource.<sup>59</sup>

Clearly, Foxfire should not be considered an objective body of knowledge but rather a description of how the people interviewed perceive their life experiences. Foxfire is as much a literary and creative endeavor as it is historical documentation; it is an interdisciplinary approach, combining the humanities and social sciences.

But if it is to be judged as a historical document, then the questions of objectivity and accuracy must be addressed. In his introduction to Black Mountain, Martin Duberman makes the unorthodox observation that his work is

neither the final nor the complete word, but an individual's response to his subject. He admits that his sense of Black Mountain has been filtered through the primary experiences of others, concluding that "it may not be the best way to proceed through life, but it is the historian's way."<sup>60</sup>

Duberman continues:

Every historian knows that he manipulates the evidence to some extent simply because of who he is, or what he selects (or omits) or how well (or badly) he empathizes and communicates. . . . Yet the process by which a particular personality intersects with a particular subject matter has rarely been shown, and the intersection itself almost never regarded as containing materials of potential worth. Because objectivity has been the ideal, the personal components that go into historical reconstruction have not been candidly revealed, made accessible to scrutiny.<sup>61</sup>

As an education process, Foxfire reveals these personal components of historical reconstruction and, in the end, values them more highly than the volumes produced.

Foxfire: its social and educational context. Unlike the current inadequate conceptualizations of inservice education, Foxfire is based on the belief that the educational process cannot be divorced from its social context. Foxfire originated and has flourished for the past twelve years in a traditional educational setting, which suggests that it appeals to and satisfies a wide range of educational criteria. In this it is unlike some of the other experience-based programs like Outward Bound which have, for the most part, developed outside

of the public school system in the United States.

Foxfire is also different from approaches such as that represented in the Whole Earth Catalogue and other works of the back-to-the-earth movement. Foxfire books do not call for a return to man's natural state, nor do they ignore the exigencies and challenges of modern life. Instead, they use the immediate social environment as a vehicle for exploring the future, reminding us of the value of historical awareness and continuity. Foxfire does not tell us how good things used to be; on the contrary, its pages are filled with tales of personal hardship and hard times. What is documented is the way people respond--with resiliency and creativity--to these challenges.

The following definition of experience-based learning offered by Gager reflects many facets basic to Foxfire:

. . . responsibility to self and others; direct involvement with the community; decision-making affecting self and others; elimination of age/cultural isolation; and applying acquired skills through relevant experience.<sup>62</sup>

The role of process in education deserves examination. for it is a central question, and the product emphasis in Foxfire seems contradictory to it. Foxfire emphasizes the creation of a final product after going through a well-defined series of steps, raising the question of the relationship between the means and the end product. Wigginton addresses this issue when he observes that:

The end product can be so intensely focused upon that the process is forgotten or downplayed. I feel that some sort of end product (magazine, newspaper, television show, radio program) is a valuable conclusion to kids' activities because it forces them through the discipline of working their material into communicable form, and also sets them up for reactions and praise from an audience they weren't even aware existed. Knowing that something is going to happen to their work is one of the most powerful motivations around.<sup>63</sup>

The need for balance between process and product in Foxfire is a legitimate concern that requires constant vigilance on the part of the teacher. To concentrate solely on process would eliminate the important reality context that forms a crucial element in experiential education.

It is also necessary to consider whether or not Foxfire is progressive in a social and political sense. Its incorporation of subject matter reflecting the past opens it to charges of being, at the least, romantic, perhaps even reactionary. But Foxfire does have implications for social change. Focusing on the immediate community, Foxfire assumes that students, as a result of their experiences and involvement with people, will become familiar and concerned with social problems.

Wigginton's Levels 3 and 4--beyond self and independence--incorporate social action first on a personal basis by helping individuals in times of need and then through participation in less individualized community action projects. The stress on awareness of local and regional problems, such as

irresponsible land development, is central to the design of Foxfire. Responsible action is highly valued as an integral part of the student's personal development.

Unlike other educational approaches, Foxfire reaches its position on social change through personal experience rather than through the study of abstract sociological dilemmas. The assumption here is that the local environment is the most appropriate starting point from which to move out into the broader world community.

Advanced Foxfire students have worked on projects involving techniques learned in their earlier work but having wider informational value. A sample of topics includes: the role of the mountain woman, the exodus of mountain families to the cities, and land prices and the roots and effects of land speculation on mountain people.

In working with social change in America today, the problem of racism must inevitably be confronted. Foxfire assumes that students should interact with people in the community with whom they would not normally come into contact, that is, people of other races, subcultures, or economic classes as well as older generations. Wigginton illustrates the potential conflict embodied in this tenet in a story about two girls from an intensely racist family. He encouraged them to write a personality article on a black woman, and, at first, they were hesitant. But they met with her once and then returned six more times. Finally they produced an

article and developed a lasting friendship. The conversion is not always as rapid or easily won, but Foxfire places great faith in the curative powers of talking with people and establishing common bonds in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

As an educational approach, Foxfire offers rural students an alternative to the well-established belief that "success" is available to them only through migration to urban areas. For many decades, rural education has consciously or unconsciously discouraged students from considering the option of remaining in their own communities. The prevalence of urban- and suburban-oriented curricula in rural schools is, in part, responsible for this bias. As a result, education in rural areas has often presented the local community in a negative light as a place with little of value to offer its young people. Urban and suburban life, on the other hand, has been held up as the ideal for students to strive for, either by way of imitation or by actually moving to cities or suburbs.

There are indications that substantial progress is being made in reversing this trend. The advantages of smallness are beginning to be understood in educational terms: witness the move to develop curricula suited to local conditions. This change is part of a growing acknowledgement that rural life has many advantages and possibilities, both social and economic, not found in other settings.

It is hard to say whether Foxfire is one of the contributing factors or a reflection of this new awareness, but it is true that Foxfire became popular at a time when a re-assessment of rural life was underway. As an educational approach, it rejects the notion that rural life is inherently backward and reactionary. Instead, it examines the rural environment and isolates the aspects that are important for a rural student--and perhaps all students--to learn. Foxfire starts with the assumption that rural life offers young people the opportunity to come to terms with themselves through a creative and time-honored process, one that will help them to understand themselves and their communities from the perspective of others' experiences.

In another way, scarcity of economic resources is no longer just a rural problem, and the value Foxfire places on traditional survival skills becomes more significant as global resources diminish. It may be that rural students, educated from the perspective of the community, will be better prepared to cope with the demands of the future than students who learn in other ways. Viewed in this way, these skills and crafts, taught by self-reliant and independent people, become more than simply another quaint piece of Americana. They may also be the skills of the future.

Underlying the whole Foxfire process is an emphasis on communication and related skills. Its focus on intergenerational and intercultural contact demands that students move

beyond their customary interaction with peers to the sometimes more difficult relationships with people of other backgrounds, ages, and social classes. These relationships cannot be taught in the classroom; the community setting is crucial to the process and cannot be recreated in the school.

The ability to present an idea clearly, cogently, and creatively is also emphasized through the demands of public speaking and the writing of articles worthy of publication. In both cases, the student must be able to express his or her thoughts and information to an audience which may or may not share his or her knowledge or understanding of the topic. The technical skills learned in Foxfire, mentioned earlier in this review, comprise the broad area of information gathering. The ability to find, gather, and interpret data cannot be overemphasized as a crucial skill in contemporary education and a complex society.

Foxfire, then, is a response to the pressing need to develop a curriculum that addresses the social and educational problems of rural areas. It draws heavily upon the resources and traditions of rural life and capitalizes on the tradition of individualized instruction and cross-age teaching.

Inherent in the skills and material that Foxfire teaches is the manner in which they are taught. The attitude about the role of the student is one example. Unlike most contemporary educational approaches, Foxfire stresses a sense

of professionalism in completing tasks because students will assume responsibility in working in the community and in communicating their finds to local and national audiences. Students are producing something that is of value to them and to others, and they are introducing people of other backgrounds and regions to a new, more sympathetic view of rural life.

The experiential and interdisciplinary approach of Foxfire, combined with its emphasis on local, traditional themes and on creativity through exploration, precludes the development of a formal curriculum or textbook. The assumption that the roles of learner and teacher are interchangeable and may be played at different times by students and their teachers draws upon experiential learning theory. The interdisciplinary nature of Foxfire transcends conventional educational practice, particularly at the secondary level, and suggests that artificial barriers of content are incompatible with the study of the community.

Analytical literature on Foxfire is almost non-existent. What does exist tends to be of a popular, journalistic nature and fails to raise critical questions and issues. As a relatively new educational approach, Foxfire does not fit into the traditional domains of educational knowledge, and its interdisciplinary character almost eludes traditional analysis and categorization. The need for research on Foxfire and its long-term effects is strikingly evident.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Roy A. Edelfelt and Gordon Lawrence, "In-Service Education: The State of the Art," in Rethinking In-Service Education, ed. Roy A. Edelfelt and Margo Johnson (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1975).

<sup>2</sup>Alexander M. Nicholson and Bruce R. Joyce, "The Literature on In-Service Teacher Education: An Analytic Review, ISTE Report III," Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, undated, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>10</sup>Edelfelt and Lawrence, "In-Service Education," pp. 37-38.

<sup>11</sup>Arthur W. Combs, The Professional Education of Teachers: A Perceptual View of Teacher Preparation (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965), p. 6.

<sup>12</sup>See David G. Bowers, "OD Techniques and Their Results in 23 Organizations: The Michigan ICL Study," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 9 (1973); and Sam D. Leiber, "Images of the Practitioner and Strategies of Educational Change," Sociology of Education 45 (Fall 1972).

<sup>13</sup>Nicholson and Joyce, "Literature on In-Service Teacher Education," p. 4.

14 Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin. Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. VII: Factors Affecting Implementation and Continuation (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, April 1977), p. 32.

15 Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin and David D. Marsh, "Staff Development and School Change," Teachers College Record 80 (September 1978), pp. 69-94.

16 Judith Schiffer, "A Framework for Staff Development," Teachers College Record 80 (September 1978), p. 6.

17 See Ann Leiberan and David A. Shiman, "The Stages of Change in Elementary School Settings," in The Power to Change: Issues for the Innovative Educator, ed. Carmen M. Culver and Gary J. Hoban (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

18 Ibid., p. 11.

19 Berman and McLaughlin, Federal Programs, p. 73.

20 Ibid., p. 88.

21 Ibid., p. 72.

22 Ibid., p. 99.

23 Ibid., p. 117.

24 Ibid., p. 162.

25 Ibid., p. 135.

26 Ibid., p. 73.

27 Faith Dunne, "Choosing Smallness: An Examination of the Small School Experience in Rural America," in Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 101.

28 Jonathan P. Sher, "What's Next? A Research and Action Agenda for Rural Education," in Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 288.

29 Dunne, "Choosing Smallness," p. 101.

30 Sher, "What's Next?" p. 285.

31 Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>32</sup>Nicholson and Joyce, "Literature on In-Service Teacher Education," p. 57.

<sup>33</sup>See Nicholson and Joyce, "Literature on In-Service Teacher Education"; Edelfelt and Lawrence, "In-Service Education"; and Berman and McLaughlin, Federal Programs (The Rand Study).

<sup>34</sup>See Schiffer, "A Framework."

<sup>35</sup>See Berman and McLaughlin, Federal Programs.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>See Sher, "What's Next?"

<sup>39</sup>See Nicholson and Joyce. "Literature on In-Service Teacher Education."

<sup>40</sup>See Berman and McLaughlin, Federal Programs.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: MacMillan, 1938), p. 11.

<sup>43</sup>Eliot Wigginton, The Foxfire Book (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1972), p. 10.

<sup>44</sup>Eliot Wigginton, Foxfire 2 (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1973), p. 18.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>47</sup>Daniel Mack, "The Foxfire Experience Reviewed," Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976): 479.

<sup>48</sup>Wigginton. Foxfire 2, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Eliot Wigginton, Moments: The Foxfire Experience (Kennebunk, Maine: Star Press, 1975), p. 96.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>52</sup>Ronald B. Gager, An Inquiry into the Learning Process Underlying Various Modes of Experientially-Based Education (Washington, D.C.: IDEAS, Inc., 1974), p. 3.

<sup>53</sup>Wigginton, Moments, p. 14.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>55</sup>James Janetti, "Mary T's Farm," Salt Magazine (Kennebunk, Maine: Kennebunk High School, 1976), p. 16.

<sup>56</sup>Willimetz, Emil, "Foxfire" (New York: McGraw-Hill Films, 1973).

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Fulcrum 5: A Student Publication of the Upper Valley (Hanover, N.H.: Fox-Den Publications, Summer 1977), p. 26.

<sup>60</sup>Martin Duberman, Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), p. xiii.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Gager, An Inquiry, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup>Wigginton, Moments, p. 9.

## C H A P T E R   I I I

### THE CASE STUDY:

### THE BACKGROUND, PLANNING, AND IMPLEMENTATION

### OF THE FOXFIRE-VERMONT PROGRAM

#### Introduction

The preceding introductory material, including the profile of Vermont and the review of the literature, has set the social and theoretical background for an examination of the Foxfire-Vermont program. The present chapter provides a presentation of the case study under examination. It begins with the direct programmatic influences on the design and planning of the program and shifts into a retrospective, narrative account of the day-by-day activities of the two-week summer program, as well as a briefer account of the implementation phase conducted during the school year.

This chapter provides the substantive data which is then analyzed in Chapter IV and on which the conclusions and implications of the study, presented in Chapter V, are based. In style, this chapter differs from the others in the study. The training phase, which includes the two-week summer workshop, and the implementation phase, which involves the follow-up activities during the school year, are described in a retrospective narrative that attempts, as objectively as possible, to offer the personal interactions that are critical

to an examination of the program in the light of the research focus. The data sources that form the basis for the narrative of the training and implementation phases include the materials cited in Chapter I, and, in particular, staff and participant field notes from the workshop and the group journal.

The first section of the chapter looks at the background and planning behind the formation of the program design. The research underlying the rationale for the design, the actions arising out of the philosophical design, and the actual planning of the program are described in detail. Cross references are made to integrate the conceptual and practical components of the study. Specifically, the first section examines the two major influences on the development of the design: the educational conditions in Vermont and the Peace Corps Training model. The origins of the operating assumptions incorporated into the program's goals are examined.

In describing the actual planning of the program, a more chronological view is given of the day-to-day steps involved in the planning and preparation for the summer workshop. Included are descriptions of the recruitment and selection of staff and participants, the move to create an experiential learning environment, and the planning undertaken by the full staff. This retrospective case study seeks to capture both the conceptual and practical considerations in the program's development to illustrate its process.

The second section presents a chronological retrospective description of the two-week Foxfire-Vermont workshop based on participant field notes; the group journal; the publication from the workshop: Process: About Caring and Learning; participant evaluations, both written and oral; and the author's field notes. The description draws on the writing and thinking of all staff and participants during the course of the workshop.

A retrospective narrative of the design, structure, and activities of the follow-up part of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program is also given. The data for this part of the case study include:

1. written correspondence from participants
2. the follow-up project publication, Rowen
3. publications of local projects
4. the author's field notes
5. newsletter from the project director during the school year and other correspondence
6. end-of-project evaluations by staff, participants and students

Section One: Background and Planning of  
the Program Design

Program purpose and design assumptions. Late in the spring of 1974, the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, developed an inservice teacher training program under a grant from the Vermont State Agency for Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The program was conceived, under the guidelines of the grant, as a way of addressing a specific need within the state: the need of young people to explore and rediscover their cultural legacy in order to understand and better control the forces of social and economic change that affect their lives.

An adaptation of the Foxfire concept was selected as the strategy, and 10 to 15 teachers were to be trained in Foxfire techniques during an intensive two-week workshop in August of 1974. The workshop was to be followed by local application of the Foxfire program during the 1974-1975 school year.

The overall goals of the program were to:

1. introduce and train concerned Vermont teachers in Foxfire techniques and philosophy
2. enable students to create a literature about traditional aspects of Vermont life through local publication of magazines and creation of other media
3. promote a public awareness of the value of the cultural heritage of the state

The objectives of the intensive summer workshop were to:

1. allow each teacher participant to go through the process of completing an individual and/or group Foxfire project
2. produce a publication by the end of the workshop that documented the workshop experience (this objective was added during the planning period)
3. develop an awareness of the problems of rapid social change within the state and the need for cultural preservation and explore potential educational solutions
4. increase participants' awareness of local communities as learning resources
5. develop participants' abilities to apply what was learned in the workshop to their schools and communities
6. develop a statewide support system for participants that would continue throughout the school year

The program design was developed on the supposition that teachers would view themselves as learners as well as educators and would view the entire program as an opportunity for professional and personal growth. One of the most critical assumptions made by the planners was that the participants, as learners in the summer workshop, would need to go through the Foxfire process themselves.

Since Foxfire is a program which usually takes place in traditional educational settings, while emphasizing learning outside of the classroom, the planners felt a need to create a program design that addressed these two often conflicting conditions. At the same time, clearly defined skills were required for the application of Foxfire. These fundamental

skills were to be the basic content of the summer workshop and school-year follow-up. Wigginton's four levels of the Foxfire process (described in Chapter II, Section Two) require the mastery of these skills as a prerequisite to reaching the more affective levels of the process.

The planners placed a high value on creating an environment that would, as closely as possible, simulate the learning process and milieu that the teachers would encounter in their own schools and communities. The workshop had to stimulate creativity and self-motivation in order to deepen the teachers' understanding of the Foxfire learning process. The planners also felt a need to view the workshop as a cooperative effort which reflected the collective aspects of Foxfire. Finally, when the workshop goal of producing a publication was added, it was considered important to build into the design an element of mutual support by participants.

The workshop was perceived as an experience complete in itself, but it was also designed as preparation for application during the school year. In relation to this emphasis on local application, educational research on innovation within Vermont and its implications for the Foxfire program needed to be examined.

Educational conditions in Vermont. The development of the Foxfire-Vermont program design grew from a survey of educational conditions in the state conducted by the program planners. The survey focused on curriculum change and, more specifically, the teacher's role in this change. While there was little data available to the planners on inservice teacher education in Vermont, what did exist proved invaluable and provided useful guidelines for the program's design. Some of the material was of an informal nature, outside the framework of formal research. The informal material included:

1. interviews with individuals involved in teacher education and/or community studies
2. program descriptions and curriculum materials from teacher education programs
3. reviews of related programs done by educational institutions and other organizations such as the state historical society

This material, while less traditional, did not conflict with the findings of more formal research on inservice teacher education in Vermont.

The most useful data was found in the Federal Programs Division of the Vermont State Department of Education. Through Title III, a number of programs had been initiated to encourage educational innovation on a local level throughout the state. The "Mini-Grant" program, as it was called, offered the greatest help in the design of Foxfire-Vermont. Mini-grants were available to individuals or groups of

teachers or community people who wished to initiate a new educational program in their school and/or community. Sums of money up to \$1,500 were made available to applicants who could demonstrate a community problem and propose an educational solution. Hundreds of mini-grants were funded between 1969 and 1974.

Several mini-grant projects had given students a chance to work as apprentices to local merchants, craftsmen, and service people. Others had encouraged exploration of the home community through writing and/or photography projects. A few had attempted historical reconstruction by the reading of old town records, visiting historic spots, and talking with old-timers.

The mini-grant program was based on the assumption that educational change must be initiated and carried out at the local level by people who have an intimate knowledge of the community. This assumption seemed relevant to Foxfire-Vermont in view of the rural nature of the state and its strong emphasis on local control. Further, Vermont had limited financial resources for staff development or specialized teachers. Of the fifty-five school districts in the state, for example, only two had full-time curriculum supervisors. This suggested that the responsibility for trying a new curriculum might logically and necessarily be considered part of the teacher's domain, a consideration critical to the success

of the implementation of Foxfire-Vermont.

The mini-grant program provided examples of teachers assuming roles of educational leadership in cooperation with the community. Although most of the mini-grant projects examined were not in the specific area of Foxfire, they nonetheless demonstrated that classroom teachers could actively participate in the process of curriculum change based on local conditions. At the same time, through this and related programs, a core of classroom teachers around the state had been trained to develop and implement inservice programs for other teachers.

It seemed clear that the design of the Foxfire-Vermont program had to acknowledge these developments and incorporate them into the design. An emphasis on the teacher as educational leader seemed appropriate, given the limited financial resources within the state and the lack of curriculum materials available for rural education. It also seemed appropriate, in a program which was seeking to encourage interaction within the community, that an appreciation both of unusual skills and the value of learning from one another to nurture those qualities in the teachers was important as well.

