

1-1-1980

Holiday celebrations in the elementary school : a conceptual framework for curriculum design.

Robert George Peters

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Peters, Robert George, "Holiday celebrations in the elementary school : a conceptual framework for curriculum design." (1980).

Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014. 3607.

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/3607

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.



HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR CURRICULUM DESIGN

A Dissertation Presented

By

ROBERT GEORGE PETERS

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1980

Education

c

Robert George Peters
All Rights Reserved

1980

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR CURRICULUM DESIGN

A Dissertation Presented

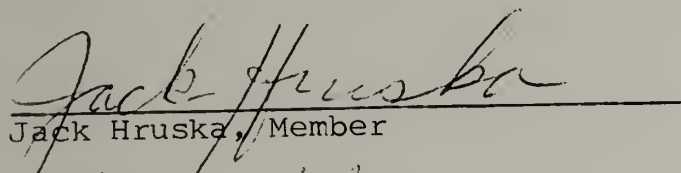
By

ROBERT GEORGE PETERS

Approved as to style and content by:



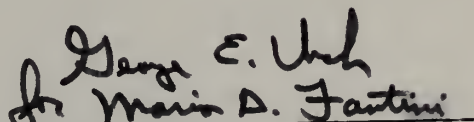
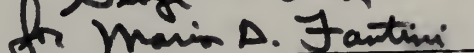
Louis Fischer, Chairperson



Jack Hruska, Member



Myron Glazer, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout the preparation of this dissertation, I have received encouragement and advice from family, colleagues, and friends.

To Dr. Louis Fischer, my appreciation for his thoughtful guidance and helpful suggestions.

To Dr. Jack Hruska and Dr. Myron Glazer, my gratitude for their insightful comments and penetrating questions.

To Barbara Fischer, Stephanie Schamess, and Paul Williamson, my thanks for helping to spawn this dissertation and for serving as sounding boards as it developed.

To the administrators, teachers, staff, children and parents of the Smith College Campus School, my deepest appreciation for providing an environment in which to celebrate.

To my wife and children, my special thanks for being patient, helpful, and supportive as we all endured this lengthy process.

To Kent Lewis, my thanks for his knowledgeable advice and encouragement to continue.

ABSTRACT

Holiday Celebrations in the Elementary School:

A Conceptual Framework for Curriculum Design

(September, 1980)

Robert George Peters, B.A., University of Massachusetts

M.A., University of Massachusetts

Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. Louis Fischer

The purpose of this dissertation has been to create a conceptual framework for holiday celebrations curriculum development in the elementary school. The study developed a framework for decision-making about the selection of holidays, associated learnings, and appropriate organizing centers. Guiding the direction of the study were questions about the role holiday celebrations can play in the child's construction of a world view, the appropriate and justifiable place of holiday celebrations in the elementary curriculum and the factors which need to be considered for the role to be realized.

An historical survey of the development of holiday celebrations in the elementary school revealed their general inclusion within the social studies along with a failure to follow the directions of change taken by the social studies as they responded to changing emphases in the society.

This conclusion coupled with data about current practices in elementary schools indicated that holiday celebrations are generally observed in an habitual fashion which emphasizes craft activities rather than significant learnings. Analysis of three data sources--the subject matter, the society, and the learner--as they relate to holiday celebrations indicated the information to be considered if meaningful curricula are to be designed. Based upon a study of the nature and functions of ritual and its relationship to holiday celebrations, conclusions about the latter's significance for the human condition and their importance to the developing child were drawn. Concepts and generalizations about the generic category of holiday celebrations were also designed as a basic guide for identifying learnings. The school as an appropriate setting for holidays of the commemorative, festive, and religious types was established. Operating from the premise that religious holidays promote important learnings about one's self and others, prescriptions for their appropriate observance in schools as indicated by Supreme Court decisions were outlined. The relationship of holiday celebrations to the aims of education and guidelines from the social studies provided the framework for the identification of additional goals and objectives. Included among the former are the child's development of identity,

the construction of a world view, and the acquisition of democratic dispositions based upon core values (justice, equality, individual dignity, and freedom). The latter emphasize understandings, skills, and attitudes associated with the social studies. Using the research conclusions of developmental psychologists about cognitive and moral development, implications for the organization of the curriculum, the selection of holidays, the instructional methods, and the role of the teacher in establishing an appropriate classroom environment were identified. Examples of specific holiday celebrations are provided throughout to highlight the application of the theoretical components in curriculum development.

The design of the conceptual framework is based upon Goodlad's model for dealing with problems of curriculum and instruction. It indicates how the information from the data sources can be employed at three levels of decision-making: the societal, the institutional, and the instructional. Emphasis is placed upon the use of funded knowledge from the data sources in the design of curricula and the use of conventional wisdom, or socio-political data, as an evaluational tool. Although the framework prescribes the factors to consider in the design of holiday celebrations curricula, it does not mandate a curriculum. Instead, it suggests possible directions the curriculum might take as it is

designed for a particular population. The study also indicates how appropriate use of the framework can produce a desirable interplay between theory and practice. It concludes with recommendations for further study about holiday celebrations in the general culture as well as in the school setting.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv

ABSTRACT v

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

I. HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES . 9

 Part 1: An Historical Perspective

 Prior to 1900

 1900-1930

 Since 1930

 Current Status

 Part 2: The State of the Art

 The Classroom: What is Learned

 Statement of the Problem

 Review of the Literature

 Purpose of the Study

II. HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AS SUBJECT MATTER: THE FIRST DATA SOURCE 89

 Introduction

 Part 1: Holiday Celebrations: Origins, Nature, Types

 Ritual and Holiday Celebrations

 Functions of Ritual and Holiday Celebrations

 The Holiday Ritual Tradition in the United States

 Part 2: Holiday Celebrations in the School

 The Setting

 Commemorative Celebrations

 Festive Celebrations

 Religious Celebrations

 A Holiday Celebrations Curriculum

 Summary

III.	HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND SOCIETY: THE SECOND DATA SOURCE	189
	Introduction	
	Part 1: Celebrations and the Aims of Education	
	Education in a Democracy	
	Negative Potential of Holiday Celebrations	
	Positive Potential of Holiday Celebrations	
	Part 2: Holiday Celebrations and the Social Studies	
	Social Studies Goals	
	Social Studies Guidelines	
	Approaches: Special Event and Integration	
	Summary	
IV.	HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND THE LEARNER: THE THIRD DATA SOURCE	257
	Introduction	
	Holiday Celebrations and Conceptual Develop- ment	
	Childhood	
	Elements of the Developmental Process	
	Holiday Celebrations and the Developmental Process	
	The Concrete Operational Child	
	Holiday Celebrations and Moral Development	
	Piaget and Moral Development	
	Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development	
	Holiday Celebrations and Moral Develop- ment in the Classroom	
V.	A HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK . .	312
	Introduction	
	The Conceptual Framework	
	Components and Decision-Making	
	The Conceptual System and Practice	
	Holiday Celebrations and Decision-Making	
	Societal Level	
	Institutional Level	
	Instructional Level	

Summary of Conceptual Framework
Conclusions
Recommendations for Further Research
Next Steps

BIBLIOGRAPHY 372

APPENDICES 389

 Appendix A: Committee of Eight Holiday
 Recommendations

 Appendix B: Moslem Holidays: Application of
 the Framework

 Appendix C: Michaelis' Calendar of Selected
 Days and Weeks

 Appendix D: Elaboration of Concept Map

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Shared Properties of Rituals and Holiday Celebrations	105
2.	A Concept Map for Holiday Celebrations	172
3.	Goodlad's Conceptualization for the Practice and Study of Curriculum	315
4.	Objectives Matrix ("Goodlad Grid")	348
5.	Holiday Celebrations Conceptual Framework: The Societal Level	354
	5.1 The Institutional Level	355
	5.2 The Instructional Level	356

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Holiday celebrations permeate schools in the United States. Their impact upon educational programs is reflected in school windows, on bulletin boards, at assembly programs, on yearly calendars, and in journals targeted for classroom teachers. Holiday celebrations first appeared in curricular outlines between 1870 and 1910; since that time, they have been included within social studies programs in elementary schools as a means for transmitting our history and cultural traditions.¹ The general acceptance of celebrations as a valid curricular component has been based upon the assumption of a common culture shared by all children and the notion that the observance of holidays in schools is a constructive force in civic education:

Observance of special days can contribute to the citizenship goals of social studies instruction especially to the building of constructive attitudes and loyalties. Through these observances children from many diverse groups in our country gain a common background of experiences that can become a basis for communication with others and for a feeling of belonging to the larger national group.²

The learnings which can be gained from a study of holiday celebrations are not limited to those identified above. A well-conceived celebrations curriculum can also contribute to the child's construction of a world view and

to the development of dispositions required for participation in a democratic society committed to the sanctity of the individual, the acceptance of diversity, and social improvement.

The nature and functions of celebrations themselves offer significant learnings to the child about the human condition:

1. Celebrations mark important events in a culture's history and create a link between the past and present;
2. Celebrations are generally public and communal; they fulfill both psychological and cultural needs;
3. Celebrations mark the passage of time and the rhythms of life;
4. Celebrations, through rituals and symbols, express the enduring themes of human existence;
5. Celebrations offer opportunities for creative expression and often include a rich aesthetic tradition.

Given these functions, celebrations per se are educative as they give expression to human needs and desires, both unique and universal, which enhance one's understanding of self in relationship to the larger world community. As Stephanie Schames asserts,

Celebrations can be used in an educational setting to foster self-esteem and respect for various cultures. Celebrations can be used to dramatize and highlight the particular ways in which different groups of people mark the significant events of their lives. At the same time celebrations

can enhance awareness of those facets of existence that all human beings perceive as significant events worthy of marking ceremoniously.³

A holiday celebrations curriculum committed to diversity in celebrations can contribute another dimension to the child's growing self-awareness. Opportunities can be provided for the child to clarify his values and traditions as they are compared and contrasted to those of others; it is through such coordination of the view of self in relationship to others that identity is established.⁴ Emphasis upon diversity in celebrations can also serve the following educational functions: it can assist the child's understanding of others, a necessary condition for cooperative and progressive civic participation; it can contribute to the freedom to make intelligent choices as it promotes investigating alternatives rather than habitual responses; it can foster the appreciation of the pluralist nature of our society which has significant implications for the general welfare and for social improvement.

Holiday celebrations can facilitate the achievement of unity from diversity. First, by engaging children in joint efforts related to holiday celebrations, teachers can promote the type of experiences whose value is derived from working together to achieve a purpose, those which compel the child to set aside his immediate desires and impulses and view himself in relationship to the welfare of the

group. Secondly, by emphasizing those holidays which express the core values of a democratic community--liberty, equality, justice, human dignity--children can be assisted in the discovery, understanding, and analysis of their common heritage. A sense of shared purpose and a community of interest can thus be enhanced. Holiday celebrations are unique in their potential for achieving a balance between diversity and unity, one which validates and supports variation expressed by subcultures who subscribe to the values of the common culture.

In today's schools, this broadened role of holiday celebrations is not attainable; in fact, the narrower role identified earlier is often not realized. Four reasons can be cited for these failures: first, a limited interpretation of the role of holiday celebrations; second, criticism of the common cultural traditions has led to unresolved confusions; third, a failure to apply developmental theories to holiday content has resulted in misinformed children; and fourth, holiday celebrations are most frequently approached in a routine fashion which emphasizes arts and crafts projects and are devoid of significant content. The coincidence of these four factors can result in the purposeless observance of holiday celebrations simply because they exist; and, thus, their integrity and potential impact upon a child's learning are often lost. In order for a holiday

curriculum to realize its potential, a conceptual framework or system must be established within which to view holiday celebrations; such a framework should provide criteria for the selection of suitable holidays, associated learnings, and appropriate organizing activities. The purpose of this study is to identify the role of holiday celebrations and to offer a conceptual system which locates holidays in relationship to that role. The latter should result in guidelines for decision making which address the primary questions of the study.