Another source for the project design was a study entitled, Title III Kaleidoscope: A Study of Educational Change in Vermont.<sup>1</sup> In this study, Julia Blake drew a

series of conclusions based on research to determine the elements which played a critical role in the success of Title III projects. The study was undertaken to provide advice to others involved in educational innovation in the state. The conclusions that were of particular interest to the planners of the Foxfire-Vermont program were that:

1. the teacher's personal qualities, particularly human relations skills, are the most critical factors affecting a project's success
2. it is critically important to involve staff in the planning phase of a project prior to implementation
3. it is very helpful if the project director is a native or established resident in the community rather than an outsider
4. the number of staff is usually not a critical factor
5. support from the principal is a very critical factor
6. support of the general community is only slightly less important than support of the educational community and is best won by supportive parents
7. the level of funding rarely is the critical factor in a project's success or failure
8. materials, equipment, and facilities are not usually the critical factors affecting a program's fate<sup>2</sup>

These findings were based on data collected from federally funded Title III projects in Vermont. Most of the projects studied included more local staff and larger amounts of money than the Foxfire project would involve, but the conclusions, nonetheless, seemed applicable to the program's

design.

The strong emphasis on human relations skills as an element crucial to the project's success seemed particularly relevant to Foxfire, as did the recommendation that the director be a native or established resident. This reinforced the planners' belief that teachers familiar with the local community could best initiate a Foxfire-style project. Blake's report documented the frustration many educational innovators encountered in Vermont communities. In some cases, individual projects were doomed to failure because the community and school did not understand the goals of the project; in others, the content of the project was either incompatible with or irrelevant to rural life.

Underlying much of this frustration, however, was the innovators' ignorance of the community's social and political life. Many innovators assumed that their programs could exist in isolation from any specific social context. Bryan's system axiom, described in Chapter I, illustrated this attitude and placed the innovator, often an outsider, in a role of authority in relation to the school and community. In contrast, being a "force for change rather than a forcer of change" or "serving rather than saving" were descriptions of leadership attitudes offered by directors of successful federal projects in Vermont.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the teachers selected to introduce the Foxfire concept to their schools and communities had to be individuals committed to non-formal and

non-authoritarian educational approaches, while at the same time being capable of operating effectively in their communities.

The ability of teachers to play many roles in the community was, therefore, one way of determining their suitability for the Foxfire-Vermont program. Formal and informal involvement in the complex fabric of the community became an important consideration in the selection of participating teachers. Teachers who had been in their schools for at least two years seemed more likely to have had the chance to become involved in community activities than those who were still becoming acclimated to a new school setting.

In accordance with the Blake study, the Foxfire planners agreed that large quantities of money were not a necessary prerequisite for a project's success and that, inversely, too much outside money might create a situation in which a community felt overwhelmed or resentful. It was assumed that the modest sums of money needed for the operation of a Foxfire-style project could feasibly come from within the school and community.

Since Blake also concluded that a project's chances for success increased if it had clearly defined objectives, addressed a generally acknowledged problem, and emphasized basic skills, these key elements were built into the design of Foxfire-Vermont, even though they represented a somewhat

unorthodox approach to education. Foxfire directly challenged the assumption that real learning can take place only in the classroom. In a rural state like Vermont, where basic educational needs had only recently been met in terms of facilities and staff, it seemed to be no easy task to convince communities that young people can learn from non-educators outside of the school setting. Blake's findings provided an important base for the program's design because the nature of Foxfire easily lends itself to satisfying her criteria, even though "education" takes place outside of the classroom.

A Peace Corps training model. The scarcity of suitable training models for the program within the field of inservice education necessitated a search outside of the field for an appropriate theoretical model. The experience of the School for International Training as a sponsoring institution for the training of Peace Corps volunteers provided a useful starting point, underscored by the fact that the project director himself had worked on a number of Peace Corps projects. The school had, since 1962, trained more Peace Corps groups than any other institution in the U.S., with the exception of the University of Hawaii. It had developed an experientially-based approach to the training that emphasized the cross-cultural preparation of volunteers on an affective as well as cognitive level. It was also acknowledged that the volunteers needed to develop job-related skills for the roles they would

assume overseas. Though Peace Corps training programs presented a different set of operating principles from the Foxfire-Vermont program, the parallels seemed worthy of examination by the planners.

Another resource for the training model appeared in the literature. Roger Harrison and Richard Hopkins, in their article entitled "The Design of Cross-Cultural Training: An Alternative to the University Model," offered a training design that seemed appropriate as a guideline for the Foxfire program.<sup>4</sup> The article responded to the need to develop training designs for the Peace Corps that would prepare volunteers more realistically for work overseas; it also had clear implications for inservice teacher training. Harrison and Hopkins rejected the notion that the traditional university classroom model was the best way to prepare volunteers to function effectively in a new culture. This assumption, because it echoed Wigginton's ideas about learning, seemed particularly significant for the training design of the Foxfire-Vermont program.

The cross-cultural dimension of the Harrison and Hopkins design could be applied to the intergenerational and intercultural aspects of the Foxfire concept. By defining culture in temporal as well as spatial terms, Vermont communities could be divided into sub-cultures delineated by social, economic, and age differences. Older people could be

perceived as representatives of another culture in light of their experiences in another era.<sup>5</sup>

The intent of the Foxfire planners was to design a program that recognized the sharp class and economic differences within Vermont communities and to offer ways of dealing positively with those differences. To do this, participants needed to see Vermont as a complex social entity and needed to learn how to interact with a broad cross-section of people. As Blake's study showed, human relations skills are essential to the success of any innovative educational program in Vermont. Foxfire, as a community-centered approach, reinforced the assumption that teachers could not be effective without the skills and awareness to interact positively with the community.

Harrison and Hopkins defined interpersonal effectiveness as "establishing and maintaining trust and communication, motivating and influencing, consulting and advising--all that complex of activities designed to inculcate change."<sup>6</sup> In Foxfire, the learning process could be viewed in these terms. The teacher had to be able to establish trust and communication with his or her students and community and motivate and guide the students in the activities that represented a different approach to learning. The ability to be sensitive to the needs and expectations of schools, community, and students could be viewed as a cross-cultural skill if it

were assumed that each group represented a differing set of values and assumptions.

Harrison and Hopkins proposed a series of design principles for experientially based training programs using what they called "notable elements of successful experience-based training." Meta goals of the traditional college and university classrooms and appropriate meta goals for cross-cultural training were contrasted by the authors.<sup>7</sup> Many elements of the learning process described in the Harrison and Hopkins model were incorporated into the Foxfire-Vermont training design.<sup>8</sup>

The experiential training concepts offered by Harrison and Hopkins provided a basic framework, while Wigginton's four levels of the Foxfire process offered more specific training guidelines. The teachers, as learners, might begin by gaining skills and confidence, but the final goal, level four, independence, would be achieved when they could function independently as leaders and recorders in their communities and with their students. Common to both sources was the emphasis on process, with the learner taking as much responsibility as possible for his or her own learning.

Harrison and Hopkins, however, almost totally rejected content as a legitimate part of preparing trainees for overseas service. In contrast, Foxfire emphasized both a process and content for learning: cultural journalism and oral history. Unlike Peace Corps trainees, the participating

teachers were already aware of the environment in which they would implement what they learned in the training program.

Despite the differences between Foxfire and the Peace Corps training needs, the planners found the Harrison and Hopkins model to be extremely valuable as a broad philosophical base. The most significant contribution was the view that the learner be considered in a holistic way, taking into account his or her emotional and intellectual responses as well as the project approach as a vehicle for skill development.

The task of creating a program design to train Vermont teachers in the Foxfire approach based on regional and local realities called for identification and analysis of models and training programs pertinent to the goals of the program. At the same time, Wigginton's down-to-earth perspectives on the demands placed upon Foxfire teachers suggested the qualities the program would need to seek in prospective participants:

Foxfire places demands on a teacher (and administrator) that would be intolerable to many of his peers. For one thing, it demands that you be ready for the unpredictable, for each kid's experiences out there are going to differ, as will their responses to them. It demands that you be prepared to take kids on interviews after school hours if they cannot go by themselves. It demands that you scour the community, sometimes alone, for experiences you would like your kids to have. It demands a tremendous expenditure of energy and imagination and ingenuity.<sup>9</sup>

In summary, the design background of the program drew

upon the research on innovative educational programs in Vermont, with a focus on the role of the teacher and community, an experiential training model, and the characteristics of the Foxfire learning concept. The concepts drawn from these sources combine to create a set of operating assumptions which were incorporated into the program's goals. These assumptions can be summarized in the following way:

#### Overall Program Assumptions

1. with training and support the rural teacher is capable of initiating and carrying out local curriculum change and can accept the primary responsibility
2. teacher participants must be familiar with the local community and confident that they can effectively work with non-traditional approaches in traditional settings
3. money and materials are not important factors in this process
4. human relations skills in the local school and community context are critical to successful implementation of the Foxfire concept
5. administrative and community support are very important to local adaptation

#### Learning and Training Assumptions

1. the training model should be experientially based, combining affective and cognitive skill development as in Foxfire
2. the training model should as closely as possible simulate the Foxfire learning process as it will be adapted in local communities

3. the learner should take primary responsibility for his or her own learning
4. the learner should go through the process aware of how he or she will adapt it in the local setting
5. the staff must aid in conceptualizing the experience and model a facilitating interactive role
6. a manageable degree of tension between structure and non-structure, process and product, can be a positive contribution to the quality of the learning process

These assumptions were developed early in the program and were based more upon the requirements of the original proposal and the project directors' own experience than on a systematic search for design principles. As shall be seen in the narrative, and later examined in the analysis, these assumptions were not always articulated; nonetheless, they affected the actions of those involved.

A narrative account of the planning process of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program, including the selection of staff and participants, the setting, the structure, and the scheduling of the summer workshop and school-year implementation, follows. The planning process reflects the practical application of the conceptual data presented in Section One and described in the proposal. The proposal stressed an experiential approach, particularly for the summer workshop, and the need for participants to be "flexible and open" to new ways of learning. It became apparent that the planners also needed to be "flexible and open," so that the workshop could reflect the best of

their cooperative thinking.

Staffing and participant selection. The authors of the proposal for the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program, the project director and the assistant director, took responsibility for planning and implementing the program. Part of this responsibility was to identify and select the other staff members. When the project was approved for funding in June of 1974, they began the work of defining their roles more clearly and searching for the remaining staff, as well as consultants.

The two core staff, although experienced in cross-cultural training and nonformal education, were new to the task of developing a statewide inservice teacher education program based on the Foxfire concept. The director was a staff member in cross-cultural studies at the School for International Training with experience in Peace Corps training, and he had been responsible for organizing media workshops with teachers in Vermont. He hoped that the Foxfire concept would fill the need for content that he believed was lacking in workshops concentrating on photography, videotaping, and the like. He also felt the importance of having teachers involved in the development and planning of curriculum activities.

The core staff began early to identify individuals and

institutions involved in folklore/oral history activities in the state. Contact was made with the University of Vermont, the Vermont Historical Society, and other organizations. Although these contacts were useful in identifying potential resources for the project, including existing oral history collections and related materials, they offered few insights into Foxfire-style projects in local schools. Institutions of higher learning were concerned with the professional collection of folklore and represented a traditional approach to learning, valuing the product of the discipline of oral history but ignoring the potential educational benefits of the process.

It became clear early in the planning that it would be necessary to seek out teachers experienced with the Foxfire concept at the local level, individuals who had worked with students in the context of their own schools and communities. More traditional practitioners of oral history might be used as consultants, but the experiential nature of the program required staff who could provide guidance and leadership to participants based on first-hand experience with Foxfire-- or a similar approach--as well as with inservice teacher education.

In addition to the two project directors, two positions were identified as necessary to rounding out the staffing

pattern. They were:

Teacher Advisor----to coordinate the educational aspects of cultural journalism/Foxfire and to provide leadership for the development of the necessary skills

Technical Advisor--to teach the requisite skills for the production of a magazine by workshop participants

The criteria for their selection included:

1. experience in cultural journalism or related educational approaches
2. familiarity with experiential learning approaches as they related to inservice teacher education
3. strong interpersonal skills for working with other staff and participants in an intensive learning situation
4. familiarity and experience in working in community-oriented education in Vermont

Staff position #1: teacher advisor. Through the Vermont State Department of Education a teacher was identified who had initiated a Foxfire-style project at the middle school in Montpelier, Vermont. As language arts teacher there for five years, she had just completed her first year as the teacher/advisor to Tree Tap, a magazine published by her middle school students with articles on such subjects as cheese making, wooden pipes, and a local bell collector. The directors spoke to her in April and asked for suggestions on what should be included in a Foxfire workshop.

She outlined the important areas to be covered for

those initiating a Foxfire project. They included the need for advice on technical matters, including the type of equipment to purchase and the basics of photography, and advice on cataloging and transcribing. She also referred to the mechanics of magazine production as an area to be included.

On the affective level of Foxfire, she noted that "any little human relations tips, which seem to hold true in most situations and if ignored tend to cause problems, would have been helpful." As a classroom teacher she felt the need to evaluate student performance: "If you're in a system which requires grades, different ways of establishing criteria which are meaningful to the student are very helpful." Finally, she suggested that "it would be very helpful to establish an oral history hotline, clearinghouse, etc., for Vermont, so that each group involved could benefit from others' experiences."

As the first written communication from a Vermont teacher working in the field, this contact provided the planners with some concrete information on concerns a practicing teacher might have in initiating and running a Foxfire-style project. It suggested that these concerns needed to be addressed in the final program design and that it was important to have as a staff member someone like this teacher who had been through it herself. She was subsequently hired as the teacher.

Staff position #2: technical advisor. The position of technical advisor required a person who could fulfill the established criteria and at the same time provide the important technical instruction on magazine production in the summer workshop. A graphics designer with a degree in education and a broad background in inservice education was chosen for this position in the early spring of 1974. He had worked in federally funded inservice programs in both northern and southern Vermont over a period of five years and had specialized in the development of curriculum materials based on locally available sources. Much of his work had been done through Action Centers, which were State Title III inservice programs in St. Johnsbury and Woodstock, Vermont. Although he had had no previous experience with oral history per se, his expertise with graphic design and his work with teachers was impressive and strong enough to compensate for this deficiency.

During the summer of 1972, he had served as a staff member in an intensive three-week summer workshop for inservice elementary teachers. The workshop was based on an experiential learning model and dealt with open-classroom teaching techniques. From this experience he observed that, "the workshop had no beginning, middle, or end. It lacked a focus and the process became an unsatisfying end in itself." He suggested that it was desirable for any learning experience to have a clear structure and concrete goals for learners to work toward.

In discussing how the Foxfire summer workshop should be structured, he proposed that the production of a magazine by participants become an integral part of the learning experience. While the idea seemed appealing, the planners were doubtful about whether it was indeed realistic in view of the limited duration of the workshop. Further, his proposal that the publication be in the participants' hands before they departed at the end of the two weeks seemed even more unrealistic. However, the planners encouraged him to check out the logistics of his proposal by talking with local printers and formulating a plan of action. The planners also felt that the teacher advisor should be involved in making the critical decision to publish a magazine.

At the same time, there were other decisions that the planners felt had to be made given the shortness of time and the need to publicize the program to Vermont educators in time to recruit participants. Fortunately, after the proposal was submitted but before it was accepted, a good deal of work had been done. The planners had identified the two prospective staff members, developed a description of the program to be sent to Vermont schools, identified and gathered resources and materials on oral history inside and outside of Vermont, identified potential consultants for the program, and sought guidance from IDEAS, Inc., the Washington, D.C.-based educational organization which provided the

stewardship for spreading the Foxfire concept.<sup>10</sup>

Concurrent with the selection of staff, the planners developed a set of guidelines for recruiting 10 to 15 Vermont teachers. These included geographic diversity within the state, as well as drawing from communities of differing size, economies, and social structure. In addition, teachers from a broad range of grade levels, from upper elementary through high school, were sought. Although nationally Foxfire had been practiced primarily on a secondary level, it seemed possible to adapt it to middle and elementary school settings. Further, the planners did not want to eliminate teachers from participation solely on the basis of grade level or subjects taught. The interdisciplinary nature of Foxfire lent itself to a variety of adaptations and academic disciplines, so to create rigid criteria for teacher selection seemed inappropriate.

Evaluating the background and experience of participants required more flexible criteria. The key element was work in the community. The planners felt that there must be some correlation between community work undertaken voluntarily and the motivation to begin and sustain a Foxfire project in the school. It also seemed important given the perceived need for participants to be familiar with the social setting of the school and the community at large.

Secondly, it was considered ideal if the participants were native to their communities. However, since this was considered to be unlikely, the planners agreed to look for

teachers who had been in residence for at least two years. (In actuality, several participants were later selected who had not been with a school for two years, but who nonetheless seemed highly suitable.) Experience in nonformal education, such as experimental projects within the school or out-of-school youth programs, was also considered valuable.

Underlying all the aforementioned criteria was the hope that participants would feel a commitment to a Foxfire-style project in their own schools. The summer workshop was a training program for school-year application, and participants would be expected to take part in all facets of the program, including the four follow-up sessions during the year.

Because of the limited economic resources of most teachers and their need to accrue recertification credit, the question of financial support and academic credit for participants was approached as an important facet of recruitment. On the one hand, the planners felt that it was reasonable for teachers to receive academic credit for the program; but on the other hand, credit was not to be the primary motivation. To help insure local support of the project, the teachers and their communities were to be required to pay at least part of the training cost. Therefore, it was decided that participants should be required to pay a twenty-five dollars registration fee upon acceptance into the

program, and academic credit would be available on an optional basis at additional cost. All other training costs would be covered by the program budget.

Each applicant was required to submit with his or her application a letter of support for the project from the principal or superintendent to insure at least some prior knowledge of the program on the part of local school officials. Since the success of the project would depend to a large degree on local school and community support, it was felt that the application process should directly involve those officials. More importantly, the process of requesting the letter and possibly compensation for the registration fee was seen as a vehicle for helping the teacher clarify his or her purpose in a local context. It placed the teacher in the position of having to articulate the goals and rationale of the program to their administrators. In summary, the planners were looking for highly motivated teachers who could demonstrate an understanding of the Foxfire objectives, provide evidence of sufficient local support to implement a project in the school, and show strong rootedness in Vermont communities.

When funding for Foxfire-Vermont was assured in early June 1974, the planners set about the task of formalizing the application procedure and publicizing the program. A brochure explaining Foxfire-Vermont was sent in mid-June to

each school district in the state. Press releases explaining the program were placed in newspapers around the state along with paid advertisements in selected newspapers. At the same time teachers who had previously been involved in community-oriented education were identified through the Vermont State Department of Education and contacted directly.

The initial brochure defined the Foxfire concept and described the Foxfire-Vermont program as a year-long commitment on the part of participants. It stated under the section on eligibility: "We are seeking highly motivated individuals who are willing to take on the added responsibility of developing such a program in their schools." The intention was to create a kind of self-selection process that would place the responsibility on the individual for determining his or her suitability for the program.

The formal application process was designed as a continuation of this self-selection approach. The application form was divided into three sections:

1. basic biographical data, including information on the number of years at their current schools
2. information about their background and experience with non-traditional approaches in the classroom as well as experience in folklore, crafts, local history, anthropology, or related fields, along with a statement on how the Foxfire concept would be effective and what would be accomplished through its use
3. references from three educators and a letter from the principal or superintendent endorsing their efforts to initiate a Foxfire-style project in their school

The form also asked applicants to indicate when they would be available for an interview. The interview was seen as an opportunity for the planners to explain the program in greater detail and offer applicants an opportunity to learn more about the program and its various components.

More than twenty-five inquiries were received from late June through July 1974, resulting in thirteen formal applications. The number of applications, while modest, seemed well thought out and generally reflected the qualities and high motivation the planners were seeking. At the same time, the applicants represented a fairly broad geographical distribution and a variety of schools and communities.

The ages of the twelve teachers finally enrolled ranged from 24 to 56 with the average in their early thirties. (Of the four staff members, the assistant director was in her mid-twenties; the others were roughly ten years older.) None of the teachers was a native of the community in which he or she was teaching, and only three were native to Vermont. Their backgrounds revealed a rather broad range of experience: a former minister, a former general store proprietor in a small Vermont town, two former Peace Corps volunteers, the owner of a small plastics manufacturing company, and a woman who had done extensive field work in cultural anthropology in Ireland. Some saw Foxfire as a way to meet the need for cultural preservation and to encourage respect for older people and the old ways.<sup>13</sup>

Although the information sent to the teachers with the application forms clearly described magazine production techniques and skills as the focus of the program, few applications discussed this aspect. Not one applicant directly described the product of the project they would undertake with their students. The applications revealed a greater emphasis on teaching philosophy, experience, and need for a Foxfire approach than on specific strategies for implementation. Since the teachers showed a high degree of confidence and understanding of the Foxfire project, the planners assumed that the workshop would build upon this motivation and that the process orientation of the participants would be balanced with the product aspect of a Foxfire-style magazine.

In short, the teachers at this point seemed unaware of the importance of the technical requirements of the process and the demands it would place upon them as learners, but they were eager to improve their ability to work with the Foxfire approach. On the other hand, the application did not ask for a specific implementation plan, but instead solicited ideas on what would be accomplished through the use of a Foxfire approach. Motivation was considered a primary criterion and the planners did not want to discourage potential participants by emphasizing technical program aspects. Experience in other inservice programs suggested that teachers are sometimes wary of learning opportunities that seem overly technical.

Furthermore, given the limited resources of Vermont communities the planners did not wish to create the false impression that Foxfire projects require substantial funding or sophisticated equipment.

Another indication of a high level of motivation was that only four of the twelve participants elected to take the program for academic credit. Clearly, the teachers' motivation went beyond the usual reasons for participating in inservice programs. The recruitment process, by going directly to teachers, sought to insure a commitment on the part of the person who would actually carry out the project. The alternative approach, of asking school administrators to select teachers, might have had advantages in school support, but it also could have conveyed administrative pressure. The responsibility for the Foxfire project would be largely up to the teachers, and from the beginning it was thought that they should also be responsible for developing the essential understanding and support it would require.

Because Foxfire was a relatively unknown idea, and because recruiting began so late in the year, the program fell three short of its goal of fifteen teachers. It was also necessary to relax admission criteria by accepting two teachers who were entering the first year in their schools. Both, however, presented strong applications, and the planners felt a minimum of twelve was necessary in the workshop to give a balance of interests and backgrounds and to encourage productive

interaction. The self-selection concept proved its worth; the twelve who actually applied were regarded as excellent candidates.

In mid-May, the planners began designing what they perceived as an experiential learning environment for the summer workshop that would be compatible with the goals of the program. First a site had to be selected that would provide the necessary living and working spaces and also be convenient to field work possibilities. The site itself had to be free from distractions; in the planners' minds that ruled out a traditional college campus. Nothing should be allowed to come between the participants and the surrounding communities that they would be working in. Since both staff and participants were required to live full time on the site, its selection was especially important.

In early June, the Putney, Vermont, campus of the Experiment in International Living was selected. Nestled in the hills of this small town, the site offered both relative seclusion and accessibility to the surrounding area. While one of the site's three buildings, a guest house, would be in use during the workshop by non-workshop people, it was physically removed from the two buildings that would house the summer program. One of the buildings, a steel-strand, auditorium-like structure with a large central room which would serve as a dining and meeting area, contained a

kitchen where staff and participants could share cooking responsibilities. On either side of the large common area were modest, rather spartan rooms for staff and participants to live in during the workshop. An empty building across the way provided work spaces.

A residency requirement was considered crucial to the workshop's success both to give sufficient time for skill development as well as to develop a sense of caring and respect that would serve as support during the follow-up. Even individuals who lived within commuting distance were asked to live at the site. The cooperative living situation, with staff and participants sharing in the preparation of food and cleaning, had several objectives: first, it would, from the very beginning, place everyone in the position of working together in groups at a task that was real and non-threatening; second, it would allow meals to be more flexible both in times and menu and would give the group responsibility for joint decision making. Although the temptation to contract with a food service was appealing, the planners decided it would be more valuable to make use of this experience.

In a sense the planners were trying to create a relatively self-sufficient living/learning community similar in some ways to the more self-sufficient communities of the past that Foxfire students would study. They also hoped that the experience of planning and working cooperatively would

provide guidelines--and cautions--for the teachers when they assumed responsibility for leading their students on group projects.

The planners next looked out into the surrounding communities of southeastern Vermont to identify contacts who might be willing to be interviewed by workshop participants or serve as resources. The assistant director took on this task and began compiling an annotated list of potential contacts based on recommendations from local history buffs known to the program, as well as the local office of the Council on Aging. She visited a senior citizen group in the local town to explain Foxfire-Vermont. The seniors were enthusiastic in their support and offered fifteen more names of potential contacts for the project, bringing the list to about forty.

It was assumed by the planners that although the participants would probably develop their own contacts through some of the early community exploration exercises, it would still be useful to have a list on hand. Also, the process of compiling it helped to familiarize the community with the program's existence and purpose. An article explaining the program was placed in the local newspaper.

Through IDEAS, Inc., the planners obtained copies of Foxfire-style publications from all over the U.S. and abroad to begin a resource center for the workshop. Copies of Exchange, the newsletter published by IDEAS on the practical aspects of cultural journalism, were ordered along with the

film "Foxfire." Resources from the Vermont Historical Society on the state's history were ordered, as were films on the subject. At the same time, the teacher advisor was accumulating materials for the resource center she felt might be useful to the teachers, including a bibliography on oral history and its educational applications.

Since the program could not directly fund local projects developed out of the workshop, information was gathered on grants available to teachers within the state from the Vermont State Department of Education, the Vermont Historical Society, and other sources. Because of her previous contacts with both of these organizations, the teacher advisor sought out this information and also invited two staff members from the Vermont Historical Society whom she had worked with to make presentations at the summer workshop on their work in oral history. The teacher advisor also lined up four of her students to act as consultants to the workshop. It seemed consistent with the Foxfire concept to draw upon the experience of all knowledgeable people, whether young or old.

In early June, the four staff members assembled for the first planning meeting. Up until that time each staff member had worked independently in his or her designated area of responsibility. The planners had made and implemented a number of decisions pertaining to the goals, structure, and setting of the summer workshop and follow-up as described in

the preceding section. A commitment to creating an experiential training approach underlay these efforts, and it was assumed that these planning steps would form the basis for the creation of an overall and day-to-day schedule for the summer workshop.

The meeting was viewed by the planners as an opportunity to begin pulling together the diverse elements of the program into a more coherent order, by defining in operational terms the roles and responsibilities of staff and their relationship to the program. The agenda for the meeting was left fairly open-ended. It was hoped that the staff would identify areas that they felt needed discussion and in this way move toward the specifics of the program. One goal of the meeting was to begin the crucial participation of staff in the program design, particularly the summer workshop, and to develop comfortable working relationships. An assumption behind the planning process was that each staff member would draw upon his or her experiences and expertise and take the responsibility for defining his or her own role.

The particular experiences and concerns of the two new staff members had already begun to have an effect upon the shape of the program. Out of the technical advisor's concern for focus, the idea for a magazine was formed; and out of the teacher advisor's experience with Tree Tap, the specific skills for cultural journalism were identified.

Had these two staff members come with different experiences, the shape of the program might well have been different.

The project director began the meeting by outlining the goals and objectives of the overall program and the summer workshop. He then gave an overview of what had already been planned for the workshop, including setting, learning philosophy, living situation, recruitment procedures, and program expectations of the participants. The rationale of each program component was explained; the advisors asked questions to clarify certain points. The advisors were then asked to describe their experiences as they felt they related to the workshop.

On the one hand, the technical advisor thought the staff should establish the task of producing a magazine and allow the teachers to define how it would be accomplished. The teacher advisor, on the other hand, felt that structure was needed to insure the development of skills crucial to Foxfire. These skills would be learned by doing, she agreed, but they must be consciously built into the workshop schedule. She was not opposed to the production of a magazine in the workshop, and in fact supported it as a valuable learning vehicle. Her reservations were somewhat allayed by the technical advisor's confidence that it could be done.

The issue of process versus product had thus emerged; it became the main point of discussion among staff for the rest

of the meeting and the overall planning process. Although there was agreement that an experiential learning approach was desirable for the workshop, its definition in operational terms needed clarification. The group agreed that the issue of structure versus nonstructure could not be fully resolved without actually beginning the process of building a schedule for the workshop based on the skill areas required. As a result, the director asked the teacher advisor to create a specific schedule for the two-week workshop.

The teacher advisor and the IDEAS consultant met in mid-July to work on scheduling. They came up with a series of proposed activities in the areas of resource identification, interviewing techniques, tape transcription and cataloging, and archiving of data. The schedule that they sent to Brattleboro was very detailed and virtually filled each day of the workshop. The planners felt that the schedule was too structured and reflected the consultant's experience with the Rabun Gap training approach, which was designed primarily for high school students. At the same time, however, the schedule was seen as a useful set of guidelines for activities and objectives that could be incorporated into the workshop in other ways. It also provided a clearer picture of the roles the advisor and consultant would assume.

The issue of how much structure was desirable continued to surface and needed resolution by the staff. The planners

assumed that it would be worked out in the final planning phase of the workshop since it seemed more of an operational than a philosophical question. While the advisor and consultant were drawing up schedules, the staff in Brattleboro busied themselves with the final selection of participants and the preparation of informational material on the workshop to be sent out in early August. The final information sheet sent to participants summarized the general approach of the workshop, told them what to bring, and offered information on staff and consultants.<sup>14</sup> The purpose of the information sheet was to set a tone for the workshop that would emphasize the experiential and individualized nature of the endeavor and encourage the teachers to begin focusing on their own roles within its context.

Final workshop organization. The first two weeks of August represented the final planning phase, when the diverse elements of the workshop were pulled together in preparation for the arrival of participants. The full staff was brought together at the site two days before the workshop. In preparation for the meeting, the planners spent considerable time arranging the rooms and adapting them to the needs of the workshop. Careful attention was given to creating a living and learning environment that would encourage formal and informal communication. To encourage staff and participant communication everyone was housed together.

While the planners were preparing the workshop site, the teacher advisor arranged with two professional folklorists from the Vermont Historical Society to participate as consultants in the workshop. She chose these two people because of the help they had given her with Tree Tap.

Also in preparation for the workshop the planners had asked a staff member from the School for International Training to lead a community investigation exercise called the "drop-off." Used extensively in the past in Peace Corps training, the drop-off, which placed students alone in a new community to gather information about its history, economy, social structure, and related areas, seemed well suited to the workshop objective of putting participants in contact with surrounding communities as early as possible.

On August 12, the staff met for their final planning session before the workshop. Although structure versus non-structure loomed as a potentially divisive issue among the staff, those two days of meeting and preparing for the arrival of participants confirmed the original impression that the staff's sense of common purpose was stronger than any differences in learning philosophy.

The meetings were informal and focused on building a workshop schedule based on what had already been planned and inserting activities that covered areas not yet addressed. It was agreed that the planning sessions would run for about

two hours and then break for two hours to give staff an opportunity to take action on decisions made in the meetings. The ideas generated by the discussion could then be acted upon immediately.

A compromise between the detailed schedule worked out by the teacher advisor and the IDEAS consultant and the open-ended approach advocated by the technical advisor was worked out with surprising ease. The Montpelier planners could see the value of leaving some of the decisions of time and activity to the participants, and the Brattleboro staff realized that a magazine would require specific skill instruction and the provision for deadlines. Everyone was agreed on the importance of arranging some definite sessions in advance with consultants.

With staff roles and responsibilities understood from earlier meetings, communication and planning became a relatively easy process, characterized by cooperation and enthusiasm for the workshop. The schedule was developed through a process of examining how each activity would meet the goals of the workshop.

The final schedule in itself presented few problems to the staff, but the debate then focused on how and when to present it to the participants. Should the full two-week schedule be given out at the time of arrival, or should it be announced on a day-to-day basis so as to encourage the

teachers to become involved in the planning? The teacher advisor and the consultant argued that it was important that the teachers have an overview of the experience, while the technical advisor felt that it would be a mistake to impose such a structure.

Again, a compromise was worked out. It was agreed that the overall schedule would be presented verbally at the introductory session and that it would be reviewed when necessary. The daily schedule would be written on a blackboard in the meeting area each morning. Also, a flexible method of creating a more extensive calendar by using index cards was devised so that participants could schedule meetings through this medium. Sessions planned before the workshop were written up on these cards and placed on the bulletin board calendar.

The printed schedule then would be for staff purposes only. The first five days were fully planned with day-time sessions that dealt with specific skill development areas, including identification of resource people in the community, interviewing, photography, and the technical aspect of magazine production. Evening sessions during this time would include presentations of general interest in the field of oral history. The remaining nine days of the workshop were left open for participants to work on the magazine. It was assumed that an informal schedule would be built during this time by the participants based on the task at hand.

The staff was aware of the need to build into the schedule a regular group meeting to discuss day-to-day issues and problems and to insure on-going communication. A daily morning meeting following breakfast was scheduled for this purpose. At the same time a vehicle for on-going evaluation and feedback was suggested in the form of a group journal to be left in the lounge/meeting area. The group journal would allow staff and participants to record their feelings and reactions to the workshop on a day-to-day basis, or, as the spirit moved them, through a non-verbal medium. On the subject of school-year follow-up the staff decided to consider that part of the program at the end of the workshop when they would understand the needs and strengths of the teachers better.

By noon on the day of arrival the planning was complete and the staff concentrated their nervous energy on the last-minute details of arrival. The menu for the first dinner was planned with the staff as the preparers and clean-up crew. While the directors set up the resource center, the advisors got together the cameras, magic markers, and poster board for the first experience: visual portraits of all workshop people. The staff eagerly awaited the first arrival late that afternoon.

In summary, the design and planning of the workshop were consistent with the assumptions of Foxfire: to respect competence, foster self-sufficiency, and encourage cooperation in

work and planning--to be, in short, an interactive experience, exemplifying for the participants the way in which an informal educational approach could combine the teaching of real and specific skills but still allow room for considerable responsibility and initiative on the part of the learners.

By the end of the planning period, it was clear that an adaptive planning approach--one in which some preconditions existed but which remained open to changes and compromises--had helped to produce a better program plan than might have occurred if everything had been established ahead of time or if everything had been left to the full staff for decision. The implementation of the plan in the form of a historical narrative of the workshop and the school-year implementation follows.

Section Two: A Narrative Account of the  
Training and Implementation Phases

The training phase: the workshop. Day one. By six o'clock the first evening, all of the workshop participants had arrived and dinner was served by the staff. The portraits taken of each person were mounted on poster board with basic personal information, including what each person wished to be called. Following dinner the group assembled in the lounge/meeting area for the introductory session. The participants sat in a circle for an overview of the workshop presented by the staff. The director summarized the purpose of the workshop by saying, "We are here to learn about the Foxfire concept and ways that it can be used in the schools and communities from which you come. We will do this by going through the same process your students will go through and produce a magazine by the end of the workshop."

The four staff members and the IDEAS consultant introduced themselves and described their roles and their expectations. Basically, each person offered himself as a resource person willing to share both knowledge and skills. However, the staff tried to communicate from the beginning that the direction of the workshop ultimately would be up to the participants.

The participants then introduced themselves, providing

basic biographical data and telling why they had come to the workshop. The introductions were somewhat stiff and occasionally broken by nervous laughter, but a common purpose emerged as each teacher explained why he or she had come.

The assistant director then went over some of the workshop mechanics, including how the cooperative cooking and clean-up arrangements would operate through a master sheet that would schedule staff and participants in groups of four or five for each meal. The IDEAS consultant gave a brief talk on the origins of Foxfire and her work with it in Georgia and elsewhere. The Foxfire film was shown and a discussion ensued focusing primarily on the student's role. The teacher advisor was called upon to describe her work in Vermont with Tree Tap, and her comments were of a philosophical nature. She observed that "student responsibility cannot be developed until the student has developed a sense of his or her own self worth."

Before the close of the meeting the assistant director reminded the group of the purpose of the daily morning meeting. The director then described the first week of the program as more structured than the second week with a series of skill development workshops and activities. The next day, she told the participants, would include going out into nearby communities in small groups to gather information. The participants were told that the staff had decided to keep a group log, a book of empty pages that would be open for anyone

to write in at any time. That first evening, like most subsequent ones, was a late one with people staying up into the early morning hours getting to know each other.<sup>15</sup>

Day two. Following breakfast and the first morning meeting of the workshop, which dealt with clarifying a few logistical matters, the director gave an overview of the day's activities, including the drop-off in a nearby town. Prior to the drop-off, a staff member from the School for International Training (SIT) addressed the participants on the historical development of a typical New England town. The group was involved for about an hour in an anthropological construction of a typical town.

Although they were courteous and participated actively in the exercise, the participants seemed more interested and somewhat anxious to begin the drop-off. Following the presentation, final instructions and a rationale were given. Participants were to go out to their assigned communities and learn as much about that town as possible. It was suggested that in the process they might meet people whom they would wish to interview later in more depth for an article in the magazine. They were asked not to take tape recorders as it might create a barrier to what they would be trying to accomplish. Each team, composed of staff as well as participants, was allowed one camera. Each "town" was asked to make a report on its findings that evening using

its slides.

A member of the group sent to a town about fifteen miles north of Putney described her experience this way:

We learned of an old woman who was particularly knowledgeable about the town history. We found her at home, and after we allayed her initial suspicion with an explanation of our assignment, she opened up to us, bringing out books of old photographs and clippings from musty corners and hidden drawers. When we returned to Putney, we found that nearly everyone had experienced equal success and excitement, in spite of some real initial fears.

Following dinner the group retired to the viewing room for reports on the drop-off. Although each group was asked to limit its presentation to fifteen minutes, some groups took more than three times as long in their enthusiasm. Because a representative from the Vermont Historical Society was scheduled later in the evening, it became necessary to re-schedule two drop-off presentations to the following morning. It seemed clear though that the drop-off had fulfilled its goal of helping the teachers make contact with the community and develop skills in identifying community resources. It also helped in identifying prospective subjects for the magazine and in bringing group members into a working community.

The historical society spokesman presented samples of his work in oral history and visual documentation in Vermont. He discussed the work of others involved in folklore collection around the state. His broad perspective on what is worth

documenting in the state ranged from the work of a blacksmith to a thirty-mile snowmobile rally in the Northeast Kingdom of Vermont. He shared his interview techniques and experiences with the group and at the same time expanded the definition of historical documentation to include contemporary events which would become important material in later years. The presentation thus provided a comprehensive overview of oral history work being done within the state. Despite the fatigue felt by the group, the talk appeared to be an appropriate follow-up to the drop-off.

Day three. The morning meeting presented an overview of the day's activities, which included finishing the drop-off reports, interviewing each other with tape recorders and taking photographs, and, in the evening, a visit to a local film study center. The teacher advisor discussed the rationale of interviewing each other. She suggested that this approach should be used in classrooms before sending students into the field. The technical advisor made a brief presentation on bulk loading direct/positive film.

The magazine was brought up by the technical advisor, who reminded the group that interview contacts should be made by the next day in view of the production schedule, which at this time was still vague and ill-defined. He proposed that a meeting be held Saturday evening to bring clarity to the magazine and define a step-by-step approach. The group was reminded that an annotated list of possible interview contacts

in the area was posted on the bulletin board.

After the final presentations on the drop-off the group broke into groups of three to interview and photograph each other. This first experience of formally interviewing with full equipment brought the following reaction:

I learned that I could ask questions with the tape recorder running that I never would have asked normally.

As part of the interviewing exercise, the teacher advisor presented an overview of interviewing techniques as they related to working with students, pointing out both the human and technical aspects of the process. The interviewing session seemed to stimulate an awareness of the role of family and community in peoples' lives as well as a sense of skill development.

One of the themes that was to become an important undercurrent in the workshop was homesickness; the participants missed their spouses and children. This feeling was expressed in different ways, including several notations in the log book, and was probably underscored by the workshop developing a focus on family and roots.

Day four. Saturday was planned as a day to make contacts and begin the interviewing for magazine articles. Individuals shared what contacts they had already made and in some cases offered other contacts for people who had not yet found their "interviewee." It seemed that the group was beginning to sense the relationship of the magazine to the things they

were doing and experiencing in the workshop; that is, translating the skill development activities and affective aspects into a magazine which would show what they had learned in the two weeks.

However, although the consensus seemed to be that the production of a magazine was a logical and desirable outgrowth of the workshop, one participant recorded his feelings on the subject in this manner:

I really don't care what you'll do because  
I'm going to satisfy my wants and needs.  
Magazines aren't my trip but I can learn  
from anything.

The structure of the workshop was both loosening up and, because of the impending demands of the magazine, tightening up in a way that would require the group to bring definition to their diverse interests and pursuits.

The field work allowed each participant to define and act upon his or her interests in an open-ended way. Going into the community occurred in many ways, each person choosing his or her own approach. Some returned to their drop-off towns to follow-up with people they had met already; others used the provided list of contacts. By Saturday the idea of writing an article was firmly established.

One participant decided to travel to Massachusetts to interview her parents. She found the experience in her home town to be especially rewarding. One of the lessons she learned was that "people's willingness to share depends on

your readiness to approach them." She also added:

Students may learn from people, histories, culture and crafts in their communities, but ultimately, they will learn about themselves and through this have a greater understanding of others.

The process of identifying contacts and carrying on interviews presented some real challenges as described by one participant. She reflected in the introduction to her interviewing experience that she felt like a laborer overwhelmed by the task of building a brick house. She finally decided to do it one brick at a time:

My bricks are used now and, as I stand back and look at my product, a slow seeping feeling of accomplishment has begun to happen. I've learned so much from these two interviews--technical aspects but, more importantly, personal knowledge. I feel deep self-satisfaction that I completed my set goals, these being to interview strangers and record my reactions.

My thoughts here center on the idea I must generate in my students. Don't go for the interview. That's secondary. Go for the experience, the sharing. Go to make a friend.

In some ways her experience was typical of the value placed on treating contacts with respect and sensitivity. The teacher advisor had emphasized ethics in her introduction to interviewing. Apparently her remarks made a great impression on the participants. There seemed to be a great concern and awareness of the ethics of interviewing in a situation where the interviewers would probably never meet their contacts again. She also warned them about romanticizing their contacts by reminding them that "they are people

like the rest of us with strengths and weaknesses."