A conceptual system as defined here is derived from John Goodlad's modification of Tyler's concepts as he attempted to identify a means by which the central problems of curriculum could be identified and related to each other. Little appears to have been written to describe conceptual frameworks or systems specifically and so it remains a somewhat vague term.⁵ However, for the purposes of this study, the steps outlined by Goodlad in his identification of the functions of a conceptual system will be used.⁶ The conceptual system to be developed will not mandate a curriculum nor will it be value free. It will serve as a guide to curricular decisions about holiday celebrations; and it will originate from an ideological position which supports democratic traditions and values.

Chapter I of this study will present an historical survey of the role played by holiday celebrations in the elementary curriculum. It will explore the status of holiday celebrations during the twentieth century to determine if they kept pace of the changes occurring in the social studies. The following three chapters will investigate the primary data sources for decision-making about holiday celebrations when designing curriculum. A comparative study of the nature and functions of ritual and holiday celebrations will provide information about the first data source, the subject matter. The importance of the subject matter for elementary aged children will be investigated along with an analysis of the appropriateness of the three types of holiday celebrations (commemorative, festive, and religious) most often observed or studied in the elementary school. Particular attention will be given to religious celebrations to indicate how they may be observed in schools without violating the decisions of the Supreme Court. Society, the second data source, will serve as the focus of the third chapter. Emphasis will be placed upon the relationship between the aims of education and holiday celebrations. And, guidelines from the social studies will be highlighted to indicate directions for curriculum development. The fourth chapter will deal with the third data source, the learner. The developmentalists' positions

about cognitive and moral growth will be presented along with an analysis of their implications for the design of holiday celebrations curricula. Examples of specific holiday celebrations will be included in each of the chapters to indicate the interplay between theory and practice. The final chapter will articulate the conceptual framework and relate the data sources to decisions made at each of the levels included in Goodlad's model: societal, institutional, and instructional. It will indicate what decisions should be made at each level and which data sources will provide the most relevant information. It will suggest a new direction for curriculum development about holiday celebrations which will make them meaningful to children and a valuable component of the elementary school program.

Footnotes

¹John U. Michaelis, Ruth H. Grossman and Lloyd F. Scott, New Designs For Elementary Curriculum and Instruction. 2nd ed., (McGraw-Hill Book Co.: New York, 1975), p. 17.

²Dorothy Fraser, "Current Affairs, Special Events, and Civic Participation," in Michaelis, John U., ed., Social Studies in Elementary Schools. 32nd Yearbook, (National Council of the Social Studies: Washington, D.C., 1962), p. 143.

³Stephanie Schamess, "Ceremony, Celebration, and Culture: Some Considerations of the 'Three C's' and Our Schools," The Elementary School Journal, 79: 1 (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1978), p. 4.

⁴The principle of coordination as used here refers to Piaget's notion of identity which derives from the coordination of the view of self in relationship/contrast to the view of others.

⁵Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice. (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.: New York, 1962), p. 420. This writer's attempts to locate extensive discussions of conceptual frameworks or systems as they relate to curriculum corroborated Taba's conclusions.

⁶John Goodlad with Maurice N. Richter, Jr., The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction. (United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: Washington, D.C.; 1966), pp. 1-9.

C H A P T E R I

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter seeks to place holiday celebrations within the context of the social studies and to assess the effect changes in the discipline have had upon the observance of holidays in the elementary school. It will demonstrate that prior to 1930 holiday celebrations closely matched the major trends emphasized for the social studies but, since that time, holiday observances have changed little and thus have failed to follow the new directions assumed by the social studies as it responds to the changes reflected in our society.

The first part of the chapter relates the historical development of holiday celebrations. It emphasizes the purposes and approaches to holiday celebrations as they relate to the nature of the social studies from 1900 to 1970. The second part identifies the current status of holiday celebrations in the elementary school. It identifies the resources available to guide decision making by reviewing current literature relevant to the topic, and it delineates the questions and issues which must be addressed by the curriculum planner. The position presented in Part II is

that holiday celebrations lack meaning for children and do not, therefore, offer significant learning opportunities as they are currently observed. This situation derives from the lack of a clearly articulated conceptual framework which directly relates holiday celebrations to the social studies and offers criteria for curricular decisions.

Part 1: An Historical Perspective

Introduction. The history of holiday study/observance in the elementary school has not, to the writer's knowledge, been adequately researched so that one is able to examine it in any definitive way. The origin of holiday celebrations in public schools appears to have been at some time between 1870 and 1910.¹ Such celebrations have been a part of elementary curricula from that time until the present being generally viewed as a component of historical studies or "current events" (in the broadest sense). Three trends emerge as one examines the holidays observed and their content, along with the purposes of social studies in the elementary curriculum: first, holiday celebrations were believed to contribute to patriotic and moral attitudes; second, they are a means for acquainting the child with his cultural heritage; and third, the approach to holidays current in the thirties has changed little since that time. The following will be an attempt to indicate the evolution

of holiday celebrations as part of the social studies and to trace the trends noted above. Because of the paucity of information, particularly prior to 1930, the conclusions presented are tentative and derived from the author's analysis of the types of holidays included in selected course outlines, the values and goals attributed to the social studies at various periods, the emphases of journal articles, and recommendations for holiday observances in selected social studies methods texts.

Prior to 1900. While geography seems to have acquired a relatively early acceptance as part of the elementary curriculum (1850), history was primarily taught to 7th and 8th graders prior to 1900. A chronological approach was followed as teachers employed textbooks as their curriculum guides; guides did not come into vogue until the 1890's. Military and political history formed the basis of the content. Some emphasis was given to revolutionary heroes and patriotic orations in readers and geography and history texts.² The value gained from the study of geography and history was thought to be primarily disciplinary and moral. In fact, the mental discipline notion appears to have dominated most curricular offerings between 1870-90.³ In light of these factors, I am led to conclude that holidays, if celebrated at all prior to 1900, were given limited attention in elementary schools and were probably restricted

to patriotic observances. They would have to have satisfactorily passed the test of mental discipline value which would have probably denied the festive aspect.

1900-1930. The course of social studies in both elementary and secondary schools after 1900 was greatly influenced by committee reports of national organizations, particularly the American Historical Association. While the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association legitimized the study of history in public schools in its report of 1894, the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven report in 1899 virtually dictated the program for high schools followed nationally for at least two decades. This report was so well received that a similar committee, the Committee of Eight was appointed in 1905 to investigate elementary social studies and offer recommendations. It too was well received and its recommended course of study appears to have been followed quite closely by elementary teachers in the succeeding two decades.

Tryon, in his book The Social Sciences as School Subjects, labels the report as "mildly progressive" except for the revolutionary suggestion that 6th grade American history be replaced by a course of study focussing on the European background of American history.⁴ Of interest to this study are the "mildly progressive" recommendations: in grades one and two, four types of work were suggested--

Indian life, historical aspects of Thanksgiving, the story of Washington, local events, and attention to Memorial Day (in second grade); in grade three the study of Columbus, the Indians, heroes of other times, and the historical aspects of July 4th were recommended; a biographical approach to American history was proposed for grades four and five. This is the first evidence found of actual recommendations for the study of holidays. The emphasis upon study is important as it reflects a level of importance beyond that of observance.

The importance of history as a separate subject of study at the elementary level during the first two decades of the twentieth century is indicated in surveys of major cities from 1904-1924. In 1910, the largest percentages of schools surveyed included history at all grade levels. Some decline was noted at the primary grade level after 1910, but the percentages remained fairly constant for grades four, five and six; a partial explanation for the decline can be attributed to the unified or correlated approach to the social studies which eliminated the study of history as a separate subject. As Tryon notes in his analysis of a time and recitation distribution study published in The Fourteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education in 1915:

Three recitations a week, nearly fifteen minutes in duration, had been achieved in Grades I and II as early as 1910....The standing of history must have been on a par with many other subjects in the programs of studies in 1910, there being five recitations a week, nearly thirty minutes in duration, devoted to it in all grades above the fourth.⁵

Since holidays were included within the rubric of history, one can assume that most schools were devoting some time to their study by 1910. According to Tryon, there was virtually no historical content in the primary grades at the beginning of the period except incidentally when readers contained biographical sketches and historical stories.⁶ The major exception to this situation was the "Dewey" school of the University of Chicago; history was included in the course of study for grades two through six. A survey in 1910 of topics and fields included at each grade in approximately 200 schools and school systems indicated that about forty percent of the respondents included celebrations connected with United States history in the first and second grades while very few were included in the third grade, and none from fourth through sixth grades. (The third grade program contained the category of "stories about Washington, Lincoln, and Columbus" which may be construed as part of a holiday curriculum; complete information is unavailable to verify this conclusion.) Interestingly, Hebrew life and heroes were frequently recorded as an area of study for third grade while Roman history, biography,

and myths were the foci for more than half of the fourth grades along with some study of the Greek heroes and Hebrew life.⁷ It is evident that the schools surveyed were following the recommendations of the NEA Committee of Ten for the intermediate grades and some, at least, had already initiated the holiday celebrations curriculum recommended by the AHA Committee of Eight.

A similar survey conducted in eighty-six cities in 1918 reflects no dramatic changes in the percentage of schools including holiday celebrations in their curricula; again, about forty percent of those surveyed included holidays as one of the chief topics of study in grades one and two. A slight increase is noted in third grade and no references to holidays are included from grade four on. A study of history topics included in thirty-five rural state-designed courses in 1920 indicates specific holidays although no grade placement is available. The statistics are recorded as topics appearing in a particular percentage of courses:

<u>Holiday</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Thanksgiving	80% or more
Washington's Birthday	60 - 80%
National Holidays (not specified)	60 - 80%
Memorial Day	40 - 60%
Fourth of July	40 - 60%
Christmas	less than 40%
Columbus Day	less than 40%

Both of these surveys appear to support Wesley's claim that the Committee of Eight's report was widely accepted; grade placement of holidays in the cities matches the committee's recommendations and the specific holidays and their emphasis in the rural survey, except for Christmas, follow the Committee's suggestions.

The holiday prescriptions offered by the Committee of Eight were subsumed within the major aim cited for the teaching of history: "to help the child to appreciate what his fellows are doing and to help him to intelligent voluntary action in agreement or disagreement with them."⁸ Intelligent action required a knowledge of the events of the past, particularly in American history. Therefore, historical content was suggested for each grade which was considered consistent with the child's understanding. One of the major goals of the project undertaken by the Committee was to bring unity to the study of history throughout the grades and to eliminate duplication of subject matter. As one examines the total curriculum, it becomes apparent that the holidays studied in the first three grades were intended to make children aware of and appreciative of important historical events and personages to be encountered in greater depth as they pursued the study of American history. The patriotic intent seems evident in the holidays selected and the content recommended. Although not as explicitly

indicated, one can safely assume that the moral value of history as perceived by many was well served through the study of "heroes" honored in holiday celebrations.

In its introduction to the first two grades, the Committee clearly indicated the importance of holidays at the primary level:

There are two holidays that all classes of people in America should celebrate--Thanksgiving Day and Washington's Birthday. In addition to these, each state or locality has its public days, and the first and second grade children should be taught to enter into the spirit of the occasion and grow to respect the historical background that has made those public days possible. So much is expected of every school.⁹

For these two grades, specific content along with readings for children and teachers, pictures to be used, and activities were outlined for Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday, and events which commemorated local, state, or possibly national history. The last were included "to emphasize the importance of bringing these events into the school life of children."¹⁰ Memorial Day was added to the curricular content of the second grade. Those teachers who followed these guidelines could conceivably have spent three-fourths of the time allotted to history focussing on holidays. In each grade, the only other area of study was Indian life.