The Saturday evening session to define the magazine further was led by the teacher advisor and the technical advisor. This was the first of three meetings on the subject, and it dealt with developing a focus for the publication. Since most participants were in the midst of field interviewing, problems related to that immediate experience were dealt with first. The question of what types of articles and whether they should be descriptions of the interviews, full transcriptions, or a combination of the two styles was discussed at length. Thematic questions were discussed such as selecting New England seasons as a common theme.

As the discussion of the magazine's focus developed, it became apparent the selection represented very different approaches and themes. It was tacitly agreed that this diversity should not be viewed as a weakness or compromise of the process since each person was still finding his or her own way. Instead, there seemed to be a confidence that it would somehow all come together at the appropriate time.

Day five. The early morning meeting to discuss the magazine ended in a decision to postpone the final discussion of the step-by-step plan until Monday night, thus allowing additional time to work on interviewing and articles. This group decision in effect deferred scheduling the production

of the magazine. The technical advisor, who felt responsible for the magazine, began to feel anxious about the limited time available to accomplish this considerable task. Although he did not communicate his feelings to the group, he did share his anxiety with the director, saying he felt as if he were absorbing the tension of the group. But he was willing to go along with the schedule since he did not wish to create unnecessary pressure for the participants.

The experience that the technical advisor deferred to was the personal and professional learning taking place around him. The journal entries relating to this dynamic and personal interaction allowed the participants to share their feelings. Although the staff was concerned about the pressures of time for producing the magazine, many log entries allayed anxieties by reassuring the staff that many of the goals of the workshop were indeed being met:<sup>16</sup>

People are flooding with ideas and apparently feel none of the normal constraints of the "workshop concept." We are sharing the total experience but more than any knowledge we're growing through the essence of closeness.

Day six. Monday was given over to field work and writing. The field work generally represented a highly positive and energizing experience, but the reality of translating this experience into a finished article presented a challenge that taxed many participants.<sup>17</sup>

The Monday evening meeting to finalize plans for the magazine marked a turning point in the workshop. Up until

this time the workshop had focused on the development of Foxfire skills through both structured and random experiences. Much of the formal and informal interaction between workshop members dealt with the personal and professional value of these experiences and created a strong sense of community. At the same time the presence of the teacher advisor reminded the group members that what they were doing could be applied in their schools and communities. She helped the group translate and interpret what they were learning for their classrooms and communities. Much of this was done informally through late evening discussions and cooperative work situations in the kitchen. In essence she was a symbol to the group that it could be done.

Also, by this point in the workshop it was evident that there existed differing levels of participant commitment and motivation. The two participants who missed the first magazine planning meeting Saturday evening had by their absence and later actions indicated that they were not interested in doing a magazine. Since the structure of the workshop assumed a certain level of self-motivation, the staff did not attempt to pressure these teachers to conform to the general high level of participation. They assumed that like other participants these two would define for themselves what they wanted from the experience. On the other hand, the rest of the group seemed to feel that each person should make a

contribution to the workshop. The resulting tension, though present, never became a serious or disruptive issue.

In addition to the teachers who openly expressed their unwillingness to participate in the magazine there were also individuals who held differing attitudes toward their involvement. These became evident after the requirements for completing a publication were spelled out.

The technical advisor began the Monday evening session by listing on the blackboard the steps necessary to the magazine's completion. They were:

1. conceptualizing the magazine's essence
2. transcribing articles
3. rough drafts of articles
4. sharing articles with group members
5. finishing articles and showing to contacts
6. deciding on photographs and print negatives
7. design decisions
8. layout

He announced that the articles had to be finished by the next day. The response was surprise and anxiety. The tension that the technical advisor had been absorbing was now being felt by the whole group, and the deadlines he was announcing conflicted with the group's concept of the relationship of process to product.

The ensuing discussion focused on who would do what in the now seemingly more complicated task. One participant

argued strongly that each person should go through each of the eight steps to insure that they would be learned. Others argued the opposite and the open-ended interchange that had become a familiar fixture of the workshop began. After about twenty minutes of deliberation that seemed to be getting nowhere, the technical advisor finally exploded: "God damn it, are we going to do a magazine in this workshop or not? If we are, then it is impossible for everyone to do everything. It just doesn't work that way."

His outburst stunned the group. Here was a staff member who had worked patiently with them, and whom they respected and liked. He was now putting his cards on the table, and the idea of a magazine was suddenly a reality. "Four-and-one-half days to the printer," he calmly announced. "Are we going to do it?" The long silence to his question was at first difficult to interpret but questions began to be asked about the steps, and it became clear that after the initial shock the group was indeed prepared to take on the task.

Days seven and eight. Completion of articles became the major task of the two days. The technical advisor offered a workshop on beginning photography for those who felt they needed it. One participant who had completed his article set up a dark room in a storage area in the dormitory and worked with individuals in developing their photographs. The site was quieter than usual as people spread out into

small rooms to work on their writing or got together to share their work with their friends. Completing the first part of the magazine task represented an important achievement.<sup>18</sup>

A folklorist from the Vermont Historical Society made two formal presentations on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning that covered the technical aspects of oral history collecting and archiving. Although she offered some useful information, her presentations came at a time when the group was preoccupied with magazine tasks.

Days nine through twelve. Since Monday at 7:30 A.M. was the deadline for the magazine to be at the printers, the workshop took on a new intensity. The resulting pressure manifested itself in a variety of ways: the cooperative cooking arrangement began to break down as the participants found it harder and harder to meet their meal preparation and clean-up assignments. Meal times became later and later, with people coming forward to fill in.

On Thursday morning, the technical advisor and the teacher advisor gave a workshop on design and layout. The instruction in these areas directly dealt with pulling together the articles that the group had finished earlier in the week. The session clarified in detail what needed to be done in order to produce final copy. At the same time it defined the jobs, such as the final typing and proofreading of copy,

and the hours that would be needed for this part of the undertaking. As these and other components became clear, individuals agreed to take on the required responsibilities.

Up until this point people had worked independently, and the prospect of working as a team raised new issues for the group. It became clear that work on the magazine would have to go on in spite of the upcoming weekend, but it had not been made clear by staff or participants what would be expected of them during this time. About half of the group chose to go home for Saturday and Sunday, leaving the other half of the group to complete the magazine. This, of course, created resentment on the part of those who stayed, causing a psychological split in the group. This split was eventually resolved, but in the short run it demonstrated the varying levels of participant commitment to the workshop and created resentment for those who stayed for the weekend to work. Those who stayed, however, did so from choice rather than coercion.

The technical advisor later observed that, "had everyone stayed for the weekend the chances of completing the magazine would have been greatly diminished." He argued that since the magazine production process can only involve a limited number of people when under the pressure of time, to add to that number would only confuse and extend the process.

A member of the magazine crew wrote two pages in the group log on his negative feelings about people leaving for

the weekend, but he tore them out. Later, he called this "self-censorship" and reflected:

I wrote two pages and then didn't want anyone to read it. I love you all so much but I was so mixed up over the way people disappeared when the heat was on. So I wrote, and got a lot out of my system. Since it was worthless in this lovely book, I tore it up.

By late evening on Sunday the magazine was almost ready to be sent to the printers. Ten exhausted workshop members had only to choose a title for the publication. One participant wrote:

It is a relief! Whew! To get the layout done with. And I feel like a real expert . . . like I could go back to school and teach it. Which is why I came here in the first place. And that feels good.

Around midnight the crew met to choose a name for the magazine. The session lasted for about two hours while the tired group discussed and analyzed several titles. When a title using the name Foxfire was suggested, there was almost unanimous disapproval. The group felt that the title should reflect this workshop experience and its process. One participant offered the observation, "this process depended as much upon the caring which we had developed for one another and for the people whom we had met during our interviews as the actual learning we had shared." Thus, the title, Process: About Caring and Learning was agreed upon.

The cover of Process depicted a picture of a captain's

chair set in the woods with a camera and book on its seat and a cassette tape recorder hanging from one arm of the chair. On the ground next to the chair was a coffee cup symbolizing the human element of the process.

Within its thirty-six pages was a listing of workshop staff and participants, an introduction describing the structure and dynamics of the workshop, and a table of contents for the eight articles. Included were three personality articles on people in the community who represented traditional life styles, one article that a participant had done on her own family, one interview article done by one participant on another participant, two articles describing experiences with contacts who wished to remain anonymous, and one article describing the interaction of participants and staff in the workshop.

Day thirteen. The technical advisor delivered the magazine to the printer, and those who had departed over the weekend returned for the last three days of the workshop. No formal activities were planned for that morning or afternoon, and certain tension filled the air as the magazine crew awoke and shared the weekend experience with the departees. Basically it was on a positive level, stressing the importance of the experience rather than the absence of some of the group members.

The departees took over kitchen responsibilities for the magazine crew for the day and cleaned up and prepared the site for a folk and square dance planned for that evening. Participants had invited their contacts in the community for the event, and the dance provided a valuable opportunity for the release of tension. The group seemed to re-establish its sense of community that evening, and the participation of the contacts and their families provided perspective on the workshop.

Day fourteen. Tuesday morning the teacher advisor conducted an extensive session on classroom and community management techniques based on her experience with Tree Tap. She covered a wide range of topics, including transportation of students to interviews, grading, public relations and use of local media, involvement of parents, funding, student journals of experiences in the project, involvement of senior citizen groups in organizing projects, and slide-tape presentations as an alternative to magazine production.

The session seemed to provide many useful ideas to the group as their attention turned more to returning home and getting started in their communities. They asked many practical questions and seemed assured that there were solutions to the problems they were raising. The need for the teachers to be diplomatic and the importance of understanding the school as a political entity were stressed.

Dealing with the administration and other teachers was discussed at length, and human relations tips were offered.

In the afternoon the technical advisor organized two workshops on "alternative media," one on super-8 film production and one on video-tape production. The workshops illustrated the possibilities for these media in oral history work and described free loan equipment available through statewide agencies.

Day fifteen. The workshop was scheduled to end at noon with the anticipated delivery of the magazine. Part of the morning was spent on evaluation of the workshop and follow-up planning through two means; a written questionnaire with an objective and subjective section, and an oral evaluation of the workshop and discussion of the follow-up.

Euphoria filled the room as the technical advisor arrived with the magazines. After the initial jubilation, people retreated to savor it individually. The long hours of work had indeed paid off and Process: About Caring and Learning was a concrete statement of the workshop experience.

The workshop evaluation. The written evaluation completed by participants on the last morning of the workshop contained four sections: General Aspects of the Workshop, Specific Sessions, Skill Development, and General Questions. The questionnaire was designed by the staff to cover as many components of the experience as possible and gain feedback

on the overall structure and operation of the workshop. The first three sections were objective, while the fourth section was more subjective, encouraging respondents to raise issues based on their own experience.

The oral evaluation was held directly following the written part and was intended to be an opportunity for the group to raise issues and questions about the workshop in an open-ended manner on an interactive basis. Planning the follow-up was also part of the two-hour discussion, which began as a reiteration of what people had written on their evaluations, but grew into the expansion and growth of new issues. Overwhelmingly the evaluation respondents indicated that, because of the workshop, they felt competent in the following areas:

1. group leadership skills
2. researching and identifying community resources
3. interviewing techniques
4. transcribing techniques
5. photography and darkroom techniques
6. writing and editing
7. layout and design
8. cataloguing and reference work
9. organizational skills
10. alternative media work

One area that sparked considerable interchange was the role of the teacher as learner in the workshop and its relationship to working with students in schools. Several perspectives were offered and reflected a variety of educational assumptions and philosophies about the relationship of teacher growth to student growth. For example, one participant observed:

I get pretty upset if students fail to be able to deal with the freedom I give them, and I found I was getting a little edgy and nervous when I was given freedom and didn't know what to do with it. . . . Now I know a little bit better how they feel.

But another participant challenged the notion of freedom in the workshop and school setting, saying that

People are individuals and some need more structure than others. So you have to set up a situation that is not ideal but that is pragmatic and meets the needs of each individual.

This part of the discussion went on at length, with comparisons between the participants' learning and their students' learning. Another perspective tied in the role models created by workshop staff and the role models of the teachers for their students.

One of the major issues that surfaced after people had talked about their reactions to the workshop's learning approach was the final push to complete the magazine and the feelings that surrounded its dynamic. "I felt a little resentful," wrote one person, "that there were only six of the 12 people still there plugging away at the bitter end.

It left a kind of bitter taste toward those who weren't there." Bitterness and its inappropriateness, the hard work versus the joy of completing the job--all aspects of the final weekend were discussed at length.

The evaluation discussion gave people a chance to vent their immediate feelings and to have an exchange of opinion. The final word, appropriately, turned toward the next part of the Foxfire project:

If this was it and we were never going to see each other again I would feel very uneasy about this discussion. But I think the fact that we are going to be meeting and that I think we will be formally and informally in touch with each other will allow us to pick up the pieces as we go along.

The planning for the follow-up during the school year emerged naturally as part of the evaluation session. A point was reached when it was necessary to clarify this part of the program. The project director explained the available combinations of independence and support:

The follow-ups are pretty much in your hands. I will help you organize and coordinate them. I will be available to support you and visit your schools. But I think it's clear at this point that the four sessions are open to what you want to do with them.

The planning focused on setting specific locations and dates for the four sessions throughout the school year and discussing what might be accomplished through them. Suggestions were made that the meetings should generally focus on discussing problems of school implementation and sharing resources. Grant writing was also suggested as a possible

agenda item. Involving students in the sessions was agreed upon as a highly desirable goal as well as inviting other interested teachers.

Design of the implementation phase. The follow-up part of the program was viewed as the support phase of the program when teachers returned to their schools to develop projects appropriate to local conditions. The individual teacher would be responsible for determining both the process and content of the project and develop a strategy for its implementation. Both prior to and during the training phase of the program considerable emphasis had been placed on the local community as the context for implementation.

Although the teachers were assured that the program would provide support services during the school year at their request, these services would be limited to on-site visitations, weekend meetings, technical assistance in magazine production, and information. The program would not provide direct financial support to local projects, thus encouraging the teachers to develop projects based on locally available funding and resources. It was felt that directly funding local projects might undermine the self-sufficiency and potential longevity of local efforts.

In summary, the following assumptions about the school-year phase of the program were made:

1. the teachers would translate the summer workshop experience into student programs and produce publications or other media on traditional aspects of Vermont life
2. the teachers would need support, resources and continued program input to effectively deal with the problems of local implementation, but would not need funding from the program

The themes that emerged from the follow-up that form the basis for the narrative are:

1. the development of relationships between students and older people in the community
2. the development of local curriculum based on the Foxfire concept
3. a multi-grade and interdisciplinary application of Foxfire concept
4. student skill development and personal growth
5. community and school response to projects
6. teacher support network producing a statewide publication

The implementation phase. The structured activities of the program consisted of the four Saturday meetings planned at participant schools around the state. Due to scheduling conflicts, the first meeting, planned for one month after the workshop, was cancelled and rescheduled a month later. The agenda for the day, typical of the other Saturday meetings as well, included visits by resource people from various education agencies within the state to describe their programs and resources; and discussion of project progress and problems and time to deal with specific technical needs with the project staff. The day-long session was then followed by

a late afternoon potluck supper at a nearby teacher's home.

The second Saturday meeting held some weeks later focused, at the request of the teachers, on how to write effective proposals for local projects funding. Potential sources of funding were identified and both the techniques and politics of gaining grants were discussed. Generally the group reacted positively to the follow-up meetings as an opportunity to share ideas and problems.<sup>19</sup> These formal meetings also encouraged the informal network among the project teachers and with other teachers. Some of this interaction resulted in school exchange visits to share skills and project experiences and provided informal support to the participants.

In early January, some four months after the workshop, the program received an unanticipated grant from a New York foundation that was to alter the nature of the follow-up. The staff met to decide how the funds could be best used and agreed to the idea of creating a statewide publication that would include articles from local projects.

A straw vote of the teachers taken by telephone pulled a seemingly enthusiastic response. A follow-up letter describing in detail the steps and timetable for the magazine's completion was sent out by the staff with the following rationale:

The magazine will serve a number of functions including the creation of direct student participation in our program as well as a potential prototype for a statewide publication. The magazine will also reflect a variety of approaches

that in themselves will provide ideas to other teachers and students.

It is clear that our individual projects are at different stages ranging from just getting off the ground to completed articles. We would like to reflect this in the magazine and document the process of getting a project going and the problems involved.

The plan for the magazine was ambitious; each teacher was asked to contribute two articles: a student article and a description of the project written by the teacher. The program staff visited each school to work on the preparation of the articles and to prepare them for the final layout sessions which involved teachers and students during the winter vacation in late February.

The final product, Rowen: The Second Cutting, was presented two months later at a regional conference on the Bicentennial. At the conference, students from seven project schools ran workshops on their work in oral history.

The production of Rowen provided a clear focus that more directly involved students in the overall statewide program. It also attracted two new teachers who had not come to the summer workshop and provided them support in their efforts, heretofore independent from Foxfire-Vermont, for the oral history projects they had begun in their schools by themselves.

But aside from the obvious satisfaction the participants and their students seemed to feel at the completion of Rowen the staff had second thoughts about the wisdom of

undertaking the project. Their questions included: Had they imposed an idea that redirected local efforts and placed unreasonable pressure on teachers who already had their hands full? Did the staff act from their own needs rather than the needs of the teachers and their students? Was too great an emphasis placed on the product thus undermining the process to which they supposedly had a strong commitment? Were local projects prematurely pushed to produce something therefore compromising their independence or quality?

Local adaptations of the Foxfire concept by workshop participants produced the following publications in magazines and other media including local newspapers:

Echo--A bi-weekly series of articles in a local weekly newspaper done by a tenth-grade English class.

Fulcrum--A joint publication of two schools in the program of tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-grade English classes.

Insight: Middlesex--Publications of a sixth-grade social studies class.

Northern Waters--Publication of a seventh-grade science class.

Shatterack--Publication of a school district including a high school social studies class and social studies classes from six elementary schools.

Stowe's More Than Snow--Publication of sixth-grade social studies class. Teachers did not come to summer workshop, but did participate in follow-up activities including Rowen.

Vermont Media Project--Two high school social studies classes which produced super-8 films and developed articles for a local weekly newspaper.

The above listing of publications reflects in general terms the local accomplishments of the teachers and students. The following information amplifies this listing by documenting more concretely the scope of the projects in terms of numbers of students, teachers, and community people involved based on year-end participant evaluations:

Number of Students	199
Number of Community People	275
Number of Program Teachers	9
Number of Non-Program Teachers	9

Seven teachers did not participate in the summer workshop but worked with program teachers in schools. Two teachers independent of the program started their own projects and joined the follow-up activities. The local projects present a variety of grade level and subject applications as indicated in the previous listing of projects. One of the teachers, a district career education media specialist conducted inservice training and involved six teachers at the high school and elementary level in a collaborative publication effort.

The process of developing local projects was the translation and adaptation of the summer workshop activities into programs for students. The teachers began by introducing the idea of studying the community around them to their students and then began teaching interviewing techniques. The role of the community in local project development was generally active with teachers and students finding, with

only some exceptions, positive responses from interview contacts and with other segments of the community.

Material support from the community included outright grants from local historical societies, private foundations and school boards. One of the teachers describes community support in the following way:

We have had everything from fan mail to a shipment of hamburgers at an evening layout session. The local historical society helped us find contacts for our interviews, spoke with many of the students and co-signed a \$1000 loan for printing when an anticipated grant did not come through. The weekly newspaper donated their office and supplies for our Rowen article and gave us enormous free publicity. A local printer turned over their office and some supplies for two days as we frantically did the final touches for the press. The typing class typed all our articles and helped with the layout. Local merchants purchased the magazines outright so that we could pay the printers immediately.

The projects received varying degrees of support from their school administrators, ranging from outright hostility in one case to active involvement. Generally, though, school administrators were viewed by the teachers as uninvolved in the projects but supportive in matters such as scheduling, materials and transportation. The one case of administrative hostility seemed more of a serious personality clash than a sharp philosophical difference. It was the principal's first year in the school and he therefore had no foreknowledge of the planned project.

General administrative support notwithstanding the

school environment imposed restrictions that required accommodation on the teachers' part. The structure of traditional public schools dictated scheduling realities that could be worked around but not radically altered. For some projects this meant that most interviews had to go on outside of school time which often created conflicts with other activities such as sports or work. Scheduling transportation to and from interviews presented one of the most time-consuming and difficult tasks for the teachers and sometimes caused conflicts with other teachers because Foxfire students missed their classes. Some teachers felt the pressures of lack of materials or equipment or physical space for their projects, although these were in the distinct minority. On another level the non-traditional aspects of Foxfire caused anxieties for some students who were accustomed to more traditional teaching methods.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the problems teachers encountered and perhaps in part because of them, their ultimate satisfaction and reassurance by what they were doing seemed clear. The benefits their students were deriving from the program, on both the cognitive and affective levels, were perceived by the teachers as overwhelmingly significant for students of all abilities and levels. This is not to say that every student who participated achieved what the teacher expected and hoped for, but the projects generally met the expectations

of the teachers according to their verbal and written documentation of their projects.

In addition to teacher descriptions of students in the project,<sup>21</sup> the year-end evaluations contained student responses and reflections on their experiences during the year. Many of these portrayed strong changes in the students' development. One of the most revealing ones is that of a high school girl who had had a stormy relationship with her mother, whom the teacher encouraged her to interview. After considerable hesitation the girl did so. She later wrote:

The interview I did with my mother was the most positive part of the project. I have lived with her for 16 years and in the half hour it took for the interview I learned more about her feelings for children than I had in all the 16 years. I feel that interview brought me closer to realizing how I and my sisters and brothers mean more to her than anything else.

In the spring of that year at a state librarians' convention a high school student from one of the projects made a slide/tape presentation on a local railroad line before 300 people. His teacher described B. as a:

boy who had mentally dropped out of school years before and read on a 5th-grade level. The thought of making such a presentation to such an audience would have put him away just a few months before. But his exuberance at having done it is indescribable.

Such student presentations to local and regional groups did much to publicize the program. Numerous articles

describing local projects appeared in newspapers around the state giving the program high visibility. Public response to the Foxfire concept was enthusiastic and gave encouragement to both teachers and students. It also seemed to increase the credibility of the program for school administrators.

The year-end written evaluation was completed by nine of the project teachers who participated in the summer workshop and by one who joined the program during the school year. The evaluation was designed to assess attitudes toward the overall program and its relationship to local accomplishments. Specifically, respondents were asked if the summer workshop was helpful in implementing their projects, if the program staff was supportive enough during the school year, and if the support network of staff and other participants was helpful. Answers to all the questions were generally positive.

The teachers were also asked in the evaluation if they would have carried out a project had they not participated in any part of the Foxfire-Vermont program. The responses to this question were more varied. Five teachers said definitely no, because they had neither the skills nor knowledge of the Foxfire concept. Three teachers felt they would have begun Foxfire projects on their own because they had already initiated similar projects or had plans to. (One

of these teachers remarked that before the summer workshop she did not realize how much more she needed to know.) All of these three teachers, it should be noted, involved their students in media other than magazine production. Three teachers said, in effect, that they might have done a project but not nearly as effectively.

Asked if projects would continue in the next school year, four teachers said yes, four said they would not for very practical reasons, and two who were leaving their schools had trained others to continue their projects. In fact, six of the original 1974 projects continued in 1975, four with the same teachers and two with others who had been trained by the program teachers. One project was started at a new school by a program teacher who changed jobs, while two were discontinued altogether because of departing teachers. One of the teachers who took a year-long leave of absence returned a year later and revived her project.

At the same time three of the program teachers were selected by the state Department of Education to participate in a resource program in the coming year and present workshops on the Foxfire concept in schools around the state.

Three program teachers did not submit final evaluations. These individuals, two of whom were first year teachers in their schools, discontinued their participation in the

program at a relatively early point in the year and did not attend the follow-up meetings. One participated in Rowen but discontinued the local project in early spring.

In summary, the assumptions for the follow-up phase were justified as the school-year implementation phase of the program met the expectations of both the staff and the teachers. Despite three summer workshop participants who dropped out of the program, the local projects produced an impressive body of literature and electronic media on traditional aspects of Vermont life, and each project had its own characteristic flavor.

## FOOTNOTES

### Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>Julia Blake, Title III Kaleidoscope: A Study of Educational Change in Vermont (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont State Department of Education, 1973), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Roger Harrison and Richard Hopkins. "The Design of Cross-Cultural Training: An Alternative to the University Model," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 3, No. 4 (1967), pp. 431-460.

<sup>5</sup>The Vermont Historical Society describes this cultural uniqueness of the older generation in an introduction to its publication on oral history in schools:

In Vermont many of our older people are survivors from another era. Some know how to build haycocks, while others can spin yarn from raw fleece. They carry with them a cultural knowledge that has extended in an unbroken line since the early Middle Ages. They are in some respects the last repositories of this knowledge, and for this reason should be given as much serious attention as other sources of historical information. By seeking the remembrances of our older people and recording their folklore and folkways, we can document cultural continuity and change.

Vermont Historical Society, Oral History and Folklore Research for Vermont Schools (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1973), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Harrison and Hopkins, "Cross-Cultural Training," p. 448.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 431-460.

<sup>8</sup>The learning process characteristics of the Harrison and Hopkins model that were incorporated into the Foxfire-Vermont training program included the following:

1. instructors should be viewed as facilitators who encourage the learner to take self-directed action toward accomplishing the goals of the training program
2. the staff should incorporate its own individual teaching styles but should reach a general consensus about the level of responsibility given learners.
3. the staff should assist learners in making connections between their training experiences and the situations for which they are preparing
4. the planning of the program should be used as a staff training phase to highlight and resolve differences and to agree upon a training strategy with defined roles
5. as part of the facilitator's role, staff should encourage learners to become aware of and reflect upon their experiences as they take place
6. the training program and setting should be viewed as a community in organizational and interpersonal terms with learners taking responsibility for maintenance of the training site
7. the project approach, with the learners planning and carrying out small group projects aimed at gathering information from the social environment, provides an important element of the training design
8. emphasis should be placed on the process of learning or learning how to learn

<sup>9</sup>Eliot Wigginton, Moments: The Foxfire Experience (Washington, D.C.: IDEAS, Inc., 1975), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Initial contact with IDEAS was not positive because of their uneasiness with the idea of another organization--the School for International Training--running a program with the Foxfire name attached to it. IDEAS' approach had been on a national level, selecting and funding schools to initiate projects in widely diverse parts of the country. The notion of working in one state through an inservice teacher education program conflicted with their practice of bringing teacher advisors and students to Rabun Gap, Georgia. for summer workshops. They were concerned that the

Vermont project might compromise the integrity of the Foxfire concept through misapplication. A series of telephone calls and ensuing correspondence between the program planners and IDEAS resulted in an understanding that the planners would consult with IDEAS as the program evolved. In addition, it was agreed that IDEAS would provide a consultant for three days at the beginning of the summer workshop to help with final planning. IDEAS also seemed reassured that the teacher advisor for the program, whose work they were aware of from Tree Tap, would be on the staff.

<sup>11</sup>The following statements, drawn from the applications, reflect this feeling:

We have found our lives enriched by being able to provide for our comfort and survival by the work of our own hands. Our personal lifestyle has involved learning as much as we could about local ways of living and past ways of living. We have tried to be self-sufficient as much as possible through doing our own building, gardening, product raising and related activities.

<sup>12</sup>As one teacher wrote in the application:

The Foxfire process would fill a need at my high school by interesting an essentially non-academically oriented student body in remaining in school.

A teacher from a high school in the most economically depressed area of the state wrote:

I feel a program of this type would be excellent for my students. The majority do not continue their education after high school and need to learn how to use their skills while they can receive encouragement and help.

<sup>13</sup>These concerns were expressed in a number of ways. A teacher from the most economically developed region of the state wrote:

Our area of the county is probably growing faster than any part of the state. For this reason, the traditional ways of life are under attack more and more, and Foxfire-Vermont may have the greatest potential impact here in the state's largest county.

Another teacher wrote:

Since most of the students will continue to reside in or near the town after graduation, I believe Foxfire will instill in them a lasting

appreciation for their community and the people in it.

One teacher offered a more global view by observing:

With the world's economic trends moving toward a greater awareness of ecology and the lost arts, the practical side of living must be reviewed and the student of today exposed to it.

Typical statements on the intergenerational aspect of Foxfire included:

Many young people at our school feel that old people have nothing to offer them. I believe that they would learn that it just isn't true, because the process would require them to meet with old folks and depend on them for information.

<sup>14</sup>The structure of the workshop was described in the following way:

The day-to-day scheduling will involve group meetings to discuss progress and problems, skill workshops, and time to do the actual work on the project--the production of the magazine. In addition, we have arranged for relevant films to be shown. Though the two weeks will be quite full, we recognize the need for free or unscheduled time, and thus, the timetable will be flexible and time allotments will be decided upon largely by the participants.

The information sheet tried to communicate the planning process and staff expectations of participants:

It is our hope that we will be able to work and learn together, sharing the responsibility and participating in the various aspects of the Foxfire process.

The relationship of the follow-up component of the program to the workshop was stressed in the following way:

It is important to the success of the workshop and the project as a whole that you consider, before hand, the specific relationship of the program to you and your students, as well as your community. Through this, you will probably be better prepared to deal with your particular concerns and better able to help direct the workshop in a course that will be useful to you.

15 A participant wrote in the journal of the first evening:

I felt very happy that I'd had some stimulating conversation with other teachers--an experience which infrequently occurs although, because I'm a teacher.

16 In the words of one participant, recorded in the log book:

This workshop experience has been so expansive to me; not solely through the learning of process but personal interactions. . . . It has come, I feel, through sharing the family chores and the elements of the process. These feelings are influencing us so strongly now, but unlike so many other workshops this is going to continue. I know this!

17 One participant wrote:

I'm in a bad way. I'm not doing anything. I can't concentrate and I want to. I want to go home but I don't think I should because I'll miss some of the process here and I don't want to do that. Transcribing is difficult in that I have to make all kinds of decisions about what I want to include. Wow. Must begin somewhere.

18 A pertinent journal entry by a participant reads:

I really feel accomplished--I stand back and look at my article and feel the pleasure of having done something which I'm pleased with! This is the first time that I can recall that I have ever shown my writing to my peer group.

19 Typical reactions include the following:

The summer workshop was so energy-producing compared to regular school contacts that the follow-up meetings served to recharge the batteries. Getting back together helped stimulate new ideas and techniques. The Saturday meetings were beneficial because of their loose structure which enabled us to share ideas.

<sup>20</sup>One teacher describes this problem:

The kids I had were super concerned about grades and it bothered them that they did not have constant direction. Some were unsure of where we were going and I knew that I couldn't tell them because they'd have to discover that direction.

Another teacher observed:

The hardest thing for me was keeping the students' sight clear so that they could see where they were going.

<sup>21</sup>The following is a sampling of anecdotal descriptions offered by the teachers on student skill and attitudinal development:

The student most helped by the project was a senior girl who is very overweight and shy. With very little coaching she turned in a beautifully empathetic interview with a 90-year-old member of her community. Her self-esteem hit an all-time high.

One of the people interviewed is a very elderly woman. The youngsters enjoyed her very much. She had an automobile accident and the kids were beside themselves about it when the word was first out and it sounded as though she was seriously hurt. The students have made that wonderful discovery that all of us learned last summer that to interview someone makes you a part of that person's life.

L. is a very bright and popular girl, but very willing to settle in her work for second-best. The first draft of her article written with another girl of the same caliber was downright boring and poorly written. I am not sure which was the cause and which was the effect, but by the end of the year, L. was the most efficient, most enthusiastic student and produced an excellent article, after at least five drafts.

S. (sixth-grader) read on a third-grade level and had never written a paragraph on his own in his life. He worked on his own in the library doing drawings for our magazine and

when he finished went on to do an article on a construction company, tapping away for hours on the typewriter.

22 Another student writes about her first field interview experience:

I'll never forget the first time we went to see B.P. She was talking and suddenly she started crying. We found out that the reason she was crying was because practically the only people that came to see her were her family, and I guess she never really talked with them. Then when we came in there interested in her, it was too much for her. She opened up and started telling us everything that had probably been locked up inside her for a long time. It wasn't what I expected, but I'll never forget it. I guess I didn't think it would mean that much to someone.

Another student describes the significance of one of his interviewing experiences this way:

The interview with Doc S. really affected me. I may never use the information he gave me, but I shall always remember the experience. I no longer have the fear of talking to people I don't know and that will help me when I move to a new school next year.

C H A P T E R   I V  
ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY:  
AN EXAMINATION OF THE  
MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL DECISIONS OF THE PROGRAM

Introduction

The presentation of the case study in the preceding chapter, including the detailed description of the background and planning of the program design and the narrative account of the two phases of the program, provides the data for an analysis of the Foxfire-Vermont program. This analysis is divided into two sections: an examination of the training and implementation phases and a summary of the case study findings based on the results of the analysis.

The main focus of the analysis is that the initiating decision to use Foxfire techniques with an almost unarticulated humanistic orientation set the stage for contradictions and tensions to develop within the program. The first section of the analysis examines that decision and other key decisions behind the program design. Each of them is analyzed in terms of its intended and unintended consequences within the contradictory framework of the values of Foxfire and humanistic education. The initiating decision and the following organizational decisions form the outline for the analysis of the training phase:

1. the decision to run the workshop within a two-week framework
2. the decision to create a relatively isolated, intentional community as the learning setting
3. the decision to develop a printed product, a magazine, by the end of the workshop
4. the decision to integrate directed and non-directed learning experiences

The analysis of the implementation phase is less lengthy than that of the training phase, reflecting the relative significance of the two parts to the overall program. The implementation analysis centers on the tensions that developed between expectations by staff and participants for the year's work and the realities of developing programs in the schools. The organizational decisions analyzed include:

1. the decision to hold four day-long, follow-up sessions
2. the decision to allow each teacher to define and develop his or her own project based on local conditions
3. the decision to produce a publication, Rowen

The second section, summary of findings from the case study, takes an overall look at the characteristics and themes of the Foxfire-Vermont program and identifies their contributions to the findings.

Section One: Analysis of the Training and  
Implementation Phases

The initiating decision: the use of Foxfire techniques with a humanistic education orientation. The decision to simulate a Foxfire project as a way of training teachers in Foxfire techniques presented a series of issues for the planning and design process. The success of Foxfire, as demonstrated by the acclaim of the Foxfire books and adaptations around the country, left little doubt that it was a workable educational approach. Its apparent relevance to the social conditions of Vermont reinforced this perception. The experience of the planners on the staff of the School for International Training and staff with experiential training backgrounds shaped the assumptions about the suitability of such an approach. Inherent in this thinking was a belief that the teachers would be able to define and ultimately direct the learning experience for themselves.

However, as the planning continued, problems developed concerning how best to teach Foxfire skills and in what time frame and setting. Underlying these problems was the issue of the relationship of Foxfire to the personal and professional growth of teachers. The workshop reflected this issue in a number of ways which are examined later in this chapter. The confusion in the planners' thinking can be explained by

looking at Foxfire and its relationship to humanistic education.<sup>1</sup>

Implicit in the planning was the assumption that Foxfire and humanistic education shared similar characteristics and goals. However, although the goals and approaches of humanistic education and Foxfire complement each other in many ways, there are also differing assumptions and degrees of emphasis and interpretation. A brief examination of these similarities and differences can contribute to understanding the nature of the summer workshop.

Humanistic education places great value on learning through experience, with the learners actively involved in decision making about the design, implementation, and evaluation of their learning experiences. The assumption is that the learner directly benefits from self-initiated and self-directed learning experiences. This process encourages the application of new insights and skills which, in turn, foster personal growth. Learning is assisted by support and feedback from others. In short, human support systems encourage movement toward renewal.

Humanistic education stresses the importance of the process. It holds that information and specific skills are less important than the means of attaining them. It also holds that optimum learning takes place when the learner tests his or her ideas under conditions in which the

results are immediately apparent. Related to this is the belief that the optimum level of frustration is one which allows the learner to achieve success only after difficulty.

Also implicit in the beliefs of humanistic education is the emphasis on personal growth and change as an integral part of the educational process. This growth and change are viewed in the context of the learner's relationship to his other peers, whether it be a group of students or a group of teachers. Growth is seen as an interactive process among peers toward the goal of self-actualization.

While Foxfire concurs with the beliefs of humanistic education as they relate to the role of experience and the role and responsibilities of the learner, it differs significantly on other issues. The assumption behind Foxfire is that learning takes place best in the community through interaction with people who are different from the learner. This intergenerational nature of Foxfire is a dimension that goes beyond the commonly held ideas of humanistic education. It emphasizes that the learner encounter and interact with the unfamiliar and possess the skills to face this challenge positively. The implication of this emphasis is that to function effectively in this new relationship the learner must acquire a set of personal and technical skills.

On an affective level these personal skills are different from but not exclusive of those of humanistic

education. Self-understanding is required, but in the context of a diverse setting: the community. Unlike humanistic education, which values the here and now as the basis for growth and learning by looking inward, Foxfire directs the learner to look outward and backward to the strange and unfamiliar. Specific technical skills in Foxfire are viewed as an important vehicle to affective growth and an integral part of the process of documentation through the discipline of oral history and other related fields.

Foxfire diverges from the goals of humanistic education by incorporating documentation through public media as an essential part of the process. This dimension of Foxfire emphasizes communication skills that include both interpersonal interaction and at the same time the ability to interact with a broader audience on a public level. This emphasis brings into focus the relationship of the educational process to the product. In humanistic education the process is an end in itself, while in Foxfire the process ultimately results in a tangible product. The product is based on oral history that requires specific research, writing, and other skills. This difference is significant in the way it is dealt with and the way it affects the dynamic of a given group, as can be seen in the present study.

Although the issues revolving around humanistic

education and Foxfire were not consciously deliberated during the design, planning, and implementation of the Foxfire-Vermont summer workshop, they nonetheless played a major role in the program's training phase. The confusion and contradictions between Foxfire goals and humanistic goals resulted in a significant undercurrent in the summer workshop which surfaced in the product/process conflict over the magazine production. The staff shared a humanistic orientation and generally agreed on the workshop's goals and means of attaining them. But the divergent goals of Foxfire and humanistic education created a tension in the workshop that provides a key theme in this analysis.

Organizational decision No. 1: a two-week summer workshop.

The decision to hold a two-week workshop was in some ways arbitrary but nonetheless responded to a number of assumptions about the timing and length of the experience. The planners felt that in order to accomplish the goals of the program it was necessary to bring the teachers together for at least two weeks. It was felt that a shorter period would be inadequate to accomplish these goals and a longer period might discourage teachers from participating, which, in fact, it did, because of potential conflicts with their personal lives. The length of the training phase became part of the selection process as it required teachers to make a serious commitment in time.

On another level, the time frame was idiosyncratic to the program and accounts in part for both the intended and unintended outcomes of the training phase. It defined the physical and psychological parameters of the learning experience by imposing a set of deadlines and expectations. While these deadlines were artificial to the outsider they took on real meaning to the staff and participants.

Other time frames were not seriously considered because of the planners' belief that the training phase should be intensive and involve group interaction at each step of the way. However, another time frame might have been just as suitable for the goals of Foxfire. Equally effective might have been a three-day, skills-oriented workshop earlier in the summer followed by self-directed field work over a four-to-six week period in their home communities, with a final three-day workshop at the end of the field work. This model would have focused more on the environment in which the teachers were to adapt the Foxfire concept and less on group interaction.

The decision to conduct an intensive two-week workshop reflects what the planners perceived as the advantage of creating and defining a learning environment. However, this time frame can be viewed as a restrictive approach to the application of the Foxfire concept because it placed time

constraints on the learners' interactions in the surrounding community. An example of this conflict was the rushed nature of the interviewing experiences, a factor which could have reduced this important process, in Foxfire terms, to near exploitation of the informant.

One of the unanticipated consequences of expecting people to participate fully in the workshop for two weeks on a full-time residency basis was that some found this an unreasonable or impossible expectation. Although the participants in theory committed themselves to full-time participation and the norms developed by the group supported this commitment, there were nonetheless deviations which resulted in some individuals returning home to visit their families. When discreetly practiced, this behavior was accepted and tolerated, and it was never a secret from the group.

But the constraints of the two-week period did not compromise the spirit of Foxfire as a vehicle for creating deep and prolonged relationships with people in the community. The data suggest that the teachers were, in fact, able to adapt themselves to these limitations and were able to approach their informants with sensitivity, making it clear that they were taking part in a Foxfire workshop on a short-term basis. This field work approach was the result of considerable emphasis during the workshop on the ethics of interviewing, which helped reduce the possibility of

exploitation of informants.

The decision to hold a two-week workshop fulfilled the expectations of the staff by: providing an adequate time frame for fulfilling the workshop's objectives; serving as a useful selection criterion; and defining and controlling the temporal nature of the experience. Unintended or unforeseen consequences of the decision were: limited interaction with surrounding towns and villages and constraints on participants who found it difficult to be away from their homes for the entire two-week period.

Organizational decision No. 2: the creation of a temporary intentional learning community. Related to the two-week time frame was the decision to create a relatively isolated community as an appropriate structure for the accomplishment of the workshop and program goals. This community, intentional in nature, was to provide an environment that would encourage the development of the skills and attitudes deemed necessary to undertake Foxfire.

The physical characteristics of this learning community, a relatively isolated rural setting, reflected the planners' belief that the workshop should be an entity unto itself. The day-to-day living situation, designed on a cooperative model, placed staff and participants in a situation where they were responsible for meal preparation and maintenance of the site. It was assumed that by sharing these responsibilities the group would develop a sense of community and support.