The content for the third grade was somewhat different although teachers were urged to devote the "greatest

consideration" to public holidays. Because children could read "understandingly" by grade three, the outline was intended to facilitate the development of an historical sense. The Fourth of July (as it related to independence) was the major holiday for study. With respect to other holidays, the Committee prescribed the inclusion of the holidays outlined for the second grade in all of the subsequent elementary grades "for the spirit that prompts the city, the state or the nation to set aside a day of remembrance should find expression in each grade."¹¹

In the two decades following the publication of the Committee's report, holidays appear to have been among the most common offerings in the first two grades while biographies and "historical stories" were among the most common in grade three.¹² Since the Committee of Eight's report created the dominant trends in history teaching during that time, it is reasonable to conclude that the content of holiday studies closely resembled the outline it provided. An examination of two history methods texts written during this time tends to corroborate this conclusion.

History in the Elementary School, written by Calvin Noyes Kendall who was Commissioner of Education in New Jersey and Florence Elizabeth Stryker who was head of the history department at the New Jersey State Normal School, was published in 1918 as one volume of the "Riverside

Educational Monographs" series. The authors viewed school celebrations as contributing to the child's understanding of the contemporary situation and to his* development of judgment and reasoning; holidays also stirred the imagination and offered the child a moral ideal. Calling for authenticity and a progression of depth through the grades, the authors provided examples of specific activities and content which might be chosen to support the development of patriotic feelings and a sense of civic responsibility. "In all our school celebrations, the underlying theme should be individual and social responsibility and patriotic service," they asserted. The specific content for the first three grades in their studies of Lincoln and Washington focus on the early lives and positive character traits of the two national heroes quite similar to the outline of the Committee of Eight. The studies in the fourth and fifth grades coincide with the Committee's acceptance of a widely held belief at that time: biography which emphasizes the dramatic aspects of a figure's adult life capture the interest of fourth and fifth graders.¹³ The individuals studied provided ethical models for the readers and their life struggles indicated the hardship endured to make the United States what it was.

*Although the writer appreciates the concerns of some about the use of "he" as the generic pronoun, it will be used in this paper for ease of reading and for style purposes.

In her book The Social Studies in the Primary School (1931), Grace Storm proposed to meet the needs of classroom teachers, supervisors, and normal school instructors with regard to the subject matter and methods of social studies teaching. The materials included in the book were based upon the author's teaching experience in the public schools and the University Elementary School at Chicago as well as her course in social studies methods. They had also been tested by other teachers at the University school as well as in the field by those who had been members of her classes. The prominence of social studies in the curriculum at the primary level is clearly evidenced in this book as is the cooperative activity focus which sought to extend the child's social understanding. Expressing her view of the value of social studies, the author notes:

There are certain standards which society expects its mature individuals to attain. It expects that its citizens will learn various modes of living and become acquainted with accepted standards of behavior, that they will have gathered a sufficient fund of knowledge and habits to help them solve life problems, and that they will have a more sympathetic understanding of other people and their problems. Therefore, the big objective of the social studies is to bring about an adjustment of human personalities and the making of better citizens.¹⁴

Conforming to the progressive impulse of the period, Storm noted that content and activities should be experience based and provide knowledge and skills which will insure

the possibility of future growth and positive development. Starting with the child's experiences and interests, each unit should be designed to open up new fields of interest which will ultimately contribute to the child's understanding that "society is a cooperative proposition and that each individual is a unit contributing to the whole."¹⁵

Holidays and special days assumed an important position in this curriculum design which also included units about the home, community, farms, transportation, clothing, and Indians, along with local and pioneer history. Although Storm's general aim for the celebration of holidays is similar to that proposed by Kendall and Stryker--the creation in children of a feeling or spirit of the day--the holidays presented and the activities suggested reflect the greater awareness of the child which was characteristic of the progressive movement. Halloween and Valentine's Day were included as important holidays of celebration in Storm's discussion; in both instances, these holidays belong mostly to children. Holidays, in Storm's book, contain a more festive quality and serve as vehicles for integrating other curricular areas. The knowledge component is not sacrificed to the festive and the development of right attitudes is still important.

A brief discussion of each of the holidays presented in Storm's book follows with an attempt to indicate the

major activities and emphasis:

Halloween

- Emphasis: - to gain an understanding of the proper observance of Halloween
 - to develop ideas of good citizenship through cooperative ventures
 - to feel that he has made a positive contribution to the group effort.
- Activities: - Planning a Party (discussion and decision making, invitation writing, decoration making, refreshment planning and purchase.)
 - Related Activities: reading lessons of language experience type, Halloween posters, Halloween songs.

Thanksgiving

- Emphasis: - the social feeling of the day for 1st and 2nd grades; (holiday portrayed as harvest culmination with its correspondent feelings of gratitude.)
 - historic story of the day for 3rd grade (focused upon small group of individuals who sacrificed much for what they believed, endured hardships, followed particular customs, and established friendship with the Indians.)
- Activities: - Thanksgiving Play (telling story, writing play, planning and making props).

Christmas

- Emphasis: - the giving of cheer, particularly to the less fortunate, associated with Christmas
 - remembrance of parents
 - a time of festivity and joy
- Activities: - Gift Making and Party Planning (Invitations, decorations for room and tree, refreshments, gifts, program for party.)

- Related Activities: Stories read and composed on charts, discussion and group skills, art activities.

Valentine's Day

- Emphasis:
- extension of the feelings of love associated with Christmas
 - a sense of the way the day is celebrated.

- Activities:
- making of valentines, planning for valentine distribution.
 - Related Activities: Creating a post-office, addressing envelopes, distributing mail.

The section of the book devoted to holidays concludes with a bibliography of general teacher references related to holidays along with books which contain stories and suggestions for each of the holidays in the chapter.¹⁶

The significance of the book for the present study is its approach which adds new dimensions to holiday celebrations in schools. The activity orientation goes beyond the Committee of Eight suggestions for story reading and recitation. Although supporting the aims of cultural transmission and moral development, the sample units provided by Storm are not imposed from above but grow out of the child's experience and planning. The potential for preserving the integrity of the holidays through accurate portrayals was increased if Storm's suggestions were followed. The selections read to children and the information provided for teachers were not only more current but also included primary sources. (History writing by this time

had become more balanced as historians moved beyond the ultrapatriotic interpretations characteristic of the Bancroft-type suggestions provided in the Committee of Eight Report.)

The format of the celebrations recommended in the 1930's seems to have changed little in the past forty years, except perhaps that more teacher direction and less children decision-making occurs in current holiday celebrations. We have not moved much beyond the activity focus, party revelling, and story reading despite changes in the goals of social studies and more precise notions of child growth and development. In fact, one suspects that the purposes of holidays were much more clearly perceived in the 1930's than they are in many classrooms today. An examination of the trends in holidays and the issues and questions raised since 1930 should lend validity to this conclusion.

Since 1930. The goals and values of history from 1920-1940 focused on character training. Building upon the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education published in 1918 by the NEA Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, history during these decades was viewed as a subject which "'instills in the mind of the student high ideals, teaches morality by stimulating thought and interest in moral behavior of men and races, develops a healthy philosophy of

life, and thus aids in the formation of character.'"¹⁷ The emphasis upon character education was widespread in the United States between 1925 and 1932; history and the other social sciences were considered as crucial subjects in character development throughout the period as reflected in the yearbook of the NEA Department of Superintendence published in 1932. The values of history were more specifically stated during this period and expanded to include guidance values, conceptual values, and habits--skills, abilities, attitudes--understandings, appreciation developing values. The conceptual values outlined by Tryon included

'continuity of civilization,' 'unity of humanity,' 'uniformity of human motives,' 'brotherhood of man,' 'dependence of the present on the past,' 'responsibility of the present for the future,' 'relation of the individual to society,' 'dynamic and evolutionary character of human activity and social organization.'¹⁸

The guidance value of history referred to the need to recognize a common past or heritage of experiences to guide the group in its decision making.

As education in general became more differentiated in this period, so too did the social studies. Increasingly history per se was less in evidence and the range of the social sciences was included within a more unified or integrated organization. The unit, topic, and problems approaches gained in popularity as did grade placement on

the principle of widening horizons. Increased uniformity or standardization of content was evidenced at the primary level while variation seemed characteristic of the intermediate level throughout the country.

The first systematic and exhaustive investigation of the social studies was undertaken during this period. The Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Society sought to survey the entire field of the social sciences and to evaluate the contributions of schools to society. The volumes contained in the commission's report revealed the status of the social studies and offered broad guidelines for future development. No prescription of courses nor specific content was included but a clear statement of the importance of the school in the social order was made. It was viewed not only as an agency for teaching children the basic skills, but also as one of social control. Placing education within a social frame of reference, the commission's report clearly established the link between societal values and educational planning. Social studies, therefore, could not assume a neutral posture but "'must make choices and emphasize values with reference to commanding standards.'"¹⁹ Emphasis was placed upon total development of the individual within the social setting so that he might contribute to the improvement and strengthening of democratic institutions. As Beard stated in the

Charter of the Social Sciences, "'Competence in the individual, not dogma, is our supreme objective.'"²⁰ Also emphasized were the changing conditions of social life and the world and the necessity for developing aptitudes and attitudes of adjustment consistent with the world scene.²¹

The other major commission report published during this period which influenced social studies programs was that of the NEA's Educational Policies Commission published in 1938. The overall purpose of schooling identified in this report was education for democratic living. Four broad categories of objectives were included to satisfy the overarching goal: (1) self realization, (2) human relationship, (3) economic efficiency, and (4) civic responsibility. As noted by Price in his review of goals of the social studies prior to the sixties, these categories were widely used by curriculum committees in the forties and fifties.²²

Flexibility, variety, and experimentation became the watchwords for social studies as no courses of study were offered by the commissions cited. A proliferation of courses of study resulted--Teachers College, Columbia University, reported 50,000 on file in 1939--along with the development of local and regional courses of study.²³ This situation coupled with the lack of any uniform and official method for collating data, notes Wesley, inhibited the presentation of an entirely accurate and complete

record of social studies curriculum. It seems even more difficult in the case of holiday celebrations to ascertain specifically how they were taught or toward what end without a comprehensive examination of individual courses of study. Most social studies course outlines contained lists of holidays but little more than that. One can, however, gain a sense of their frequency and conjecture about their general purpose.

Wesley's analyses of forty-five "relatively recent printed" (his words in 1937) courses of study, ten courses in the Fourth Yearbook of the NCSS (1934) and five outlined in the Fourteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence (1936) indicate that holidays were among the most common offerings in the first two grades.²⁴ A more precise indication of the frequency of study is provided in a questionnaire survey reported by the Department of Superintendence for 1934-35; it does not provide any indication of the nature of the content included. Of the 849 six-year elementary schools included, approximately forty to fifty percent listed "American Heroes and Holidays" as part of their social studies curriculum in grades one through six. They were also among the dominant offerings in grades Kindergarten through five on the basis of frequency. Also indicated was the teaching of heroes and holidays in combination with other school activities rather than as separate subjects in eighty-three percent of the

number of total times reported. Of the 342 eight-year elementary schools responding to the questionnaire, the findings were approximately the same for "American Heroes and Holidays." The favorable comparison of the six- and eight-year elementary schools with respect to holidays indicates their relative importance throughout the country. The category was also listed, although last in percentage ranking, among those which had made the greatest gain in the six years preceding the report.²⁵

Although of interest, the frequency of holiday inclusion in elementary schools in the early thirties may belie their significance in the curriculum. In a presentation of complete programs from grade one through grade twelve based upon three models of organization (separate subject, unified social science, integrated curriculum), only two references to holidays are made. The seven programs outlined offer examples of themes, concepts, generalizations, and units. In only one curriculum are holidays related to the total structure of the program and in that case as a group project or festival.²⁶ The failure to include holiday celebrations within the total frameworks of the social studies or to relate them to concepts and generalizations peculiar to the specific celebrations leads one to conclude that they were activity oriented, or a medium for other curricular areas, or observed in an habitual fashion. It is

difficult to ascertain the learnings gained by children except perhaps those of the information type. Objectives of the understanding, appreciation, and attitudes types probably were not sought.