However, the community that was created in fact represented some conflicts with the notion of community in the context of Foxfire. In some cases it limited broader interaction with the surrounding towns and villages, which offered real opportunities to experience the diversity of local life. Although the surrounding communities were valued as the source of field work opportunities, they became of secondary importance in relation to the more homogeneous learning community of teachers in the Foxfire workshop. This was a direct result of the emphasis placed on the workshop group itself. The living situation and the daily group meetings naturally turned the experience inward to the group and more specifically to the individuals themselves.

In short, the workshop did just what it should have done in humanistic terms, but it came at some expense to the specific Foxfire-related goals. One example of this direction is the group journal. The journal was established by the staff to provide a vehicle for individuals to share their feelings and experiences with the group. It was also seen as a technique that the teachers might want to use in their schools. The staff did not articulate any assumptions to the group about the journal except that it was available for anyone to write in and read. In fact, however, the journal represented a humanistic education technique that offered the teachers a chance to share their feelings and to write

from experience. On another level it utilized a Foxfire technique in that it provided a history of the workshop and encouraged the teachers to create their own written history.

The staff members were the first to write in the journal, and unwittingly they set both the tone and norms for subsequent entries. These entries can be characterized as reflective, focusing on personal feelings and motivation. The entries offer a chronological guide to the events of the workshop, including the crisis. They also reveal a kind of self-censorship which eliminated most expressions of real intergroup conflict. In fact, the one entry which was highly critical was torn out by the writer because he did not want to offend or upset the group or the individuals he criticized. Despite his strong feelings on the subject, the writer ultimately felt a greater loyalty to the group. In the same way, it can be argued that the teachers felt a greater commitment to their peers than to the people they interviewed in the community. Both of these are examples of the conflicts during the workshop between humanistic education and Foxfire.

The journal in fact served many roles. It provided a silent documentation of support and encouraged people to share their feelings. It also required teachers to express themselves in a medium with which many felt initially uncomfortable. It became very apparent as the workshop

developed that the teachers lacked confidence in their own writing skills and found the actual writing of their articles to be the most difficult part of the Foxfire process.

The effort to create an intentional community focused a great deal of energy on the group itself. The results were a kind of individual and group introspection that was reinforced by the staff who created expectations based as much on humanistic education as on Foxfire. However, the goal of producing a magazine counterbalanced the humanistic education focus by emphasizing the product. It also caused conflicts and confusion about the role of process in Foxfire.

In summary, the creation of an isolated, temporary intentional community fulfilled the expectations of the staff by: isolating the participants from the distractions of their normal lives; providing an environment for the learning of new skills and attitudes; forming the basis for an ongoing support group throughout the implementation phase; facilitating the use of the resources in surrounding towns for field work; and placing the responsibility for maintenance and meal preparation on a cooperative basis as a community building technique. Unanticipated consequences of this decision were: the group process became a competing element with the field work possibilities; personal growth became an important goal of some workshop participants; and some participants found it difficult to separate themselves

completely from the demands and distractions of their normal lives.

Organizational decision No. 3: the development of a printed product. A significant contribution to the sense of time pressure was the staff decision to produce a magazine by the end of the workshop. This decision had far-reaching consequences, both intended and unintended, and it looms as a key issue in the study of the training phase. More than any other decision, this one affected the nature of the individual and group dynamics in the workshop. It determined interaction on a number of levels: staff with participants, participants with each other, and participants with people in the community.

The imposition of the magazine as an expectation of the workshop was based on the assumption that the teachers could best learn about Foxfire by actually doing it, by going through the steps as their students eventually would, right down to the preparation and publication of a magazine. Under the time constraints, this assumption was very ambitious, and although it was accomplished, it raises important issues in the context of the workshop.

During the first four days of the workshop, the magazine was a hidden agenda item. The staff knew that it was on the agenda, and they had made detailed plans, including

scheduling its publication with a local printer. But the participants, despite the fact that a magazine had been identified as an outcome prior to the start of the workshop, were not aware of the implications of this goal during the initial stages of the workshop. The staff underplayed the magazine during this period and focused instead on the planned skill development activities. These activities, including the community exploration exercise, offered the teachers a way of focusing on the community as a learning resource. But such activities deferred the reality of producing the magazine, resulting in pent-up anxiety on the part of the staff.

The emotional outburst by the technical advisor at the magazine meeting was symptomatic of this anxiety. As he was primarily responsible for the magazine, his concern about it was most pronounced. His reaction to the group symbolized the turning point of the workshop and forced a decision. As an educator, he was impatient with process when a job needed to be done; he felt more comfortable once a clear plan had been devised. In another way this turning point cleared the air and defined the focus of the rest of the workshop.

The issues of product and process in the workshop cannot be easily dismissed for they are both significant and complex. The fragile relationship between the two, particularly in the context of a two-week workshop, is crucial to

understanding the events described in the narrative account of this phase. The decision to produce a magazine became a clearly stated goal of the workshop only after the workshop was one-third over, and it defined the nature of the experience thereafter. How people reacted to that decision accounts for certain unintended consequences.

One of these was the differing levels of participant commitment to the production of the magazine. These differences manifested themselves in the degree of individual participation in the steps involved in completing the magazine. These levels ranged from total involvement on the part of about five of the group to almost no involvement by two members of the group. The other five were somewhere in the middle.

This is not to suggest that those who did not actively participate in the production of the magazine were not involved in a learning process. There were at least two levels of process occurring simultaneously in the workshop. These levels can be identified as the interaction between the participants themselves, primarily in the context of the living setting of the workshop, and the process involved in producing the magazine. These two levels of process were often in conflict because they represented differing assumptions about the means of accomplishing the workshop goals.

This conflict is evident in the group journal, with implicit and explicit entries on individual commitments to the magazine. Some of the participants rejected the production of a magazine as a legitimate outcome of the workshop and limited their participation in it. From the staff's viewpoint this rejection meant a lack of commitment on the teacher's part while to the teachers involved it was more a matter of individual emphasis. The rejection of the magazine did not result in a complete withdrawal from the workshop by these individuals; they simply assumed a role which did not include full participation in the magazine production process.

In a sense this self-definition of one's role is compatible with the precepts of humanistic education, and in those terms it was an appropriate response. But in the context of learning Foxfire skills, it created tensions between learners who made different kinds of choices. This tension is clearly shown by the data, and caused a split between those who stayed on through the end of the magazine's preparation and those who left for the weekend. Those who stayed resented those who left even though the latter had made their intentions clear well before the weekend.

Although the staff did not attempt to force an involvement in the magazine, they nonetheless felt that

participation in the workshop meant a commitment to that product. This belief was strongly held and was in direct conflict with the humanistic aspects and the time frame of the workshop. The isolated, cooperative intentional community had strong overtones of experiential learning with a process orientation. But the structured learning experiences of the first four days and beyond contradicted that orientation. A confusion resulted about the relationship of the structure to the learning assumptions.

This confusion was in part due to the staff's interpretation of Foxfire, which demanded the development of technical skills. The structured experiences set a tone that initially placed the learner in a more passive role than the planners really wanted. As a consequence the teachers were not psychologically prepared to take on the collective responsibility of the magazine. What seemed to be the abrupt imposition of the magazine by the technical advisor jolted the teachers into individually deciding how they would act. This imposition represented a contradiction to the image of the workshop as a structure for learning Foxfire skills. The magazine became an end in itself in the minds of many of the teachers, some accepting it and forming a sub-group committed to its completion and others forming another sub-group which chose not to participate.

The broad issue of process and product as it related to the magazine is a symbol of the tension in Foxfire-Vermont, but the workshop was more complex than just a vehicle for producing a magazine. It was a group of people living together with common beliefs but differing expectations of themselves and the experience.

The staff had assumed during the planning that the motivation levels of participants would be similar. When it became apparent that individuals came with differing levels of motivation and commitment, the staff made the implicit decision to allow the group itself to determine how these differences would be worked out, a decision consistent with humanistic practice.

What emerged from this dynamic was a series of complex interactions in the context of a group decision-making process that were guided by individual expectations and needs. At the same time, however, the rhetoric of the workshop created a kind of myth about the importance of process in Foxfire. This rhetoric caused confusion: If process was so important, why was there such an emphasis on product? In retrospect this question can be understood by examining staff assumptions about the workshop and their relationship to what actually happened.

The expectation of the planners that each participant would go through the steps of completing a Foxfire project

assumed that these steps were a process similar to Wigginton's four levels of Foxfire. But the staff's interpretation assumed that these four levels could be effectively condensed in a two-week time frame, while simultaneously achieving the other objectives of the workshop. Again this series of structured and unstructured steps with the magazine as an end product conflicted with some of the goals for a humanistic process.

On the one hand the staff felt that each participant would define for him or herself how he or she would function individually and as part of the group. However, the imposition of the product expectation limited this definition. The myth of free choice in this respect was perpetuated by both staff and participants as a communal value. It is articulated often in journal entries, but the staff and peer pressure behind the myth cannot be ignored. In effect the myth of free choice was in contradiction to the goal of producing a magazine because it assumed that individuals could opt to participate or not participate in the magazine. In fact, those who did opt not to participate were seen as deviants by the staff and group. Other individuals felt torn as a result of the conflicting messages. This created conflicts within the group; individuals were not supported if they chose to pursue other activities, such as extensive

interviewing in the community after the deadline for magazine articles.

In summary, the decision to publish a magazine by the end of the workshop met the expectations of the staff, which included providing a reality-based goal to encourage skill development, and actively involving participants in the process of completing a magazine. Unanticipated consequences of this decision were that some participants chose not to participate in magazine production entirely or they limited their involvement; varying degrees of participant commitment to the workshop itself were expressed through the magazine issue; and sub-groups among participants formed over commitment to and participation in the magazine.

Organizational decision No. 4: the integration of directed and non-directed learning experiences. The planners viewed the workshop as a series of directed and non-directed learning experiences integrated to accomplish the stated objectives. This integration of two learning approaches was a philosophical compromise on the appropriate means to achieving ends. Some of the planners felt that the workshop should be structured with directed learning activities, while others held that once the organization and staff resources were established the learners should be left to determine how best to achieve the workshop goals.

The magazine decision, however, greatly affected the form of the unstructured learning experiences. The product goal assumed some direction, as did the need to learn specific Foxfire skills. The compromise on this issue resulted in a mixture of activities perceived by the planners to be both structured and unstructured. The first third of the workshop was seen as structured, providing the basic skills of Foxfire, while the rest of the workshop was viewed as more open ended.

One of the unintended consequences of this strategy was that the initial structured activities set a tone for the entire workshop. It was implied that the staff held and controlled the resources and expertise needed by teachers. This created a conflict between the rhetoric put forth by the staff on the community as a learning resource and the structured nature of learning activities. A good illustration of this conflict was the use of outside resource people in the workshop. By bringing in speakers from the Vermont Historical Society the staff believed they were providing valuable input by giving participants useful background information on oral history work around the state. However, the actual resource sessions, although highly relevant to the content of Foxfire, contradicted the learner-centered rhetoric of the workshop.

For example, one presentation followed a day of field work by the participants in surrounding communities. The

fact that informal presentations on the day's field work were suspended until the next morning to allow for the presentation suggested that it was more important for the teachers to listen to a professional historian than it was to share their immediate experiences.

Implicit in this approach was the staff assumption that listening to outside resource people was a way of learning about Foxfire and oral history. This assumption conflicted with the Foxfire emphasis on learner-directed development of knowledge within the community and the experiential rhetoric of the workshop itself.

The use of pre-identified resource people to give formal presentations suggested that professional oral historians were the best source of information. Although this was not the planners intent, the structured presentations simulated the formal classroom in a way that conflicted with Foxfire. Because the teacher advisor had herself received considerable help from outside people, she assumed that they could also be valuable for the teachers in the workshop.

The difference, however, was that she had sought help out of a specific need to get her project off the ground; she had known what she needed. In the workshop this need was not felt. The use of the consultants contributed to the atmosphere of the workshop community as an artificial

academic entity separate from the realities of the towns and villages important to the Foxfire approach.

Along these lines the planners assumed that inter-generational interaction would be accomplished in the surrounding natural communities. This interaction would allow the teachers to practice the skills and use the knowledge derived in the structured portions of the workshop in more unstructured ways and develop the affective skills of Foxfire. Specifically, interviewing was perceived as the major activity of the work in the community. There were few guidelines offered on what the interviews should involve by way of content or focus. Further, age and other characteristics of the people involved were not stipulated by the staff. Each teacher was left to his or her own devices to determine whom they wished to interview and write about.

Going into the community for interviews became the main focus of the second third of the workshop. It presented the first opportunity for the teachers to venture out into the community to encounter the unfamiliar with a clear purpose. Initially the field work allowed each teacher to grapple with and define the way he or she would approach the task of creating an article. This was the most unstructured part of the workshop, and during this phase the staff shifted from an instructional to a support

role, providing guidance to those who requested it.

Teaching interviewing skills involved structured workshops that covered the technical aspects of the skill as well as the more affective dimensions. The teachers also interviewed each other in preparation for the field work, as they might do in their own classrooms. This emphasis on relating workshop activities to classroom application existed throughout the workshop and was viewed as a way of directly relating the teacher's immediate experiences to the school setting from which they came. The conscious staff decision to make this connection continually, both conceptually and operationally, accounts in part for the overall feeling of structure in the workshop.

Stated differently, the staff, particularly the teacher advisor, felt strongly that these connections should be made to strengthen the possibility of successful adaptation during the school year. It was assumed that successful adaptation of Foxfire in Vermont would have to be made in the context of traditionally oriented school systems, which would require Foxfire's justification in traditional educational terms. This meant that the workshop needed to focus not only on this justification but also on the politics of introducing an essentially non-traditional educational approach to traditional settings. Many hours of informal discussion between the teacher advisor and the teachers

occurred on these issues. It became an important issue in the workshop and the data show that the teachers felt that the workshop prepared them in this way.

The emphasis on structured activities was in part a reflection of the staff's need to make these connections explicitly in ways they felt were appropriate to the teachers' backgrounds and experience in educational settings. At the heart of this assumption and resulting strategy is the question of how to prepare classroom teachers working in traditional settings to incorporate non-traditional projects such as Foxfire.

The assumption in the program was that there would be little active administrative support for Foxfire, and teachers would need to develop political skills to be successful. This is why experienced teachers were preferred for the program. On another level, though, the desire to prepare teachers to implement Foxfire overshadowed concerns for living up to experiential educational concepts by continually focusing on application during the school year. The teacher advisor was the embodiment of this concern as were the other staff who viewed the workshop as a preparatory phase.

A contradiction in the analysis arises here. The workshop was in fact planned and carried out as a self-contained learning community based on experiential learning

concepts with humanistic overtones.

The emphasis, however, was supposedly on preparing for school application through relatively structured means. The conceptual analysis must take into account both of these orientations because the data suggest that a blend of the two existed that created both continuity and confusion.

The structured components and activities provided a series of reference points for the teachers. This continually happened throughout the workshop so that the group became the class that, as Wigginton suggests, is the place to share and evaluate experiences. It seemed important to have this "class" because it was, on a teacher level, the equivalent of a class of students in their own schools. The group was the classroom, and it absorbed the processes being played out around it. It became more important in the end than the surrounding communities because the teachers felt more comfortable with it. The staff unwittingly encouraged this because they felt comfortable with their expectations of what a learning community should be. The drawback of this was the de-emphasis of the communities. But it can be argued that the teachers did develop the skills, listed under the workshop evaluation, they needed; the data, as given in the preceding chapter, support this. Clearly the magazine reinforced the inward nature of the group because it forced the individuals to come together

physically and emotionally.

What is important to qualify here is the nature of the community field work. Although its quality and depth may be questionable in the spirit of Foxfire, it nonetheless represents unstructured learning that was defined by the learner. Some examples of these experiences are modest reflections of Foxfire, such as the article one of the teachers did on her own family. Clearly in this article the unfamiliar aspect of Foxfire is lacking, but at the same time a personal need was fulfilled that led to work in the broader community.

Underlying the design decision to integrate directed and non-directed learning experiences was the staff assumption that the participants were capable of functioning effectively in both approaches and able to conceptually and experientially integrate them. Most were able to accomplish this integration, while for others it was confusing and unattainable. At the same time the focus on classroom application brought clarity to this approach and provided a realistic framework from which to evaluate this integration.

In summary, the anticipated consequences of the decision to integrate the two approaches were to: strike a phased balance between traditional and non-traditional learning approaches appropriate to Foxfire; provide a way of learning how Foxfire can be implemented in traditional settings; and encourage the teachers to share their immediate workshop

experiences and accumulated classroom experience in preparation for the coming year. The unanticipated consequences of this decision were that: some of the teachers were unable to function effectively in the unstructured phase of the workshop; some were unable to integrate conceptually the two; and for some a confusion existed about the relationship of the unstructured and structured experiences to the magazine.

Summary of the training phase. The workshop data, including participant evaluations, reflect the emergence of some real contradictions of intention in the program design. Differences in perception of the goals of the workshop and the resulting tensions can be traced directly to those areas in which Foxfire and humanistic education values diverge. Accommodating these divergent values, which created multiple and sometimes contradictory expectations, became an underlying theme in the workshop. At the same time, however, these tensions and contradictions had little effect on the planned outcomes of the experience; rather, they created a group dynamic that was unanticipated but not detrimental to the staff's values and expectations.

During the program, the planners were aware of the importance of Foxfire and inservice concepts of education. The significance of humanistic education concepts, however, surfaced only later, providing, ultimately, a useful

framework for the analysis of this phase of the case study. The following charts, comparing Foxfire and humanistic education, are intentionally rigid in order to demonstrate the sources of tension that arose during the program training phase. The first chart contrasts the characteristics of the two; the second identifies their shared values; the third lists their divergent values. The listing of the characteristics is random. The charts are developed from the author's interpretation of the values of Foxfire and humanistic education.

## C H A R T # 1

CONTRASTING CHARACTERISTICS OF FOXFIRE  
AND HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

<u>Characteristics of Foxfire</u>	<u>Characteristics of Humanistic Education</u>
1. There should be a balance between process and product.	1. More concerned with process than product. Human interaction is an end in itself.
2. There are specific technical skills to be developed.	2. The skills of humanistic education are primarily interpersonal.
3. Values intergenerational communication and its documentation.	3. Generally emphasizes peer interaction aimed at mutual support and is not concerned with documentation.
4. Values the past, old ways of doing things as a basis of understanding the present and preparing for the future.	4. Emphasizes the here and now.
5. Learning takes place best in natural communities interacting with the unfamiliar.	5. Focuses inward on the individual in the context of the group.
6. Relies on primary sources and personal accounts as a method of recording history using an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on the fields of history, English, sociology and anthropology.	6. Not concerned with history or any other discipline per se.

<u>Characteristics of Foxfire</u>	<u>Characteristics of Humanistic Education</u>
<p>7. Fosters self-understanding through interaction with an immediate social environment different from the learner's. Is concerned with the preservation of the skills and knowledge of the past and contributes to a public awareness of the value of cultural continuity.</p>	<p>7. Humanistic education fosters self-understanding through interaction in familiar and unfamiliar social environments.</p>
<p>8. Requires the teacher initially to take an active role in instruction.</p>	<p>8. Requires the teacher to act more as a facilitator rather than an active teacher of specific skills and knowledge.</p>
<p>9. Requires the teacher to have a knowledge and understanding of both the students and the community beyond the school.</p>	<p>9. Is concerned with the student in a broad societal context.</p>
<p>10. Works within the school and community as it exists.</p>	<p>10. Is sometimes outside the norms of the school or the community.</p>

## C H A R T # 2

## SHARED VALUES OF FOXFIRE AND

## HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

1. Both value the role of experience in learning.
2. Both value human interaction on a cooperative basis.
3. Both aim at increased self-understanding.
4. Both aim at increased understanding and appreciation of others.
5. Both acknowledge the value of encountering and overcoming the difficulties for the learning process.
6. Both value self-directed learning and increasing the learner's independence.

## C H A R T # 3

DIVERGENT VALUES OF FOXFIRE AND  
HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

1. Foxfire is more concerned with a product.
2. Foxfire is more concerned with the development of technical and cognitive skills.
3. Foxfire values the past and its documentation as a major focus for learning.
4. In Foxfire the teacher is initially more of an instructor and less of a facilitator.

The analysis of the training phase forms the most substantive section of this chapter, dealing, as it does, most directly with the key issue under examination: the tensions arising in a program to prepare rural inservice teachers to develop a new curriculum based on Foxfire. The latent struggle between humanistic education and Foxfire that arose during the workshop finally provided the means to understanding those very tensions. The implementation phase, less intense and less pivotal in the overall study, will be examined only briefly.

Analysis of the implementation phase: organizational assumptions. The organizational decisions of the planners for the follow-up consisted of a series of articulated and unarticulated assumptions formed out of a number of perceived realities and pressures. In the implementation phase, the program shifted from the group-oriented goals of the summer workshop to goals more appropriate for the various schools and communities. Furthermore, there was a lack of clarity about the goals of the follow-up that created confusion for both the teachers and the staff.