An examination of the NCSS publication The Future of the Social Studies: Proposals for an Experimental Social-Studies Curriculum of 1939 along with Wesley and Adams methods text, Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary Schools (1940), lends support to the inferences drawn above. In the former, nine of thirteen articulated proposed programs fail to mention holiday celebrations while the latter devotes one paragraph to holidays. The proposal offered by Roy Hatch in the NCSS publication merely lists the holidays to be celebrated while the holiday suggestions included in R. O. Hughes' proposal sought to satisfy the goals of patriotism and the goals set by Storm in 1931. Frances Morchaise outlined a monthly social studies program which suggested citizenship goals for the study of Washington and Lincoln along with reverence and joy associated with the Christmas holiday. As part of the unit entitled "Living Together" for the first grade, Howard E. Wilson included a community celebration or festival to indicate the cooperative aspect of the neighborhood.²⁷ Nothing new seems to be incorporated in these suggestions and the attention given to holidays appears minimal. Holidays in the Wesley, Adams

text are included in the section entitled "Legal Status of the Social Studies." It consists of a list of general holiday categories and is notably brief.²⁸

An examination of the Education Index from 1935-1949 revealed only eight articles pertinent to the general topic of holiday celebrations in schools; the search was confined to the categories of "holidays" and "special days and weeks" and not to specific names of holidays. Of interest were three articles in the December, 1937 issue of Child Study, a journal for parent education and an article in School Management in September, 1943. Two of the remaining articles focused on the increasing number of holidays and special weeks but not within the context of social studies. The writer has not been able to locate the journal in which the other two articles appeared.

The Child Study volume focused upon the psychological view of ritual and symbols associated with holidays, the importance of national holidays, and the distinction between family and school celebrations. The last two foci are relevant to this historical survey. National holidays were viewed as a time for recalling high standards and ideals and reaffirming unity of purpose. These goals could be achieved by presenting a balanced and honest portrayal of "great men" who had followed "great visions." Celebration of this type, according to the author, was best carried out in the home "because in the home we can wholeheartedly

celebrate an individual's success, and since we love him, can also tolerate and communicate with his mistakes and failures." Although the suggestion offered here was probably not followed in most schools, it does indicate an attitude among some that certain celebrations were the province of the home and others the province of the school. In two of the companion articles, a distinction is made between personal celebrations most appropriate within the family setting and group celebrations which should be observed in the school as it is responsible for expanding the child's view of his social world. Beyond this general purpose, the criteria for school celebrations included child interest (Halloween, St. Valentine's Day) and opportunities for cooperative ventures to be shared among all school groups (winter and spring festivals). The significance of these articles is their apparent support of school policies regarding holiday celebrations which were being communicated to the parent population through the magazine.²⁹

Included in this Child Study issue was a letter from a Jewish parent who was concerned about the emphasis placed upon Christmas in the school and the message being delivered to the non-Christian child, particularly her own. This is the first instance encountered in the research to date in which the influence of the dominant culture upon holidays celebrated in school has been raised. I put forth the tentative assumption that the issue was not one of great

concern, except perhaps in some large city areas, as the "melting pot" theory was widely accepted along with the proposition that schools were in part designed to enculturate the ethnic minorities into the white-Anglo-Saxon-Christian ethos. With the general rejection of the "melting pot" theory, the increase in ethnicity, and court decisions about separation of church and state, this issue gains prominence in the sixties and seventies.

Two examples of exceptions to complete concentration upon the dominant culture's celebrations during the forties must be noted. As part of the emphasis upon intergroup and intercultural education during this period, New York State University published a booklet entitled Education for Unity in the Schools of New York State. "Celebrations of Holidays and Festivals" for ages five through seven suggested the observance of spring religious festivals such as Easter and Passover. Although the focus was to be upon spring and re-awakening and not on the religious aspects, respect for the teachings of the respective religions was to be shown and "thus they may contribute to the spiritual understanding of children."³⁰

In response to the bigotry, racism, and prejudice exemplified during World War II, a call went forth for courses designed to create unity and understanding among different religious, racial, ethnic, and economic groups. A statement of the status of intergroup education, its

promising practices and inadequacies, and its relationship to the social studies was presented in the Sixteenth Yearbook of the NCSS (1945). Holiday celebrations can play a crucial role in intercultural education, in my estimation, and thus realize some of the aims of citizenship education. Its potential has not yet been realized and is only implied in this edition of the Yearbook. Two specific units are cited in the elementary school which related religious celebrations to a general unit of study; one at the second grade level and another at the sixth about Jewish heritage and beliefs.³¹ Religious celebrations were included as one of the most popular types of dramatic activities concerned with human relations. Examples cited included Chanukah and Christmas observances, Christmas celebrated in other lands, and a junior high school in Los Angeles which celebrated the major festivals of the principal cultural groups in the school community.³² The significance of these departures from the traditional holiday celebrations of schools is the broadening of the purpose of holiday celebrations beyond the patriotic and the festive toward the improvement of intergroup relations. Because they were often school activities, however, and not encompassed within the social studies framework, the goal set may not have been realized. The focal point in such situations becomes the activity itself and relationships to the child's world are often lost.

As van Til claims in the selection "School Activities,":

It is merely wishful thinking to believe that an annual program for one week or a presentation of a single play or pageant is as effective as day-by-day respect for individual personality in a total program permeated by intercultural concerns.³³

The writer would add that the program should be tied into generalizations from the social studies which aid the child's identification of self-other relationships and the commonalities among all peoples.

There is some suggestion of a decline in the celebration of traditional holidays in the late thirties and early forties. The article in School Management supports this suggestion as does a summary of a dissertation study of social studies from 1917-39 published in Social Education. The decline does not indicate fewer holiday celebrations observed in school but less emphasis upon them as specific topics of the social studies.³⁴

The period of the 1950's witnessed no remarkable changes in holiday celebrations. This conclusion is based upon information provided in Michaelis' Social Studies in a Democracy, Preston's Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary Schools, and articles about holidays and special days listed in the Education Index. The influence of the progressives was still apparent in the social studies in general as the needs of the child and those of the society guided elementary curriculum designers. As noted earlier,

the goals of education outlined by the NEA in 1938 were articulated in the course outlines of the social studies.³⁵ Holidays were still given attention in grades Kindergarten through fourth and the expanding horizons curriculum remained dominant. The most frequently observed holidays included Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, and Arbor Day; other holidays listed in state laws included Temperance or Willard Day, Armistice Day, Memorial Day, Thanksgiving, Columbus Day, and Admission Day. The holidays required by states varied and it is interesting to note that California included the observance of Susan B. Anthony Day on February 15th; the state directed school systems to provide suitable exercises to honor Mrs. Anthony.³⁶ Emphasizing the potential for developing democratic values and behaviors through the social studies, Michaelis outlined specific examples in which democratic behaviors may be developed and learned about in others.³⁷ The writer is struck by the failure to include holiday celebrations--if only as cooperative ventures--among the illustrations presented. This fact coupled with his limited holiday coverage (examples of legal requirements in various states) leads me to conclude that their status was not enhanced in this decade.

Preston's recommendations for holiday observances support the contention that little had changed since the

1930's. He does advise teachers of their responsibility to prepare the young for future understanding about "foreign" cultures. The study of different modes of celebrating holidays familiar to the children are recommended, particularly the customs and traditions of Christmas. A cautious suggestion is offered to teachers to consider studying ethnic celebrations in their own communities. Acknowledging that holidays should have a prominent place in the elementary school to develop an appreciation of our cultural heritage, he restricts their use as content to the primary grades with minimal attention at other grade levels. The purpose of celebrations appears to be an understanding of the holiday's original meaning which puts it within the context of history. In his discussion of Thanksgiving, Preston suggests a more global meaning for that holiday: an American example of traditional harvest festivals. Unfortunately, he does not go further to build upon this suggestion for other holidays which might have placed holiday celebrations within the larger framework of the social studies.³⁸

Articles listed in the Education Index reflect the activity centered approach to holidays and the question of religious holidays in the public school. The controversy surrounding religious holiday observance focused primarily on Christmas and Chanukah. Opinion polls of teachers and

administrators indicated that a majority of those interviewed supported the celebration of both holidays in schools. Few guidelines, however, were offered to indicate the types of learning which might be gained.³⁹

School Arts devoted thirty pages of its November, 1952 issue to Holidays and Celebrations. Christmas, Valentine's Day, Easter, May Day, Mother's and Father's Day were featured. Two items of interest must be noted: first, the selection of holidays is basically Christian and of the gift-giving type; second, the text accompanying the arts and crafts suggestions only occasionally relates to the holidays and their significance. The focus throughout the issue, as might be expected from its title, is the ways in which art media may be explored at holiday times. A survey of the activities indicates limited relationship to the aesthetic expression associated with some of the holidays presented.⁴⁰

The titles in the remaining listings of Education Index refer to the calendars of holidays and activities published in journals along with a few articles about birthday celebrations. One article in School Arts merits special attention. Printed in 1957, the article emphasized the Jewish child's feelings and limitations in schools where the Christian holidays were emphasized in art. The article not only provided information about Jewish Holidays and related art activities, it also raised questions

about the Christian emphasis in a pluralist democratic society: "Limiting holiday art to Christian holidays alone may well seem to them (Jewish children) at least inconsiderate if not a deliberate invasion of their democratic right to religious freedom."⁴¹ In light of similar criticism being levelled at art programs in some schools today, it would appear that the author's concerns remain unanswered.*

Textbooks during this period, as well as the preceding twenty to thirty years, were constructed along the expanding horizons model. As Joyce notes in his survey of primary grade texts, there was agreement among teachers and publishers about curriculum and materials. "In addition, through the study of national holidays and heroes, the child would begin to develop a sense of his heritage."⁴²

As noted, social studies from the thirties through the fifties remained fairly static. Efforts at new curriculum design were piecemeal and appear to have enjoyed limited influence. The decade of the sixties, however, witnessed renewed efforts at curriculum revision. Spurred by financial funding efforts, social studies investigations at the national, state, and local levels resulted in a variety of new programs which offered alternatives for classroom teachers and stimulated a reconsideration of the

*This issue will be dealt with in detail in Chapter II as part of the analysis of religious holiday celebrations.

goals of the social studies.

The basic trend in establishing goals was a move away from the broad, all-inclusive goals toward a systematic analysis of high level objectives into their component parts. This trend fit within the move for behavioral objectives generally which sought to establish outcomes in terms of behaviors as measures of achieving goals. Social studies goals statements were most often categorized into knowledge or understandings, skills, and attitudes. According to Roy Price,

there seems to be considerable agreement that social studies teaching should (1) develop in the learner a cognitive structure of knowledge; (2) teach scientific modes of thought; and, (3) work toward goals defined in terms of value commitments, social policy, and social action.⁴³

The emphasis upon the three general goal categories led to changes in organization in the social studies as well as methods of instruction. Many of the programs developed espoused a conceptual approach which centered about generalizations from the social science disciplines related to human relationships. Inquiry and "discovery learning" emphasized the thinking of the pupil, direct involvement of the learner in the learning process, and selected use of expository teaching. Recognizing the pluralist nature of the United States and the social problems therein along with the immediacy of the international scene, the scope of the social studies was enlarged beyond the western world.

Because of increased information about child development along with the expansion of the child's world through the media, the sequence or grading of the social studies was altered to reflect an increasing breadth and depth of concept development and cumulative skill attainments. Content selection and allocation became more flexible within this scheme allowing adaptation to the needs of particular children in a given classroom and, in some projects, process served as a source of content as the methods of the social scientist were studied. These trends in the social studies did not eventuate in a nationwide curriculum or agreement among social studies experts; they did, however, provide direction for change.⁴⁴

The holiday celebrations curriculum reflected some of the changes above but does not seem to have been radically affected by the changes recommended for social studies in the sixties. A review of articles related to holidays during this decade indicates an increased concern about religious holiday observances with equal weight given to both sides of the issue, some which offer information and suggestions for research by children, activity suggestions for specific holidays, and a few which raise questions about the quality of holiday celebrations in the elementary school. The general concerns mentioned in the latter, were the selection of holidays, resources used, the integrity of presentation, and the relationship of content to concept

development and the goals of the social studies. The issues are raised but few suggestions are offered; those which are refer to implementation of holiday celebrations in the classroom.

Two extensive selections, extensive that is in relation to coverage in other books, focused on holiday celebrations revision during the sixties. In the revised edition of Michaelis' Social Studies for Children in a Democracy, attention was given to the relationship between holidays and the goals of social studies along with sequenced examples of grade placement for specific holidays. References to understandings about the meaning of special holidays are made as well as suggestions for integration and activities. In Michaelis' case, at least, holidays appear to have assumed greater importance. When one examines his assertions for the potential of social studies in the revised edition and contrasts it with his coverage of holidays as legal requirements in the 1950 edition of the book; one is struck by the extended analysis as well as the attention given to the developmental approach.

Dorothy Fraser's presentation of holiday celebrations in the 32nd NCSS Yearbook obviously influenced Michaelis' thinking. Her commentary emphasized the contributions to citizenship education which holiday celebrations portend. Noting the common background of experience that can be gained by their observance, Fraser concluded that holiday

celebrations were important in the development of constructive attitudes and loyalties. She also urged the differentiation within grades of holidays and variety in the experiences of children in schools where holidays were repeated year after year. References to concept development and suiting them to the maturity levels of children are also made. Both Michaelis and Fraser reflect the trends of the sixties in the social studies and offer an expanded vision of holiday celebrations as part of the social studies.⁴⁵

Current Status. The curriculum revisions of the sixties have certainly influenced the course of social studies instruction in the seventies. The emphasis upon critical analysis and concept formation is still evident along with the importance of the learner's active involvement with his learning. Efforts to develop packaged programs which could be used anywhere by trained teachers, however, has proven an elusive goal. The social eruptions of the late sixties and into the early seventies throughout the country contributed to a change of focus in the social studies. Against the backdrop of social discontent as reflected in the disillusion with the goals of the Vietnam War, the increased militancy of minority groups, the popularity of the "counter-culture" lifestyles, the lack of faith in the credibility of authority, and the demand for greater involvement in the

decision making process, the social studies reformers found themselves faced with new issues. Relevance, utility, value clarification were among the primary concerns of reformers who in the preceding decade had concerned themselves with the more academic aspects of the social studies. Specialized programs have been developed to guide the teacher in the classroom who is faced with these issues. But, of more significance was the attempt by the NCSS to develop standards or guidelines for the evaluation of social studies programs. The standards designed seek to satisfy two curriculum development needs: first, a guide for updating programs by incorporating the most promising developments in the social studies; and second, a baseline to give direction to more creative efforts beyond what is considered "modern and innovative." Based upon the rationale that knowledge, valuing, thinking, and social participation committed to the purpose of human dignity compose the social studies, the committee set standards which it hoped would facilitate coping with social problems and individual concerns reflected in the upheavals of recent years.

Part 2: The State of the "Art"

How have the observances of holiday celebrations in the schools been affected by the re-orientation of the social studies? In order to answer this question, an

examination of current classroom practices will be undertaken along with an investigation of the relevant literature which can be employed by teachers, administrators, and curriculum specialists to inform their decision-making. The former will yield the major problems and questions which motivate this study; the latter will identify the starting points upon which a meaningful celebrations curriculum can be built.

The classroom: what is learned. John Michaelis notes in New Designs for Elementary Curriculum and Instruction that holidays and special events are given attention at all age levels as part of the social studies program.¹ To verify this claim, one need only ride by elementary schools and scan their windows. The monthly procession of holidays is generally displayed as the window decor, and oft-times it is repeated on window after window. And as Pat Timberlake of the Chattanooga Public Schools remarks, a walk through many school hallways and into elementary classrooms at almost any time of year yields the sensation of "Holidaze." Holidays of each month are emblazoned on bulletin boards-- often teacher made-- and form the basis of school assemblies, pageants and parties.² The theme is generally evident, but what is happening inside the classroom is not always so clear. The section which follows attempts to describe what happens in perhaps the majority of classrooms through-

out the country as children observe holidays in the school setting. It also raises questions and/or issues about the nature of holiday celebrations curricula which decision-makers must address.

Method and content. The calendar of holidays, beginning with Columbus Day and culminating with Flag Day, offers endless possibilities for a holiday celebrations curriculum. Too often, unfortunately, the possibilities are not entertained and holidays are celebrated in a routine or superficial fashion simply because they exist. Habit rather than purpose guides our efforts. This approach to holidays yields construction paper bulletin boards of national heroes, jack-o-lantern decorated windows, connect-the-dot turkeys camouflaged in math papers, and the making of potato latkes with illustrations of "T'was the Night Before Christmas." A myriad of examples indicative of the arts and crafts--and not aesthetic--focus of holidays as celebrated in schools could be offered. Two major magazines widely circulated among teachers, Instructor and Teacher, represent this focus. Both periodicals provide monthly calendars of special events and articles of the arts and crafts variety which offer suggestions to teachers for "things to do" in the classroom.³ It is difficult to identify the learnings implicit in the activities suggested except as they relate to the refining of cutting, pasting,

and lettering skills. The selections by Fraser and Michaelis can be construed as supporting this activity orientation also. The examples provided in each text are not sufficiently related to a conceptual scheme so that teachers might employ the suggested methods with little sense of the learning outcomes. Although intended learnings are indicated in a sketchy fashion in each selection, the relationship between the intended learning and the activity is not clearly delineated.⁴ Carried perhaps to the extreme, but worthy of note because it is symptomatic of the activity approach for its own sake are observations offered by Robert R. Spillane, Superintendent of Schools in New Rochelle, New York:

A really dedicated elementary school teacher can produce a tacky craft object to symbolize any of the more profound religious or historical experiences of the human race. For Hanukkah, there is the Star of David made of drinking straws; for Christmas, Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer made from a plastic bleach bottle. The human hand is a great inspiration to the teacher. Children are taught to trace around their fingers this way to make a turkey, that way to make an Indian. All too often 25 children proudly take home 25 identical Styro-foam whatevers in 25 states of equal ignorance.⁵

In discussions with teachers representing a variety of elementary schools in the Northeast at a 1978 Social Studies conference,⁶ it became clear that many of their schools employed the activity approach. They expressed concerns about doing the same thing year after year, about

not knowing which holidays should be celebrated given the age level and diverse populations of some of their groups, and about how to plan meaningful experiences for children. The questions raised by those attending the conference session increased the writer's conviction that activity and not learning has assumed the ascendancy in the holiday celebrations curriculum. This is not to say that no learning is occurring, but it does raise the issue of what is being learned. Based upon the data cited, one can surmise that holiday celebrations in many schools are little more than art projects, repeated year after year, and held together by cake or cookies and the school calendar. The "art" activities often do little more than engage the child in product centered projects which satisfy the legal requirements of the district or state. Such "art" activities deny the integrity of their associated holidays; plot-the-dot turkeys, paper models of Columbus' ships, clay pot Indian villages, and tree decorations made from straws do little to cultivate the aesthetic spirit--not to mention the understanding of the holiday's significance--so much a part of certain holiday celebrations. Children, too, are often denied the opportunity for creative and inventive expression. The use of stereotypical holiday symbols and commercial patterns does not encourage artistic freedom. Rather than the child using the holiday, Vincent Popolizio asserts, the holiday uses the child.⁷ Holidays often

appear devoid of content and contribute little to the child's understanding of his world; instead, they have become ritual exercises of equal valence and of little significance. A description of a February kindergarten visit by Robert Spillane, Superintendent of Schools in New Rochelle, New York, lends support to this fear:

My head whirls when I walk into a kindergarten that is entertaining parents with a combined George Washington-Abraham Lincoln-Valentine's Day Party. The five-year olds cope. They crayon the hearts and the cherries, and the top-hats with the same enthusiasm with which they created pumpkins in October. They eat the candy with the same joy with which they will celebrate Easter by consuming jelly beans. They have probably already figured out that a lot of what goes on in school doesn't make too much sense anyway.⁸

And, what is learned of the nature of celebration as it relates to man in his world? If anything, it is perhaps that sweet foods and drinks amidst revelry and sometimes chaos constitute a festive occasion. Little emphasis seems to be placed upon the meanings, psychic or metaphysical, of celebration per se. The potential for celebrations to satisfy man's need to set aside time to reaffirm his life and serve as a mediator between the present and past and that nebulous future seems to be generally overlooked.

Because of the activity-orientation and the lack of an adequate conceptual framework, it seems likely that many children have little genuine knowledge about holidays and what they do have is probably quite muddled and confused.

This conclusion is based primarily upon inferences drawn from the preceding, but also upon a limited sampling of teachers and students. Conversations with social studies teachers in a suburban high school indicated that many adolescents' primary association with historical figures (King and Lincoln, specifically) was their relationship to the school's vacation calendar. Few participants in the social studies conference knew who Crispus Attucks and Susan B. Anthony were. Published interviews with elementary school children reflect considerable confusion about the factual data related to each holiday as well as about the reasons for their celebration. A sampling of children's comments about specific holidays will serve to illustrate:

Columbus Day: "He sailed on a ship. For months."
(7 year old)

"He saw these canoes, and he took boats around the island, and he saw Indians and he thought he was in India." (2nd grader after day of making paper boats of Columbus' ships and a story)

"He got the Indians off the land, too. That was good because it meant we could live here." (4th grader)

"He was from Europe, when they didn't think there was any land but Africa, Asia, and Europe. When they finally discovered America, they figured the Indians were no good. They felt that they could make the land better."
(6th grader)

(Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA., October 8, 1977)

July Fourth: "Why is July 4th a holiday?"

"I don't remember." (11 year old)

"Something to do with the Declaration of Independence. It's something to free the slaves; everybody signed their names... Benjamin Franklin, George Washington." (11 year old)

"The Declaration of Independence was signed, I think. It means freedom, I think..." (14 year old)

(Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA., July 3, 1978)

Thanksgiving: "The Pilgrims invited the Indians to their first Thanksgiving dinner. They did all sorts of nice things for the Indians whether they liked it or not."

"They came to America so they could have the right to have four fathers if they wanted to."

"One thing they learned from the Indians was how to smoke through a piece pipe."

(All 9 year olds)

Christmas: "He taught them about the spirit that was started when the little Baby Jesus was born in Creche, a suburb of Bethlehem."

"Pine trees are not the only Christmas trees, Christmas grows on many kinds of trees."

"Christmas just barely sneaks in the nick of time before every new year. We try to hurry it up along about Halloween."

New Year's: "I observed New Year's Day last year. What I observed was that New Year's Day comes quite late at night."⁹

(Age not indicated)

Although humorous in many instances and indicative of the child's own world as he perceives it, the writer suspects that the comments are characteristic of the confused knowledge children have about these special days which seek to acquaint them with their own and others' cultural heritages.

The knowledge component is an essential ingredient if the integrity of specific holidays is to be preserved. It is not only the knowledge acquired by the child that is important, however; the teacher, too, must be well-informed about the holiday in terms of its nature and significance to those who celebrate it. Without such a background, the learnings of children will be either confused or inaccurate. A good example is the teacher who, with all good intentions, gives equal time to the observance of Hanukah and Christmas in her classroom. She may actually be doing a disservice to both her Christian and Jewish children. The importance of each holiday to the respective religious groups is first of all unequal; Christmas is a major celebration for Christians while Hanukah is a minor celebration during the Jewish year. Secondly, the barrage of several gift-giving suggestions in the media coupled with the time devoted to each holiday in school lead some children to equate the two holidays. Christian children may view Hanukah as the "Jewish Christmas"--an inappropriate commingling of two mutually exclusive terms indicative of a lack of appreciation for the essential difference between the two religious

groups. Such confusion is not unlike the three year olds who sing happy birthday when jack-o'-lanterns are lit on Halloween. In each case, children are responding from an immediate experience base of limited knowledge and understanding. The well-informed teacher would anticipate such responses and plan learnings accordingly.