The planners' assumptions, both articulated and unarticulated, can be summarized as follows:

1. the summer workshop had developed the necessary skills and attitudes for the teachers; they would be able to undertake local Foxfire style projects successfully

2. each teacher should assume primary responsibility for initiating and carrying out these projects
3. the local projects should be self-sufficient and autonomous, drawing upon locally available human and financial resources
4. the staff's role in this process should be secondary with on-site support upon teacher request
5. for evaluation, the primary evidence of success would be the completion of a local publication by the end of the school year

These assumptions were based on a combination of factors. First, the experience of the summer workshop assured the staff that the goals of the training phase had been achieved and the teachers were ready to act on an individual basis. Related to this assumption was the commitment the program had made to the grantor, Title I of the Higher Education Act, that the teachers would be capable of implementing local projects. The follow-up was a test of the overall effectiveness of the program. The remaining assumptions also stemmed from the original proposal, which described the production of Foxfire-style publications around the state. The proposal also emphasized local autonomy for projects and the desirability of using local resources.

One of the main concerns to arise centered on loyalty: was the teachers' primary loyalty to be offered to the group or to the local Foxfire project? To whom were the teachers

responsible: the project staff or their own school administrators? The planners, following the description in the grant, assumed the teachers were responsible to both the program and their schools. This dual responsibility was only vaguely articulated and was confusing to the teachers when choices had to be made between one or the other. Furthermore the absence of any provision for on-site documentation or on-going evaluation for the follow-up made it difficult for the staff to know what actually was happening in the schools.

In a sense the planners felt that a bargain had been made with the teachers based on a product expectation. This bargain was perceived by the planners to be negotiable along the way in terms of the nature of local projects, but the process of such negotiation was never defined. Negotiability was one of the unarticulated assumptions which was never fully understood by the teachers.

Local publications were the central goal of the follow-up. This goal had been articulated by the planners from the beginning of the program and was a pre-condition for teacher participation. It was a condition of the grant and the planners felt committed to it. One of the difficulties in this product expectation was a lack of understanding by the planners of the dynamics and problems of local implementation. The planners held fast to the notion that

signing on by the teachers was in itself a commitment to full participation in the program with a local product as evidence of a successful project. Although they were aware of the product expectation, unfortunately the teachers were unaware of this requirement in the grant and its importance to the planners. As a result, an on-going tension was created between the expectations of the planners and the realities of school implementation. This tension was exacerbated by geographical distance and the psychological isolation of the teachers from their fellow participants and the staff. The loose nature of the staff support during this phase further confused the teachers about the role of the staff.

Organizational decision No. 1: four day-long follow-up sessions. The staff viewed the four day-long workshops as a way of reducing the isolation of the teachers by trying to recreate the support group and sense of fellowship of the summer workshop. In fact, though, the meetings resembled alumni reunions and never accomplished their goals. Several factors contributing to this can be directly traced to the confusions of the follow-up itself. The agendas for the meetings were left open for the teachers, contrary to the predetermined and specific orientation of the summer workshop. Teacher input on the content or process of the

meetings was seldom forthcoming and the meetings had a floundering, uncomfortable quality. The sense of collective staff and teacher ownership and group decision making developed in the summer workshop faded. This collective spirit was no longer appropriate for teachers without a common project who met once every two months for one day.

The follow-up meetings in structure and format were inappropriate to the goal of maintaining a support group. The time allotted was inadequate for this purpose in view of the distances people needed to travel. For several teachers it meant more time on the road than at the meetings. The concept of a support group in itself may have been inappropriate in this phase because the teachers had changed their focus from the summer group to their individual school situations. Ironically the meetings had the unintended effect of acting as a de-selection mechanism for teachers who did not initiate local projects. The message the teachers received was that the meetings were for people developing projects.

Perhaps full weekend sessions structured along the lines of the summer could have accomplished the stated goals of the follow-up, but this organizational alternative was never seriously considered by the planners. In short these meetings neither met the needs of the staff with their product orientation or the needs of the teachers torn between the needs of their regular responsibilities and the

implementation of the new project. In fact, the meetings contributed to the teachers' reduced sense of program ownership and involvement. The planners were locked into the phases described in the grant and were unwilling to change at this point, even though the overall objectives of the grant were not being served by the meetings.

Another contributing factor was the fact that the staff was only involved with the program on a part-time basis during the follow-up period. The project director and the two other staff members were geographically separated from each other during this phase, so that communication was relatively infrequent. The staff's involvement with regular jobs left them little time to evaluate the program and consider alternative strategies. In fact the lack of communication made them unaware of these issues until the school year was half over.

Organizational decision No. 2: each teacher was allowed to define and develop his or her own project based on local conditions. As discussed earlier in this section the follow-up phase was perceived by the planners as a period for project implementation with the teachers assuming primary responsibility and the staff filling a secondary role of support. This arrangement seemed logical to the planners given their assumptions about the nature of local educational change in Vermont and their confidence in the

teachers' abilities to act effectively. The staff felt that the expectations about local implementation had been set and it was up to the teachers to function on an individual basis and produce local publications, as described in the grant.

The change from the collective goals of the summer workshop to the emphasis on individual goals could have been facilitated by overt assistance and explanation. But both the structure of the workshop and the follow-up failed to consider this need. The adaptive planning process of the summer, which involved the entire group in decision making, came to a halt at the end of the workshop and was never recreated.

The staff articulated a willingness to provide on-site support to the teachers if they requested it. The fact that few teachers did so indicated that they were uncomfortable or unclear about the role of the staff or the meaning of support at this stage. Here the inconsistency of the training design in relation to the follow-up design was evident. During the workshop any individual could expect support and assistance from the group. During the follow-up this support was not immediately available either from the other teachers or the staff.

The consequences of this collapse in assistance were that two teachers were not able to complete projects. One

of these teachers, who was in his first year, did not attempt to begin a project because it seemed too difficult. The other teacher began but abandoned her project as logistically impossible. Had she received staff support her project might have proceeded, but she was unsure about what if any support from staff was available. At the same time, the staff did not take the initiative of communicating directly with her to offer support. For these two teachers the assumptions about individual initiative were inappropriate. Their regular teaching responsibilities were paramount and demanded their full attention.

For some teachers the extra time and energy required for a Foxfire project over and above the exacting requirements of their regular teaching responsibilities was considerable. It was an issue that the planners considered only in the most superficial way, minimizing its importance by pointing to the experience and motivation of the teachers.

As a contrast to the planners' assumptions it is worth examining the issues of local implementation from the teachers' perspective. The staff assumed that Foxfire would be the primary concern of the teachers and somehow their other responsibilities would take a back seat to their projects. As it turned out, this expectation was naive and unrealistic. The staff did not consider the demands a full-time teaching

load, with its related responsibilities, makes upon teachers. No provision had been made in the design to give the teachers released time for the follow-up meetings or on-site activities nor was any provision made for lightening their regular responsibilities for the sake of this new project. The teachers were placed in the position of fulfilling all their customary responsibilities, and in addition directing a non-traditional educational project.

Furthermore, the meaning of the program as the teachers perceived it changed when they returned to their schools. The change in meaning was shaped by the culture of the schools manifested in the patterns of daily routines. Each teacher was left to develop his or her project in isolation from the overall curriculum of the school. In Foxfire terms this meant that the teachers faced the problem of effecting curriculum changes in their schools, getting access to the community as a learning setting, and actively involving students in this setting. The question of the teachers' relationship to their school administration was central to how they developed their projects and dealt with these problems.

Because the staff did not have on-going data about these problematic situations little support was given to the teachers. Again the staff's assumptions were responsible for their inaction. However, despite the lack of staff

involvement and the lack of clarity about their roles, the local projects developed, each with a unique dynamic and momentum. Except for the two teachers who did not implement projects, the program results of the ten other teachers met the overall program goals.

One characteristic common to the local projects, which are described in Chapter Three, was the integration of Foxfire into the formal curriculum of the school. In some cases it became part of the English curriculum, in others, social studies, and in one, science. This integration was important because it gave the Foxfire approach an academic legitimacy in the eyes of administrators, students, and the community that helped to resolve logistical problems such as transportation to interviews and scheduling. This acceptance evolved from the application and selection process preceding the program which asked the teachers to describe how Foxfire would be adapted to the school's existing curriculum. As a result, most of the teachers discussed this adaptation with their administrators and in some cases their school boards. The stage then had been set and support was maximized in the pre-workshop stage on a local level. The teachers who did not carry out projects did little or no pre-planning.

The most successful projects were those that maximized this pre-planning stage and went beyond the official school

structures to include the community. These teachers capitalized on their experience in the community which resulted in continuing support throughout the school year.

The confusion about the staff's role and responsibility became secondary to teachers who developed local bases of support. For several teachers this meant recruiting and training other teachers in their schools to participate in the project. The involvement of other teachers was an unanticipated outcome of the follow-up and accounts in part for the self-sufficiency of the local projects. It also accounts for the ineffectiveness of the four follow-up meetings since the new teachers who had been recruited by the participants could not relate to the assumption that the meetings were to serve as a support group.

At that point the confusion about the staff's role in the follow-up was relatively insignificant; staff became secondary in the teachers' minds as their own projects came into focus. The staff interpreted this development as a threat to the achievement of the program's goal of producing local publications since the staff was unaware that projects were developing in local terms. The teachers were committed to their projects and making substantial progress toward their realization, but the staff did not realize it. The teachers by and large adapted Foxfire to their school situations in creative ways. Not surprisingly, of the five

projects which still operate today, all included other teachers at the early stage, which gave the project a broader base in the curriculum.

Organizational decision No. 3: production of a publication. The anxieties of the staff about its role in the program came to a head in the early winter of the follow-up and resulted in their decision to publish Rowen. This decision can be viewed as a crisis in the management of the program resulting from the uneasiness of the staff about the development of local projects. The staff was out of touch with the local projects and felt, finally, that the follow-up design needed to be altered to revitalize the program. The teachers did not share this anxiety; they were, in fact, working on local projects within the limitations of their other responsibilities. This revitalization was seen as a way of rekindling the collective values of the summer workshop by involving the teachers in the production of a group publication. The staff expected that the dynamic of producing the workshop publication would be recreated in Rowen, realizing the support goals of the follow-up. Instead it reimposed an unwelcome product goal.

On another level the staff was anxious about its responsibility to the grantor in terms of fulfilling the conditions of the grant, which included the production of

local publications. The staff viewed Rowen as a vehicle for realizing this responsibility and creating a more active role in the program for themselves. However, an active role for the staff at this point was confusing to the teachers. An individualistic orientation had been established and each teacher had set priorities based on the assumption that they were working autonomously. The collective values reintroduced by the staff in mid-stream created conflicts for the teachers with their own agendas and priorities. Rowen imposed an unanticipated set of expectations on the teachers that overburdened them and confused them about their own roles and that of the staff.

Instead of contributing to the development of local projects, Rowen diverted attention from them by imposing a product with a deadline. The staff, however, felt they had reclaimed the ownership of the program. Ironically, though the purpose was to reinstate the humanistic orientation of the summer, the decision to publish Rowen was imposed from above. For the teachers already involved in productions the pull back to the group was confusing.

A set of competing concerns emerged. On the one hand the staff's intention was to insure a publication and fulfill the requirements of the grant. However, the staff never articulated the rationale for Rowen to the teachers in terms of this responsibility. On the other hand the

teachers' priorities were based on responsibilities to their individual projects in the context of their roles as full-time teachers. They were unaware of the pressures behind the decision to publish Rowen. The teachers were committed to Foxfire, but in a local context.

Section Two: Summary of Findings  
from the Case Study

This section presents a summary of findings from the case study based on the preceding analysis of the training and implementation phases of the 1974 Foxfire-Vermont program. The analysis of the case study has focused on the major program decisions. The analysis of the training phase examined these decisions in terms of their intended and unintended consequences within a Foxfire/humanistic education framework. The implementation phase looked at the tensions between the expectations of the staff for the follow-up and the realities encountered by the teachers during this phase.

The organizational decisions of the planners have provided the core of the analysis and form the basis for the findings of the case study. Underlying these decisions were a number of articulated and unarticulated assumptions which affected the program's development and outcomes. In an organizational sense these assumptions resulted in separate and sometimes competing agendas for the staff and the teachers.

The planners had assumed that the objectives of the workshop were attainable. This assumption was supported by their perception of the participants as highly motivated

individuals who joined the program because of their desire to use Foxfire in their schools. A connection was made in the planners' thinking between this perceived motivation, the chief criteria in participant selection, and the participants' ability to operate effectively in the workshop and program as the planners thought they should. This connection further assumed that the teachers would be able to function in both directed and non-directed learning situations.

When some of the participants resisted staff and peer pressure to work on the magazine during the workshop, the staff members accepted these choices as an outcome of their decision to create a workshop built upon self-directed learning and experiential concepts. At the same time, however, the workshop structure was intensive, relatively well-defined, and oriented toward skill attainment and production of the magazine. The implications of these contradictory decisions in terms of their consistency with Foxfire were not completely understood as they related to the individual differences, needs, and expectations of the participants. This lack of understanding accounted for a number of the unintended consequences of the workshop.

Despite its internal contradictions based on tensions between Foxfire values and humanistic education values, the carefully planned training phase was manageable in the

immediate time frame of the summer workshop. Because the emphasis on cooperative values was strong during the workshop, the staff and participants were able to resolve the major tension surrounding the product/process issue. However, these tensions remained unresolved in the broader time frame of the follow-up, when the participants were widely separated from each other and focused on their school responsibilities. The group decision-making process used during the summer, which facilitated an on-going discussion of workshop issues, dissolved during the year. The expectation of autonomous activity for the implementation phase also directed attention away from the group and toward the school setting.

That part of the program design that emphasized product as an important outcome in both the training and implementation phases created a number of tensions between the planners and the teachers. These tensions manifested themselves in a variety of ways. Initially the design called for the production of a workshop publication and then a series of local publications. In both phases the teachers were to take on primary roles.

Although both goals were attained, there was confusion about responsibility and roles, first in the summer workshop around the production of the magazine Process, and later during the implementation phase with the decision to

publish Rowen. In the publication of Rowen the roles of the staff and teachers became reversed: the priorities of the staff were placed first in contradiction to the earlier expectations of locally focused priorities. The shift from the values of the collective activity of the summer to individual activity for the school year were never well articulated. Rowen further confused the teachers by the imposition of a top-down organizational structure. Despite this confusion the teachers were able to carry on effective local projects. This can be attributed to their high level of motivation and the success of the summer workshop in accomplishing its goals. In short, the expectation for individual activity in the schools was realized in spite of the staff's confusion and anxiety.

During the summer workshop, differences in expectations between the staff and teachers were reconciled; during the school year, the expectations diverged, based on differing sets of pressures and realities. The staff shifted from an expression of confidence in the skills the teachers had gained during the workshop to an aggressive stand urging the teachers to produce a follow-up publication as proof that the staff had run a successful program. The teachers, on the other hand, had already accepted the responsibility of implementing a local Foxfire project but were faced with the problem of balancing the demands of their regular school

responsibilities against the requirements for a local publication. Based on these findings the final chapter draws conclusions, makes recommendations and offers implications for further research and practice in the field.

## FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>Humanistic education, as it is used here, is based on the author's understanding and interpretation of the application of humanistic psychology to education. Humanistic education holds that real learning involves the total person, which enables the learner to discover his or her own unique qualities. Learning in this sense leads the learner to self-understanding and the ability to make choices about one's own growth. Earlier in this work, Arthur Combs was cited as a spokesman for the humanistic movement, and along with Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers, has applied humanistic psychology to education.

Alfred Alschuler in his article "Humanistic Education" offers a series of guidelines in planning humanistic education programs, which in part form the basis of the humanistic framework used in this analysis. These guidelines include: focusing attention on what is happening in the present; providing an intense, integrated experience of the desired new thoughts, actions, and feelings; helping the person make sense out of his or her experience by attempting to reconceptualize what happened; relating experience to the person's values, goals, behavior, and relationships with others; stabilizing the new thoughts, actions, and feelings through practice; and internalizing the changes. See Alfred Alschuler, "Humanistic Education," in Humanistic Education Sourcebook, ed. Donald A. Read and Sidney B. Simon (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1975), p. 66.

For further elaboration on humanistic education see Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962); and Carl R. Rogers, Freedom to Learn (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1969).

C H A P T E R   V  
FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of findings from the Foxfire-Vermont program. It offers conclusions in light of the literature reviewed earlier in this study, and it discusses implications for research and for practice.

Summary of Findings

The study was designed to answer the following central research question:

What tensions and issues arise in a program designed to prepare rural inservice teachers to implement a new curriculum based on the Foxfire concept?

Summarized below are the major issues that arose in the two phases of the program under examination: the training phase and the follow-up/implementation phase:

Issues of the Training Phase:

1. tension between Foxfire and humanistic education values; i.e., the product versus process issue
2. tension between the demands of the intentional learning community and those of the surrounding communities
3. tension between directed and non-directed learning experiences

Issues of the Follow-up/Implementation Phase:

1. tension between the expectations set in the training phase and the realities of school-year application
2. confusion about the roles and responsibilities of the staff and the teachers in relation to each other and the local projects
3. contradictions inherent in the decision to create a product (Rowen) and the tensions created by distracting the teachers from their local projects

### Conclusions of the Study

This section draws upon the research presented in the review of the literature. Comparisons are made between the findings of this study and the findings of previous studies, with particular reference to the Rand study. The conclusions of the present study offer an alternative conception of staff development from that which prevails in the literature. In this discussion, these aspects of the Foxfire-Vermont program are identified as they apply to rural staff development.

The present study demonstrates that rural staff development programs can prepare teachers to initiate new curricula in their schools. It concurs with Jonathan Sher's recommendation cited in Chapter Two that the teacher is a logical participant in the development of curricula appropriate to the local community and that the curricula should be built upon the "natural advantages" of rural communities.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the study suggests that in order for this to occur certain conditions must be present. Among these are readily available training opportunities for teachers, a certain level of local support, and teacher motivation and initiative. These conditions are necessary for the effective development of rural curricula through staff development programs but they take on new meaning in

light of the findings of the Rand study.

The Rand study, which presently stands as one of the most cited works in the field of staff development, presents a number of conclusions that corroborate the findings of the present study. Among them are the importance of the teacher's sense of efficacy and the need for local support of educational change. The Rand study views program development as an activity which is best carried out through a collaborative effort involving a group of teachers in a single school working on an equal basis. This approach was considered most effective in terms of short-range and long-range success. Another type of strategy considered less effective was what the study called "grass-roots" activity which it defined as activities planned by teachers in relative isolation from school or district officials.<sup>2</sup>

Another conclusion of the Rand study, supported by Alexander Nicholson and Bruce Joyce, is that training opportunities need to be provided close to the work site. The Rand study further maintains that professional learning is critically influenced by organizational factors in the school and the district.<sup>3</sup> The Rand study views program development through staff development as a group effort which seeks to bring about broad-based changes in a school. It is not surprising, then, that it concludes that substantial

local support and leadership are prerequisites for such change. However, the findings of the present study suggest a variation in this model when it is applied to rural schools.

In contrast to the organizational bias of the Rand study, the present study suggests a more individualistic approach to rural staff development which encourages the teacher to define and act upon his or her needs in order to revise the curricula. Program development in rural schools can be carried out by even one or two teachers initiating a new course. To be sure, a certain level of administrative support is necessary but the teachers themselves need to be able to develop that support. Based on the findings of the present study the grass-roots strategy can be more effective in terms of its short- and long-term success than the Rand study would indicate.

Sher helps to explain the effects of the rural environment when he suggests that the community generally has a more direct voice in school and curriculum decisions than it does in urban settings.<sup>4</sup> One of the keys to the effectiveness of the grass-roots strategy in the present study is the concern of the teachers to directly involve the outside community into the developing projects at the school. This was necessary because of the very nature of the project, but it also occurred because of the teachers' awareness of

the need to gain local support for their efforts.

The study by Julia Blake cited in Chapter III, which offered conclusions on effective educational innovation in Vermont, stated that the general support by the community was crucial to effective educational change.<sup>5</sup> The present study concurs with this finding and viewing community support as a significant dimension of rural staff development.

The design of the present study does not, however, directly focus on the significance of the role of the community in the implementation of the local projects. Like the Rand study it does not fully take into account the importance of the community and its relationship to the process of staff development. The limitations of the present study in this respect are similar to those of the Rand study, which also overlooked the importance of the broader social context. However, the importance of this dimension is discussed under the section on implications for research.

Another finding of the Rand study was the overriding importance of teacher efficacy in program development through inservice education. Efficacy is defined as the belief by the teacher that he or she can be effective with the most unmotivated student. The present study strongly supports this finding and offers an expanded definition of teacher efficacy in the context of rural settings. This

definition suggests that involvement with the wider community can be a key factor in a teacher's sense of power and confidence to help students. This involves moving beyond the boundaries of the school to meet and involve the community in the educational process.