It is also significant to realize that the celebration of Chanukah as the major Jewish holiday observed in school may prove to be an injustice to the Jewish children. Emphasis upon this holiday to the exclusion of others on the Jewish calendar fails to acknowledge Hanukah as a minor holiday of the Jewish religion; it results in misinformation being given to non-Jewish children as well as the failure to indicate to the Jewish children a genuine appreciation of their religion. As Rabbi Bernard notes:

A lot of children will be coming home from school this month (December) with the mistaken impression that Hanukah is the Jewish Christmas.

This is unfortunate. It will not only convey a thoroughly misleading impression of the Jewish Festival of Light, but will put the Jewish observance out of focus in the perspective of Jewish holidays. Hanukah comes off looking diminutive, minor and quite skimpy in comparison to the magnificence of Christmas.¹⁰

It is not suggested that Hanukah be dismissed as a holiday worthy of celebration. Rather, teachers are urged to become sufficiently informed about Jewish holidays so that they may present a holiday program which maintains the integrity of holidays observed.

Attitudes and values. A somewhat more amorphous issue, but one of equal importance relates to the attitudes and values fostered by our holiday celebration observances. The constructive potential in this area is clearly stated by Dorothy Fraser:

Observance of special days can contribute to the citizenship goals of social studies instruction, especially to the building of constructive attitudes and loyalties. Through these observances children from many diverse groups in our country gain a common background of experiences that can become a basis for communication with others and for a feeling of belonging to the larger national group.¹¹

The realization of unity within diversity is one of the enduring purposes of the social studies. If our culture is to survive, its unifying traditions and ideals must be transmitted to the generations of future leaders. At the same time, the child needs to appreciate the reality of his social world which reflects diverse racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds offering a variety of opinions, values, and behaviors. In this day of emphasis upon ethnic heritage studies and emphasis upon cultural pluralism, it is crucial that the balance between unity and diversity be maintained.

Current holiday curricula are probably guilty of upsetting the balance on both sides. As noted by Spillane and as indicated on the Michaelis chart, the holiday calendars of many communities are limited in scope.¹² The dominant culture is most often represented. Few women are represented, black leaders are noticeably absent, religious

holidays are minimized. On the obverse side, one finds the extreme advocates of ethnic heritage studies arguing that the holidays of the Anglo-American culture have no significance to the minorities and that schools should provide equal time to individual minority group celebrations.¹³ Obviously neither position is a suitable one as each promotes negative attitudes and values. Both subvert the purpose cited above. Although teachers do not always have a voice about which holidays will be celebrated, guidelines for selection which not only satisfy the purposes of social studies but also foster the aims of education in general, must be devised for teachers, administrators, school boards, and other sanctioning bodies.

Along with difficulties and negative attitudes which can result from the selection process are problems which arise when monolithic interpretations of particular holidays are presented. Thanksgiving is a holiday which generally falls prey to this condition. Viewed as a holiday symbolic of friendly relations and of the cooperative venture between the Indians and the first settlers, the day is thought to be one for ruminating about all those things for which we are thankful. Not only is it often inaccurately viewed as a "one of a kind" celebration, but thought is seldom given to those children who have little to be thankful for as teachers dole out the traditional theme assignments. Of greater consequence, however, is the

failure by most teachers to indicate that the Holiday is a day of mourning for members of the Wampanoag tribe. Such a recognition would probably be inappropriate for primary aged children but certainly the upper elementary age children should be apprised of the divergent viewpoint expressed by members of this tribe. Their demonstrations since 1972 of the National Day of Mourning may be used with older children to present a more accurate portrayal of the original holiday and to assist children's understandings of the Indian viewpoint, to enhance their general world view. A balanced and cautious approach is included in the EDC Match Kit about the Wampanoags.¹⁴ By avoiding this pertinent information, teachers are perpetuating the stereotypic impressions of the First Thanksgiving; by including it, teachers can demythologize if the holiday attitudes are put in proper perspective and contribute to children's overall understanding of conflicting opinions and values which are operative in this country.

A more serious situation can result when schools abdicate their role of informing children by avoiding issues or beliefs of importance to their respective communities. This is apparently the case in many communities regarding religious holidays. The Supreme Court's rulings about the inclusion of prayer in public schools has resulted in an over cautious approach to the study of religion because of its legal ramifications. Holidays have become

increasingly more secularized and apparently more in tune with the commercial approach than a truly educative one. In an article entitled "Malpractice Insurance: Who Needs It?" by Dorothy Levanson and Robert Spillane, this attitude is clearly reflected:

A strict interpretation of the ruling would probably prohibit all attention to Christmas on school time. Most schools have tried to comply by emphasizing non-religious symbols, using reindeer and Santa's helpers instead of angels and shepherds. Or, they have mistletoe and holly. But a parent who objects to any religious observance or reference stands on firm constitutional ground. And any classroom teacher who conducts what might be termed 'religious' observances is open to criticism and more.¹⁵

The concern raised in this article was also expressed by teachers at the social studies conference. Aware of their children's interests and excitement about approaching religious holidays, these teachers were unsure about the legality of such study as well as the appropriate approach. The crucial point to be understood by teachers is that there is a difference between actually celebrating a holiday and learning about a particular celebration. This distinction is essential if the sanctity, integrity, and legality of the celebration are to be preserved. Those who do not subscribe to the particular beliefs expressed by celebratory acts cannot be expected to act as celebrants; nor is it expected that a ceremony which requires a particular place or type of person to be appropriately conducted would be

re-enacted in the school by unqualified individuals. It would be perfectly justifiable and legal for a non-participant to witness such a ceremony and to study it within the larger context of the beliefs of a particular group of people.*

An attempt to deal with teachers' hesitations about religious holidays was made in Maryland in 1976. A workshop under the joint sponsorship of the Montgomery County School District and the Jewish Community Council was held which focused upon teaching about religious holidays in public schools. Its primary purposes were to clarify the Supreme Court's decisions regarding church-state separation which had prompted many schools to abandon religious holidays, to explore the participants' attitudes and to heighten their sensitivities about the December holidays, and to design a winter holiday program. The first two goals were reasonably met during the workshop but the third was abandoned. "When participants were asked to plan a winter program for a Montgomery County School, they refused to complete the task assignments." Although they had expressed the need for change and had even articulated some goals and objectives for a program, they were unable to take the next step of translating them into classroom activities.

*This contention will be adequately documented in the presentation of Supreme Court decisions in Chapter II.

Some of the comments at the end of the session reflected this frustration. It would seem that those who insisted, 'there is no problem' and 'December is like every other month,' did so to avoid confronting a delicate, complex, situation.¹⁶

The workshop format was a varied one which sought to involve all participants as quickly as possible in the topic, but it was definitely restricted by the short session devoted to the workshop. Its lack of success can be attributed in part to the latter, but also the attitudes of teachers who wanted definite ways of avoiding legal embroilments inhibited their ability to carry out the final task. From this workshop and discussions with teachers, it appears that there is a need to offer specific ways of observing religious holidays which will ease tension and result in learning.

More recent developments related to the celebration of Christmas both in and out of school confirm the confusion surrounding the Schempp decision of 1963 and the appropriate role of religion in the schools. In Chicago, a suit was filed by the ACLU to require the city to remove a Nativity Scene in the courtyard of the city hall in 1978. In Sioux Falls, South Dakota, a group of parents and students petitioned the courts to prevent the inclusion of religious songs, dialogues, and pageants in the annual Christmas programs. In fact, according to the Philadelphia Inquirer, many large school districts in their area have

limited the use of religious symbols, songs and enactments in holiday programs. (Included in their list were Philadelphia, Upper Darby in Delaware County, Lower Marion and Neshaminy in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cherry Hill in New Jersey.) The newspaper indicated that a "public furor" had arisen in the Phoenixville district of Pennsylvania because of the superintendent's efforts to de-emphasize the religious content of Christmas in favor of the secular. The position was supported by the school board who, with the superintendent, viewed the decision as a move to comply with the Supreme Court's decision which forbid the exercise of religion in the schools. Some parents and local clergy were upset by this decision despite the inclusion of secular elements and the superintendent's assurance that religion could be presented in historical and cultural contexts.¹⁷ One is left wondering why the holiday was not presented in a cultural context, then, and what the affect of the secularization of religious holidays upon children's learning was.

The emphasis upon secular aspects of religious holidays offers children little--if any--understanding of the significance of the holiday for the group which celebrates it. This "sin of omission" contains the potential for dividing a community and can ultimately inhibit the ability of diverse groups in the process of joint problem solving. The latter necessitates mutual understanding and

appreciation of varied viewpoints if communication is to occur and alternative solutions are to be genuinely entertained. This is not to suggest that the study of religious holidays will insure open communication among community groups. It can if purposefully and honestly approached, however, contribute to inter-group understanding.

Christmas and Easter, because of their non-religious aspects, allow teachers to focus upon secular symbols and activities and to side-step their religious import. Because these two holidays are exciting, and anxiously awaited by children, it is difficult to neglect them entirely. The secular approach may satisfy the need of Christian children at the moment but it also contains a message to non-Christian children. Since their religious experience does not relate to these specific symbols, questions must arise in children's minds about the legitimacy of their religious culture in the eyes of the school. In effect, injustices are committed against the total community. The significance of the holiday to Christians is overlooked; non-Christians are asked to support secular aspects of Christian holidays; nothing has been learned by either group about the traditions and beliefs of others in their community. One is led to query about why such holidays are observed at all.

The divisive force of holidays in a community was demonstrated clearly in 1977 in a town in Western Massachusetts. Members of the Christian and Jewish communities

became involved in a controversy about the town's emphasis upon Christmas following the publication of an article in the local newspaper. Poor journalism precipitated the problem but responses in the editorial column in succeeding weeks indicated the antagonism on both sides.

The title of the article "Rabbi Laments Hoopla of Yule" was sufficiently inflammatory but the paraphrasing and selective quoting done by the journalist misrepresented the rabbi's concerns because they were taken out of context. A comment such as "'Christmas is overdone in our culture'" was directly quoted; in itself this statement would not offend most people who would probably agree. However, it was immediately followed by a paraphrased statement which implied a relationship:

And one of the worst offenders usually are the schools,' said Morse (the rabbi). 'There is almost no way that Jewish children can avoid being exposed to the Christian celebration of Christmas,' he contended.¹⁸

Although relating that the rabbi's conclusions were based upon New Jersey experiences, the journalist added that members of the rabbi's congregation had expressed mixed feelings about their experiences in city schools. Since no specific references were made to the city schools, readers were left to supply the missing details from the innuendoes in the article. The rabbi offered some suggestions for ways to include religious holiday observances in

the schools which would foster positive learnings. He agreed with the observance of holidays of all faiths within the context of the study of various religions. He also rejected the "'pluralist'" approach to holiday celebrations which combine a variety of traditions in an eclectic fashion for children during the December holidays.

A variety of responses appeared in the newspaper including an apology by the newspaper for the way in which this particular article was presented. Unfortunately the damage had been done as indicated in the following remarks:

I am sorry non-Christian children are embarrassed by a public Christian celebration of Christmas but this is intended to be a Christian state of Protestant origin. We are well aware, I'm sure, we have all been kicked out of the Garden of Eden. Only God will return us.

Northampton has a small and relatively visible Jewish community, many of whom are in business and might find it difficult to explain Moulton's glib charges to their customers. One can only wonder what treatment Jewish children will receive from Gentile teachers and classmates when they return to school.¹⁹

Two of the more poignant statements were selected to indicate the seriousness of the situation. Added to this might be the anti-semitic phone calls made to the rabbi and other members of the Jewish Community. (A few editorials and letters were also published which reflected more thoughtful approaches by the Christian community about the meaning of Christmas in contrast to the anti-semitic

charges.) The incident per se is indicative of what can happen when members of the majority fail to understand the minority viewpoint. It might have been avoided if both groups better understood the beliefs of each other.

Of interest was the failure of response on the part of the schools. The only reference to school policies was contained in the original article:

There was confusion in 1975 in city schools about whether a state anti-discrimination law meant banning all observance of religious holidays in the schools. One year ago, the school board (was asked?) to clarify a policy stating 'holidays will continue to be observed in the traditional manner avoiding any devotional or and (sic) doctrinal influences or any embarrassment for children of differing convictions.' During debate, one school committee member said then it would be all right for children to sing "Jingle Bells," but not a song about the birth of Christ.²⁰

If the policy as stated is accurate, it would appear that teachers should not emphasize the religious beliefs of holidays and should focus on the secular. Since no response to the rabbi's statements was forthcoming from educators in defense of what is being done in the schools, one is led to believe that religious holidays as an issue are preferably avoided. This incident in a small New England community reflects the failure of schools over time to successfully educate their children to recognize, respect, and express sensitivity toward the religious persuasions of its community members. Further, it

exemplifies the posture assumed by many schools regarding religious holidays: avoidance of the controversial.

Developmental concerns. The arts and crafts orientation of holidays celebrated in schools and the misinformation children express about holidays may be, in part, the result of attempts by teachers to observe holidays in their classrooms which are inappropriate for children in light of their developmental levels. Because many school districts mandate the recognition of specific holidays and teachers are compelled to "cover" the prescribed curricula, children are often asked to cope with holiday content and understandings which are far too complex and/or abstract. Many of the comments quoted above reflect this condition. The 1976 Bicentennial celebrations in many schools may have been the victims of a failure to successfully deal with developmental considerations also. The historical emphasis of the celebrations would have created problems for most elementary aged children as would the concept of "200 years." Attempts to create understanding of the words and ideas of the Declaration of Independence or to assume the roles of historical figures re-enacting momentous events yields little learning for the child who remains in the concrete operational stage of cognitive development and still retains an essentially egocentric personality. This is not to say that some meaningful experiences were

not provided. As Pat Timberlake indicates, the primary child who played games of the Revolutionary era was able to identify some differences between that period and the present. Given the emphasis upon what some consider unsuitable concepts proposed by most elementary graded social studies texts, one wonders how many schools and classrooms used the developmental levels (cognitive and moral) of their children as a major criterion for the selection of Bicentennial activities, programs, and learnings.

Overlooking the developmental factor results in classroom holiday observances which do little more than take up time and perpetuate myths. The month of February to five year olds centers about Valentine's Day which is a holiday of their immediate present and is celebrated in a tangible and concrete fashion. To include birthday parties for Washington or Lincoln--as is often done--seems inappropriate in light of Piaget's findings relative to a five year old's understanding of time in the past or his ability to cope with concepts such as "country," let alone "father of our country," "president," or "slavery." (In fact, it is likely that five year olds are just coming to grips with the notion that their parents and relatives have birthdays, as well as they themselves.) Perhaps it would be more advisable to reserve classroom celebrations for these two national figures until children have matured sufficiently to cope with the conceptual requirements of such a study.

The common approach seems to be the simplification of content to the point of focusing upon the trivial or the overly-sentimentalized legends surrounding historic figures which ultimately contributes little to a child's understanding of his heritage.

Packaged materials marketed by the major publishing firms must also be put to the test of the developmental question. Although they often espouse the conceptual approach and promote themselves as flexibly suited to a significant age range, the concepts or generalizations which may have been labelled "learner-verified" are often inconsistent with what we know about child growth and development. One such series is "Holidays and Special Occasions" published to complement the Silver-Burdett Primary Social Studies program. It consists of eight holiday picture packets accompanied by text for the pictures and teacher's manuals with lessons outlined for each picture. The set is designed for use with children from kindergarten through second grade and perhaps third. Although one may agree with the rationale for the series--"Holidays are a part of our cultural heritage that reflect the values held by society. By learning about holidays, children learn important social understandings, attitudes, and skills"²²--one can disagree with the selection of holidays recommended and some of the understandings and attitudes expected from the studies. The series seems to overlook

both the cognitive and moral developmental levels of five, six, and seven year olds. The study of United Nations Day, for example, seeks to help children of these ages understand that "each society has its own ways of living in families, its own traditions, and its own learned patterns and standards of behavior--all as valid and as worthy of respect as our own."²³ Two problems arise for one undertaking this study: first, the child must have already developed a frame of reference about his or her own society to examine another; secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the ethnocentricity of the child of the concrete operational stage almost insures an inability to view another society "as valid and worthy of respect as his own." The latter necessitates viewing from the perspective of another, a characteristic of those close to entering the formal operational stage. The content of this packet also requires careful scrutiny. For example, the text which accompanies a picture of a young child standing amidst the rubble of a London bomb site during World War II compares the conflagration to a quarrel between siblings or friends which was not resolved through talking out the problem. Although an attempt to relate to the child's world, the analogy is much too simplistic and could easily lead to an inaccurate cause and effect relationship. An even more significant question is, what meaning does the United Nations have for a five, six, seven, or even eight

year old? It is, in fact, so remote from most children's experiences to be of little consequence in understanding their immediate reality. The unit, as do many in this series, establishes valid goals which support generalizations from the Social Studies but ones which, given our knowledge of developmental theory, are more suited to older children.

The critical point in the preceding discussion is the determination of what levels of thinking and understanding are required to gain accurate knowledge and an appreciation of the significance of the holiday to be observed. What is appropriate for children to learn about the holiday? Is the holiday one which should be reserved for children at a more appropriate time in their development? In order to answer these questions, teachers must be able to put the learnings through a "developmental screen" which ascertains the comprehension level required for a meaningful celebration. The screen should include cognitive, moral, and socio-emotional considerations although it might be difficult to isolate the three.

Statement of the problem. Holiday celebrations are widely observed in today's schools but implicit in their observation are serious problems which negate their potential for significant learning opportunities for children. These . problems include:

- 1) a purposeless approach
- 2) the dissemination of confused and inaccurate information
- 3) the creation of misunderstandings and the promotion of negative attitudes
- 4) inappropriate placement of holidays at specific levels.

Questions which arise from these problems are:

- 1) What role can holiday celebrations play in the child's construction of a world view?
- 2) What is an appropriate and justifiable place for holiday celebrations in the elementary school curriculum?
- 3) What factors must be considered for that role to be realized?

The next section of this chapter examines the recent literature which might serve as resources for those who, in their attempts to plan curriculum for holiday celebrations, seek to eliminate the problems cited and provide for the questions raised.

Review of the literature. Current literature about holiday celebrations is limited and generally reveals the problems associated with their observance in the classroom. A review of what has been written indicates that minimal attention has been given in recent years to either the role of holiday celebrations or how their learning potential can be maximized. Few guidelines are offered to teachers relative to either the social or developmental issues which affect decision making about holiday celebrations curricula.

The survey of the literature undertaken for this study has included the following: a review of selected social studies methods texts of the 1970's; an examination of the articles listed in the Education Index from 1970-1978 related to the topic; and an ERIC computer search to identify research of the past ten years. Also included in this review will be references to specific works cited in the historical survey which offer a base upon which inquiry can be based.

Social studies methods texts. Because social studies methods texts are generally used as pre-service and in-service resources by teachers, it is assumed that they indicate in part the direction of social studies in the classroom. Seven methods books published in the seventies were selected for analysis and study. Each was examined for discussions of holidays per se, their relationship to the goals of education and social studies, and the conceptual scheme within which they might be viewed. The results of this examination follow:

Arthur K. Ellis, Teaching and Learning Elementary Social Studies. Holidays are included with current events and are suggested as a possible focus for younger elementary children; a list of possible holidays is included. (pp. 320-321)

Bruce R. Joyce, New Strategies for Social Education. No reference to holiday celebrations is made although one could incorporate them within his social and personal dimensions of the social studies. The importance of understanding one's

cultural heritage as well as the values reflected by democracy and the particular ethnic groups of the United States might be construed as supporting holiday celebrations.

Lavone A. Hanna, et. al., Dynamic Elementary Social Studies: Unit Teaching. Employing unit organization of the social studies, emphasis is placed upon creating effective and responsible democratic citizens; no reference to holidays is made in the text.

John Jarolimek, Social Studies in Elementary Education, 5th ed. Holiday observances are included in the chapter about the contributions of the social sciences and under the sub-heading history. Criticism of holiday observances which are guided by fancy rather than authenticity is given. Accurate portrayal with emphasis upon "basic learnings" is urged. The value of holiday observances is cited as content which acquaints children with their cultural heritage. (pp. 150-151)

Peter H. Martorella, Elementary Social Studies as a Learning System. No direct reference to holidays is offered but they are implied in discussions of cultural traditions--studying one's own and those of other ethnic groups. (p. 32ff)

Pearl M. Oliver, Teaching Elementary Social Studies: A Rational Humanistic Approach. Discussion of individual instruction, moral development, and social issues as areas of humanistic concerns offers opportunities for holiday inclusion, but no reference is made to them.²⁴

Although the references listed are limited in number, they do represent a range of approaches and some of the most prominent writers in the field of social studies methods for the elementary level. The significant feature is not what is said, but what is left out. The importance of holiday celebrations is minimal in relation to other

curricular features developed in these books. Guidelines for teachers are few and insufficient. Holidays are generally viewed as vehicles for acquainting children with their democratic heritage and as part of the study of the past. Virtually no attention is given to religious holidays nor to ethnic holidays. Criteria for selection are noticeably absent as is a general framework for holiday celebrations except that of history in general.

Among the emphases in current social studies literature is ethnic heritage studies. Most of the methods texts include analysis of this area. ASCD has devoted a number of articles in its journal Educational Leadership as well as a complete pamphlet, Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, Application, to the topic of ethnic or multicultural studies. The attitude about ethnic holidays in various selections may be characterized as negative. The observance of ethnic holidays, according to some critics, is merely a token gesture and contributes little to the understanding of the multicultural composition of the United States.²⁵ Although valid in part, the writers in their attempts to draw attention to the lack of study of multicultural groups are overlooking the ways in which holiday celebrations of ethnic groups may be incorporated in positive ways to support the acceptance of diversity. James Banks in his Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies presents a more moderate attitude about holidays:

Students should learn, for example, that while all American ethnic groups share elements of a common culture, each group possesses unique cultural characteristics. The Chinese New Year, Rosh Hashana (Jewish), and St. Patrick's Day (Irish) illustrate the range of ethnic holidays celebrated in the United States. . . . Culture, if studied from a non-ethnocentric point of view, can help students understand why these cultural elements, holidays, foods, dialects, values emerged and still exist, and develop a respect for cultural differences.²⁶

Banks' emphasis upon a non-ethnocentric approach to holiday celebrations is an important one; it holds significant implications for decisions to be made about which holidays will be celebrated as well as how they will be observed.

Articles. Articles about holiday celebrations listed in the Education Index from 1970-1978 fall into three general categories: (1) the place of religious holidays in the public school; (2) specific holiday suggestions; and, (3) holiday calendars of activities included in selected magazines (Instructor, Teacher, Elementary English). Religious holiday observances as presented in these articles indicate a continuing confusion among teachers. Although the court decisions relative to church-state separation are quite clear, school districts and classroom teachers are uneasy about their observance. Specific holiday suggestions offer titles for plays and pageants, sample projects and art activities, and stories and songs appropriate to the holiday. The holiday calendars are little more than that; they are often accompanied by arts and crafts suggestions.

Other isolated articles focused upon holiday games, anniversaries of scientists, and birthdays in the classroom.²⁷ Three articles emphasized the nature of holiday celebrations in the classroom, particularly the holidays selected, approaches to their celebrations, and the learning outcomes; analysis of these articles is included below.

A computer search of ERIC for the past ten years indicated that little research had been done in this area and that most references to holidays were included in selections about foreign language teaching and the Bicentennial. Articles relevant to this study either overlapped with those in the Education Index or cited the problems related to the activity orientation and lack of meaning. Three articles of note and two methods texts published in the sixties have proven the most helpful in establishing a foundation for this study.