This willingness by the teachers in the present study to deal in social and political ways with the community is a characteristic unique to rural education and it suggests that rural teachers acting individually can initiate curriculum change on a relatively small scale. This seems particularly true if the content of the new curriculum is compatible with the values and resources of the community, as was the case in the present study. Foxfire, which studies and respects the qualities of rural life, was particularly appropriate for attracting community support.

The Rand study found that school administrators were far more important to a project's success in the long term than the project director. The present study concurs with this finding but finds that neutral or indifferent principals were compensated for or balanced by strong community support, which insured project continuation and permanent integration into the curriculum. Again, access to the community becomes the most influential factor. At the same time, the present study suggests that the teacher's

ability to involve other teachers in the project had a direct bearing on its success and continuation.

In summary, the findings from the Foxfire-Vermont program present an alternative view to the prevailing knowledge in the field of staff development. In contrast to the organizational development bias of the Rand study stands the conclusion of this study that change can occur in rural schools through the activity or influence of a single teacher. Teachers from the Foxfire-Vermont project, trained during the summer, were able to implement new projects and involve other teachers without large-scale school or administrative involvement. In the light of this finding, there remains a need to examine prevailing research on staff development as it relates to the special circumstances of rural settings.

### Implications for Research

This section presents a series of implications for further research growing out of the findings of the present study. Four areas for further research are suggested. The first focuses on the nature of support that should be developed at the site of curriculum change projects. Although this study reveals the need for on-site support in general, and in particular when an intentional community or centralized site model is adapted for training, there are undoubtedly innovative and comprehensive means of building that support which should be identified by further research.

The Foxfire teachers did come to the program with letters of support from their administrators. The questions for further study are, what more could or should be done before the training program begins? And, once the program is underway, whose responsibility is it to develop local support: the project staff or the teachers? The present study found that the teachers were able to take the responsibility for developing effective local support. However, the relationship between the initiatives that individual teachers take and the overall design of a program needs to be considered. The present study suggests that the program begins not when the training phase begins but as soon as the first planning decisions are made. More effective

ways of involving teachers from the beginning need to be found as a way of focusing their initiatives on building the local support that is crucial to insuring effective curriculum change.

The second area for further research concerns the conditions in rural schools that contribute to teacher efficacy and motivation. This study concurs with the findings of the Rand study concerning the significant effect of teacher efficacy upon the success of curriculum change projects. However, the Rand study's definition of teacher efficacy is limited to the ability of the teacher to function effectively in the classroom. In contrast, this study offers an expanded view of teacher efficacy in rural schools which the Rand study does not address. The definition that emerges from this study includes the classroom but also encompasses the teacher's ability to work effectively with a broad range of people in the local community as part of the educational change process.

Related to the definition of teacher efficacy in rural schools is the need to examine and understand the backgrounds of teachers who participate in rural staff development programs, especially if they involve approaches such as Foxfire. The present study suggests that the local perception of the teacher as a native or an outsider has significant

implications for rural community-oriented program development, and it should be studied in the context of local support for innovation.

The present study did not examine this factor as a formal part of the research, but in retrospect it is important to note that of the twelve teachers in the program under study none were native to the towns in which they taught and only three were native Vermonters. The other nine were what in Vermont are called "transplants," people who came from other states. The significant issue here focuses on the specific training needs of teachers in rural areas who want to do community-oriented curriculum work but may be considered outsiders by the school and community. In Vermont, as in other rural areas where school activities are so closely controlled and scrutinized by the local townspeople, factors which are insignificant or irrelevant in urban or suburban schools may and often do play an important part in the success or failure of change projects.

A third area for further research involves the need to study the specific differences that exist among urban, suburban, and rural staff development needs and the best ways to address each of them effectively. While the term staff development has become a rubric for a wide variety

of activities offered for teachers for the purpose of improving teaching, the specific nature of the social setting and the schools are seldom examined. There is a need to uncover the differences in the realities and needs of teachers in varying settings. As this study suggests, there are some major differences between rural, urban, and suburban schools and their methods for incorporating changes into the curriculum. Research should focus on the differences in schools, the differences in teacher and student characteristics, and the differences in design strategies for working with teachers. Staff development is linked to many factors, including the social organization of the school, its environment, and the characteristics of its population. Simplistic or comprehensive definitions of staff development should be challenged and research conducted on these factors and their effect on practice.

This study also offers a basis on which to conduct further comparative research about innovative programs and their appropriateness to rural schools. What educational approaches other than Foxfire would be likely to increase students' skills and understandings and at the same time be suitable to rural schools?

The fourth and last area for further research focuses on the long-term effects of Foxfire projects on the teachers

who initiate them. To some extent the effectiveness of the program under study was determined by the fact that the Foxfire idea was attractive to the teachers both personally and professionally. They were people who had consciously chosen to live in the rural towns of Vermont, and Foxfire gave them a means of learning more about these communities while they developed in their students attitudes of respect and understanding as well as specific skills. How long do Foxfire projects continue after the conclusion of the training program? Once internalized by teachers, do Foxfire concepts become evident in other aspects of the curriculum? Have Foxfire projects been adopted and carried on by teachers who were not involved in the training?

These research topics are only a beginning. They are not intended to be inclusive, only representative of the issues. In summary, an important overall focus for research should be to determine the extent to which the conclusions of major staff development research projects based on urban and suburban data apply to the study of rural staff development programs.

This type of research is recommended because the present study indicates that the imposition of assumptions about rural settings based on data from non-rural settings can create confusion and tension. Additionally, the author recommends that research on rural staff development should be done in

the context of specific geographical regions to reflect the unique characteristics of those regions. This is important because so much of the current literature ignores the importance of the characteristics and needs of specific regions, perpetuating an overgeneralized approach to the design of staff development programs.

### Implications for Practice

This section offers implications for practice that are drawn from the tensions and issues identified in the training and implementation phases of the program under study. The recommendations center around: 1) the need for the content of inservice training programs to be compatible with design and 2) the need to create and build local support for curriculum change in every phase of the program.

The issues of the training phase revolve around the degree to which the humanistic assumptions of the planners, revealed in the design of the program, conflicted with the goals of Foxfire. One tension revolved around the issue of whether the decision to publish a magazine was to be made by the staff or the participants. Another occurred between the demands of the intentional learning community of the workshop and the attractions of both home and surrounding communities. A third tension in the training phase occurred between directed and non-directed learning experiences; the expressed expectation of the staff that decisions would be made by the individual, for the sake of the group, and the unexpressed expectation that specific skills would be learned and specific outcomes (Process, etc.) achieved.

These tensions were not unmanageable within the overall context of the program's goals and may be that some tension

is of value in bringing individual expectations to light. In staff development programs which seek to encourage participant interaction and decision making it is important that the planners discuss as clearly as they can with each other and the participants what the program goals and expectations are. One of the tensions of the implementation phase reveals the same lack of clarity about the focus of decision making which also created tensions during the training phase, i.e., the decision, imposed by the planners, to publish a magazine. Again, had that decision been part of the original design, both the planners and the teachers could have prepared and planned accordingly.

Another strain emerged during the implementation phase from the convergence of the three major aspects of the program: the teachers' immediate teaching situations, their individual Foxfire projects, and the planners' expectations. The staff assumed that the intentional community formed through the summer workshop would and should be maintained as a focus and source of support for future work. But the analysis shows that this expectation was unrealistic and counterproductive. Future projects should focus instead on enabling teachers to gain and build support on-site. On-site follow-up sessions should be planned around the special needs of each individual teacher, rather than around the participants as a group.

In general, these issues and the solutions which emerge may be subsumed in the discussion of two comprehensive recommendations: 1) content must be compatible with design, and 2) local support must be carefully developed for implementation of rural staff development projects.

Content must be compatible with the design. One of the important issues in this study revolves around the nature of the design process. The planners of Foxfire-Vermont designed a program which they perceived to be carefully constructed with clear goals and a structure that would meet the needs of the program and the participants. At the same time the planners felt confident that the design was realistically based on the social and educational conditions of the settings in which the program would be implemented. However, like many curriculum or program development oriented inservice programs, the planners were unaware of the consequences of their design decisions on the participants. The result was a series of tensions arising from the program's content and process in relation to the needs and expectations of the participants.

What is in question here is an issue of competing agendas and priorities seldom addressed in the literature on staff development. On the one hand, there exist programs that are developed externally by planners with their own interests

and agendas; on the other hand, there are teacher-participants involved in the programs with their needs and priorities. In the present case study Foxfire offered the teachers a content which seemed appropriate to their interests. The design intended to establish a balance between teacher and staff needs and priorities. In fact, however, it only blurred the underlying tensions of the training and implementation design. The training setting under study created a community of teachers who interacted more within that setting than in the rural settings around them. In retrospect this decision appears to be in contradiction to the Foxfire emphasis on interaction in the unfamiliar environment with people of different outlooks.

Another aspect of this contradiction between design and content was the fact that some of the special qualities of rural life were slighted by the planners because their assumptions were rooted in non-rural ideologies. The interactive, learner-centered training model which the planners adapted turned the teachers inward. A temporary learning community was created based on humanistic notions that differed from those of the surrounding rural communities which were to serve as the arena for Foxfire studies.

In the present study the training model employed diminished the rural education context of the program. The

act of bringing together teachers from different rural schools resulted in the dominance of humanistic values, with their urban and suburban overtones. Although the project was to be implemented in rural communities, the teachers and planners were not primarily from rural backgrounds, which reinforced the nonrural orientation.

From another perspective, the rural dimension of the program under study was equated with the rural focus of Foxfire as a concept which gives teachers techniques they can use with their rural students to explore their environments. However, the designers of the training program depended on a repertoire of skills which are more cosmopolitan and which have their roots in humanistic notions of education. The training design was cosmopolitan; the skills taught were rural. It could be said that the program was designed in spite of the rural orientation of the participants and not because of it. The program planners approached the teachers as they would have approached any group of teachers whether they be rural, urban, or suburban. And in fact, while they happened to teach in rural schools, the teachers participating in Foxfire-Vermont were no different from most teachers. The majority, as non-natives, were eager to gain acceptance into their communities by helping students explore their cultural heritage.

As the resulting tensions show, designers of staff

development projects must carefully consider the suitability of learning settings and the background of the project participants. The study further suggests that the problem of competing agendas in staff development programs can be reduced if the planners make their goals and priorities clear throughout all phases of the program and simultaneously work to integrate the goals and interests of the teachers.

It is insufficient, however, simply to recommend that staff development programs articulate their goals and expectations as the way of avoiding unanticipated tensions. This study also clearly demonstrates that even when a program is carefully planned, with a built-in decision-making process that includes both staff and participants, tensions and competing agendas will still exist. Unanticipated outcomes and hidden agendas will always be present when planners create participatory programs which incorporate an organically developing process. While it is neither possible nor desirable in this model to eliminate tensions, there is a need to be constantly aware of and continually responsive to the demands of the process.

The study also suggests that unintended outcomes are inevitable and mechanistic models of staff development which view planning within a management framework are inappropriate to staff development programs that seek to

incorporate process-oriented principles. At a time when mechanistic ideas of planning staff development programs continue to dominate the field, this study highlights the need to develop flexible planning approaches that respect the educational concerns of the people involved.

While the need to involve teachers actively in the planning process is generally agreed upon, there are a number of issues around how best to accomplish this goal that the present study does not answer. One of the major deficiencies of the program under study is that it did not involve the teachers in the planning. Therefore, although the study can offer insight into the need for teacher involvement in planning, it cannot offer guidelines for directing that process.

#### Importance of maintaining focus on local communities.

Another insight which relates to the implementation phase of staff development programs is the issue of project support for teachers working in their own schools. In the present study the support group expectation of the planners, as shown in the analysis section, was inappropriate for a number of reasons. What is significant here is the realization that a short-term intentional learning community cannot provide effective support to teachers in dispersed schools. This may be true for all situations (whether they be rural, urban, or suburban), but distances in rural areas,

both physical and psychological, make the maintenance of a temporary support community difficult.

Once back in their schools teachers must respond to the needs of their immediate settings; the training community becomes irrelevant. To try to recreate a sense of community through short reunions is unrealistic. Instead, the present study suggests, program emphasis should be placed on encouraging the development of local support, and this issue should be carefully covered during the training phase of staff development programs. Support should be close and immediate; it cannot be fully provided by program staff or other teachers miles away from and unfamiliar with local conditions. Instead of struggling against the competing agendas of the training staff and those of the teachers in their own schools, programs should be designed to help teachers build support within the local setting. One way to encourage this support is to require teams of at least two teachers from the same school to participate in the training phase, thus insuring a certain level of local support during the implementation phase. Although Foxfire-Vermont did require teachers to secure assurances of administrative support, greater emphasis could have been placed on interpreting the requirements of the change-project and insuring local commitment in advance. This study clearly indicates the need to incorporate local understanding and support,

to provide adequate transition from the training situation to local implementation.

As part of local support, programs which use a decentralized implementation model need to build in monitoring devices to determine what is occurring while the program is in operation in relation to the goals of the program, and to identify tensions as they arise. These tensions need to be made explicit; the causes should be analyzed and the tensions responded to. By building in such strategies the planners and teachers can be encouraged to deal with tensions as they arise as an integral part of the process. In the course of a two-week workshop and year-long program intended to effect curriculum change tensions and contradictions are bound to arise. A staff development program needs to plan a strategy for identifying and coping with them in creative ways.

There remains a great need to expand our understanding of the potential and needs of rural inservice educators to create challenging learning opportunities for their students. It is hoped that by looking at one program this study has contributed to an understanding of some of the issues surrounding the design and implementation of rural staff development programs.

## FOOTNOTES

Chapter V

<sup>1</sup>Jonathan P. Sher, "What's Next? A Research and Action Agenda for Rural Education," in Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 285.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. VII: Factors Affecting Implementation and Continuation (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, April, 1977).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>4</sup>Sher, "What's Next?" p. 287.

<sup>5</sup>Julia Blake, Title III Kaleidoscope: A Study of Educational Change in Vermont (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont State Department of Education, 1973), p. 7.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agee, James and Evans, Walker. Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960.
- Alschuler, Alfred. "Humanistic Education." In Humanistic Education Sourcebook. Edited by Donald A. Read and Sidney B. Simon, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1975.
- Archambault, Reginald D., ed. Dewey on Education: Appraisals. New York: Random House, 1959.
- Barre/Montpelier Times Argus, April 4, 1976.
- Becker, Howard S. and Geer, Blanche. "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison." Human Organization 16, No. 3 (1957).
- Berman, Paul, and McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin. Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. VII: Factors Affecting Implementation and Continuation. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, April 1977.
- Blake, Julia. Title III Kaleidoscope: A Study of Educational Change in Vermont. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont State Department of Education, 1973.
- Blumer, Herbert. "Society as Symbolic Interaction." In Symbolic Interaction. Edited by Jerome Manis and Bernard Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.
- Bogdan, R., and Taylor, S. J. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.
- Bowers, David G. "OD Techniques and Their Results in 23 Organizations: The Michigan ICL Study." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 9 (1973).
- Bruner, Jerome. The Process of Education. New York: Random House, 1963.
- Bryan, Frank. Yankee Politics in Rural Vermont. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1974.

- (Cherington, Carolyn M.) Human Investment in Vermont: A Survey of Human Resource Problems, Report to the State of Vermont Central Planning Office. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Central Planning Office, 1969.
- Cicourel, A. V. Organizational Processes in Education: Field Research on Interactions Within Educational Organizations. A Report. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, April 1975. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 131 547.)
- Collings, Ellsworth. An Experiment With a Project Curriculum. New York: MacMillan, 1924.
- Combs, Arthur W. The Professional Education of Teachers: A Perceptual View of Teacher Preparation. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965.
- Dewey, John. Experience and Education. New York: MacMillan, 1938.
- Duberman, Martin. Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community. New York: Anchor Books, 1973.
- Dunne, Faith. "Choosing Smallness: An Examination of the Small School Experience in Rural America." In Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom, pp. 81-124. Edited by Jonathan P. Sher. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977.
- Edelfelt, Roy A., and Lawrence, Gordon. "In-Service Education: The State of the Art." In Rethinking In-Service Education. Edited by Roy A. Edelfelt and Margo Johnson. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1975.
- Fulcrum 5: A Student Publication of the Upper Valley. Hanover, N.H.: Fox-Den Publications, Summer 1977.
- Gager, Ronald B. An Inquiry into the Learning Process Underlying Various Modes of Experientially-Based Education. Washington, D.C.: IDEAS, Inc., 1974.
- Goffman, Erving. Asylums. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1961.
- Gold, R. "Roles in Sociological Field Observations." Social Forces 36 (1958).
- Harrison, Roger, and Hopkins, Richard. "The Design of Cross-Cultural Training: An Alternative to the University Model." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 3, No. 4 (1967).

- Janetti, James. "Mary T's Farm." Salt Magazine. Kennebunk, Maine: Kennebunk High School, 1976.
- Leiberman, Ann and Shiman, David A. "The Stages of Change in Elementary School Settings." In The Power to Change: Issues for the Innovative Educator. Edited by Carmen M. Culver and Gary J. Hoban. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
- Mack, Daniel. "The Foxfire Experience Reviewed." Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976).
- Matheson Associates. Challenge and Opportunity to Intermingle Old and New, 1975-2000: Report to the Vermont Planning and Community Services Agency. Montpelier, Vt.: Matheson Associates, 1970.
- Maslow, Abraham H. Toward a Psychology of Being. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962.
- McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin and Marsh, David D. "Staff Development and School Change." Teachers College Record 80 (September 1978).
- "Mountain Life and Work" (monthly magazine). Clintwood, Virginia: Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
- Nicholson, Alexander M., and Joyce, Bruce R. "The Literature on In-Service Teacher Education, An Analytic Review. ISTE Report III." Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1976. (Typewritten.)
- Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. Rural Education Program: Basic Program Plans. Portland, Ore.: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, April 1972.
- Process: About Caring and Learning. Brattleboro, Vt.: Foxfire-Vermont program, 1974.
- Rogers, Carl. Freedom to Learn. Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1969.
- Roth, Julius. Timetables. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.
- Rosenfeld, Stuart. "Centralization Versus Decentralization: A Case Study of Rural Education in Vermont." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1976.
- Rowen: The Second Cutting. Brattleboro, Vt.: Foxfire-Vermont program, 1975.

- Rubin, Louis J. A Study on the Continuing Education of Teachers. Washington, D.C.: Curriculum Development Associates, Inc., undated.
- Sarason, Seymour B. The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.
- Schiffer, Judith. "A Framework for Staff Development." Teachers College Record 80 (September 1978).
- Seiber, Sam D. "Images of the Practitioner and Strategies of Educational Change." Sociology of Education 45 (Fall 1972).
- Sher, Jonathan P., ed. Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "What's Next? A Research and Action Agenda for Rural Education." In Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom. Edited by Jonathan P. Sher. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977.
- Sobel, Francis Thomas. "What Variables Appear Important in Changing Traditional In-Service Training Procedures?" ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 083 146, 1971.
- Stake, Robert E. "The Case-Study Method in Social Inquiry." Educational Researcher 7, No. 2 (February 1978).
- Teacher Training in Education: A Report by a Committee of Inquiry Appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science Under the Chairmanship of Lord James of Rusholme (The James Report). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972.
- Terkel, Studs. Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do. New York: Pantheon, 1974.
- True, Marshall. Vermont State Department of Education 1900-1968. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont State Department of Education, 1969.
- Vermont Agency of Development and Community Affairs. Vermont Industrial Data. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Agency of Development and Community Affairs, 1976.

- Vermont Commission on Country Life (Two Hundred Vermonters). Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future. Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Company, 1931.
- Vermont Department of Education. Vermont Design for Education. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Department of Education, 1971.
- Vermont Historical Society. Oral History and Folklore Research for Vermont Schools. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1973.
- "Vermont Life" (quarterly publication). Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Development Department.
- Vermont Planning and Community Services Agency. Challenge and Opportunity: Development to Intermingle Old and New--1975 to 2000. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Planning and Community Services Agency, 1970.
- Vermont Planning Council. Vision and Choice: Vermont's Future. Montpelier, Vt.: The Vermont Planning Council, 1968.
- Vermont State Planning Office. Vermont: Social and Economic Characteristics. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont State Planning Office, 1971.
- Webb, Lee. Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Vermont. Boston: New England Free Press, 1972.
- Willimetz, Emil (producer). "Foxfire." New York: McGraw-Hill Films, 1973.
- Wigginton, Eliot. The Foxfire Book. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Foxfire 2. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Foxfire 3. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Foxfire 4. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Foxfire 5. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1979.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Moments: The Foxfire Experience. Kennebunk, Maine: Star Press, 1975.
- Wilson, S. "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research." Review of Educational Research 47, No. 2 (1977).
- Wise, Robert I. "A Case for the Value of Retrospective Accounts of Curriculum Development." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, April 1977.
- Wood, Pamela. You and Aunt Arie, Kennebunk, Maine: Star Press, 1975.