Two of the articles offer guidelines relative to holiday selection and planning. Age appropriateness, relationship to past experiences, available materials, spontaneity and creativity in methods are encouraged in both. Other suggestions offered include consulting experts (who they are is not indicated), distinguishing between historical and legendary material, relating the purpose of the holiday to the children, and keeping a file about specific holidays. A list of practices to avoid are also

offered. Although these considerations are important and addressing them might change some practices, the overall conception of holidays would probably be affected little. Neither article really goes beyond establishing a checklist or posing questions which should be answered by the teacher in her planning.²⁸

The third article, written by Stephanie Schamess and based upon her experience at the Smith College Campus School, identifies many of the important learnings which can result from a purposeful celebrations curriculum. Her elaboration upon the types of celebrations appropriate for schools and the significance of celebration per se offer a beginning for the framework within which holiday celebrations can be viewed. To date, it is the most useful article published.

The concerns raised in the articles are elaborated upon in methods texts. Dorothy Fraser and John Michaelis advise teachers to consider the potential meaningfulness of the event to children at a particular age level. Introductions to the special events are encouraged for younger children; cumulative treatment with extended breadth and depth is recommended for intermediate and upper elementary children. The major criterion in the selection of grade placement is related to abstract concepts expressed in the holiday celebration. As Michaelis notes in Social Studies for Children in a Democracy,

Two policies are widely followed in the grade placement of special days and weeks. First, certain holidays are considered in all grades beginning in grade 1 and kindergarten. In succeeding grades, opportunities are provided for more advanced learning through background studies, short units, relationships to basic social studies units, and varied activities. Second, certain special days and weeks are assigned to particular grades in terms of the background experiences of children and the basic units in the program.³⁰

Michaelis' observations follow quite closely those of Dorothy Fraser in the 32nd Yearbook of the National Council of the Social Studies:

Some special observances, such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Valentine's Day and Washington's Birthday are a part of even young children's experience and can be given cumulative, increasingly mature treatment each year from the kindergarten through the intermediate grades. Others, such as Pan American Day or Bill of Rights Day, involve concepts that are unknown or have little meaning to primary grade children and should not be introduced until the intermediate grades.³¹

Both note that some holidays will be repeated during a child's elementary school years which necessitates careful planning to ensure that experiences are differentiated from grade to grade. A corollary to differentiation is that a more in-depth appreciation and understanding should be the result of the repeated studies it is similar to the position advocated by social studies experts who subscribe to the spiral curriculum organization.

A developmental approach is implied by the authors but it is not clearly explicated and it is restricted to

cognitive concerns. (Moral development is not referred to at all by either and it is not clear whether the two relate cognition to moral development.) The issue of child development as it affects the selection of concepts, content, and activities along with the actual choice of holidays requires further investigation. Greater clarity and definition of the relationships in child development--cognitive, social, and moral--is required before it can be used as an effective criterion.

Michaelis and Fraser refer to the general purposes of the social studies and include examples of holidays as part of a major unit. Michaelis notes that Thanksgiving may be included in a study of Indians and/or Pilgrims and that a study of "communities in other lands" might focus on celebrations of the New Year. These examples along with the goal statements help to locate holiday celebrations within the framework of social studies. The focus, however, is closely tied to themes and topics. Neither author adequately indicates how specific holidays fit within the conceptual framework of social studies nor the generalizations associated with particular social science disciplines. Michaelis does isolate the concepts of "interdependence," "cross-cultural sharing" and "cultural diversity" in his discussion of celebrations at home and in other lands. The brevity of the presentation as well as its intent does no more than indicate that such concepts are possible. He

does not assume a position regarding the importance or necessity of emphasizing them.

Summary. Although limited, the resources available do provide some guidance. Recommendations are offered for grade placement and differentiated experiences which yield increasing breadth and depth of understanding as children proceed through the elementary school. Some integration possibilities with the total social studies program for selected holidays are offered along with oblique ties to the aims of education. Admonitions about being well informed, the efficient use of time, selection of materials, and approaches in the classroom should prove helpful to classroom teachers. What they ultimately provide are factors to consider in planning a holiday celebrations curriculum. They do not, however, address the problems and questions related previously. Because of this, the resources presently available neither reflect nor reveal a conceptual framework which can inform intelligent decision making.

The purpose of this study. The role of holiday celebrations in today's schools appears to be a nebulous one. Purpose is derived from mandates by state or school officials and habit rather than from any intrinsic value of holidays themselves. Children and teachers routinely observe the special days of each month by engaging in time consuming

activities whose learning outcomes are questionable. Because of this situation, the potential of holiday celebrations to contribute significantly to a child's growing understanding of himself and his world is not realized.

This study proposes to offer solutions to the problems cited earlier and to respond to the questions identified by developing a conceptual framework within which holiday celebrations may be viewed. The framework will inform decision-making about holiday celebrations on three levels: (1) the societal, (2) the institutional, and (3) the instructional. It will establish the data sources which must be consulted and relate them to the levels of decision-making about holiday celebrations. It will not prescribe a curriculum but will, instead, provide criteria for planning and evaluation and will also demonstrate how the framework can be applied in the process of curriculum development. As the framework unfolds, it will identify the appropriate place of holiday celebrations in the elementary school and provide a means whereby holiday celebrations in the elementary school may be imbued with meaning for children.

Footnotes--Part 1

¹John U. Michaelis, Ruth H. Grossman and Lloyd Scott, New Designs for Elementary Curriculum and Instruction. 2nd ed. (McGraw-Hill Book Co.: New York, 1975) p. 17.

²Edgar B. Wesley, Teaching the Social Studies: Theory and Practice. (D. C. Heath and Co.: Boston, 1937), pp. 62-76.

³Rolla M. Tryon, The Social Sciences as School Subjects: American Historical Association Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. part xi, (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1935), p. 80.

⁴Tryon, 1935, p. 28.

⁵Tryon, 1935, pp. 186-87.

⁶Tryon, 1935, p. 194.

⁷Tryon, 1935, pp. 196-97.

⁸Committee of Eight, American Historical Association, The Study of History in the Elementary Schools: A Report to the American Historical Association. (Charles Scribner and Sons: New York, 1919), p. x.

⁹Committee of Eight, 1910, p. 1.

¹⁰Committee of Eight, 1910, p. 4.

¹¹See Appendix for the holiday outlines recommended by the Committee of Eight.

¹²Wesley, 1937, pp. 133-36; and Tryon, 1935, pp. 201-14.

¹³Calvin Noyes Kendall and Florence Elizabeth Stryker, History in The Elementary School. (Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1918), pp. 122-30.

¹⁴Grace E. Storm, The Social Studies in the Primary Grades. (Lyons and Carmahan: Chicago, 1931), p. 3.

¹⁵Storm, 1935, p. 7.

¹⁶Storm, 1935, pp. 560-92.

¹⁷National Education Association Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Cardinal Principals of Secondary Education. (1918) in Tryon, 1935, p. 92.

¹⁸Tryon, 1935, p. 97.

¹⁹Charles A. Beard, A Charter for the Social Sciences (p. 73) quoted in Roy A. Price, "Goals for the Social Studies" in Dorothy Fraser, ed., Social Studies Curriculum Development: Prospects and Problems. 39th Yearbook. (National Council for the Social Studies: Washington, D.C., 1969), p. 38.

²⁰Beard, p. 96 in Price, 1969, p. 39.

²¹Price, 1969, pp. 38-39; and, Wesley, 1937, pp. 106-27.

²²Price, 1969, p. 40.

²³James A. Michener, ed. The Future of the Social Studies. (National Council for the Social Studies: Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 2 and 3.

²⁴Wesley, 1937, pp. 132-36.

²⁵National Education Association Department of Superintendence, Fourteenth Yearbook. (National Education Association: Washington, D. C., 1936), Chapter 5.

²⁶Department of Superintendence, 1936, pp. 102-37.

²⁷Howard E. Wilson, "A Social-Studies Course of Study," in Michener, 1939, p. 170.

²⁸Edgar B. Wesley and Mary C. Adams, Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools. (D. C. Heath and Co.: Boston, 1946), p. 33.

²⁹Cecile Filpel, "Making the Most of Our National Holidays," Child Study. 15: 3 (December, 1937): 71; Elizabeth Erwin, "When the School Celebrates," Child Study. 15 (December, 1937): 72-3.

³⁰Education For Unity in the Schools of New York State. (New York State University: Albany, New York, 1947), p. 19.

³¹Hilda Taba and William van Til, eds., Democratic Human Relations: 16th Yearbook. (National Council of the Social Studies: Washington, D. C., 1945), pp. 127-31, p. 156.

³²Taba, van Til, pp. 170, 175, 176.

³³William van Til, "School Activities" in Taba and van Til, eds., 1945, p. 191.

³⁴"Traditional Holidays Vanish as Schools Accelerate Programs," School And College Management. 13 (September, 1943): 28; and, Charles S. Turner, "Changing Content in Elementary Social Studies," Social Education. 5 (December, 1941): 6000-03.

³⁵John U. Michaelis, Social Studies for Children in a Democracy. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: New York, 1950), pp. 6-13.

³⁶Michaelis, 1950, pp. 19-23.

³⁷Michaelis, 1950, pp. 31-46.

³⁸Ralph C. Preston, Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School. rev. ed. (Rhinehart and Co., Inc.: New York, 1958), pp. 188-218.

³⁹The following articles listed in the Education Index were read but provided little information:

P. W. Sloane, "Plague of Special Weeks and Days," Clearing House. 14 (March, 1940): 527-29.

C. C. Tillingham, "Plan for Meeting Special Interest Pressures," Clearing House. 27 (September, 1952): 12.

"Holidays and Celebrations," School Arts. 51 (November, 1952): 73-107.

B. C. Keefe, and W. M. Bond, "Holiday Panels," School Arts. 52 (November, 1952): 74-75.

"Special Days Around the World," Childhood Education. 31 (November, 1954): 123-27.

C. E. Cockerville, "Holidays are Personal Days," Childhood Education. 38 (November, 1954): 108-10.

"How Should the Public Schools Observe Holidays?" Opinion Poll, Nations' Schools. 59 (February, 1957) 92.

B. I. Forman, "Are Jewish Children Left Out?" School Arts. 57 (December, 1957): 25-28.

P. Price, "Educational Use of Special Days," International Journal of Religious Education. 37 (November, 1960): 15.

M. E. St. Mary and L. Kohre, "Sound Off: Christmas and Chanukah Should Be Recognized in the Public Schools," Instructor. 69 (December, 1959): 8.

"Holidays," National Education Association Journal. 49 (December, 1960): 32-33.

J. Thomas, "We Celebrate Patriot Day," School Activities. 34 (November, 1962): 72-4.

J. J. Mitchell, "Two Objectives, One goal," School Activities. 33 (October, 1961): 41-2.

"Sound Off: Christmas is a religious holiday; it should be eliminated in every form from school observance," Instructor. 72 (December, 1962): 8-9.

P. C. Burns, "Checklist for Teaching about Holidays," Instructor. 71 (February, 1962): 89.

G. Wagner, "What Schools are doing; Teaching about Special Days," Education. 86 (January, 1966): 314-16.

A. H. Rice, "Where Christmas Fits in the Public School," Nations' Schools. 72 (December, 1964): 24.

R. Payne, "Focus on Nursery School, Kindergarten, Primary, Intermediate, Holiday Observances," Childhood Education. 42 (January, 1966): 301.

40 "Holidays and Celebrations," School Arts. 51 (October, 1951): 73-104.

41 Bernard I. Forman, "Are Jewish Children Left Out?" School Arts. 27 (December, 1957): 25-28.

42 Bruce R. Joyce, "The Primary Grades: A Review of Textbooks," in Benjamin C. Cox and Bryon G. Massialas, Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal. (Harcourt, Brace, and World: New York, 1967), p. 16.

43 Price, 1969, pp. 41-42.

44 Price, 1969, p.

45 A detailed discussion of the contributions of Fraser and Michaelis will be undertaken in the next section.

Footnotes--Part 2

¹John U. Michaelis, New Designs for Elementary Curriculum and Instruction. 2nd ed. (McGraw-Hill Co.: New York, 1975), p. 326.

²Pat Timberlake, "Classroom Holiday," Childhood Education. 54 (January, 1978): 128.

³Although both magazines offer activity suggestions, Instructor emphasizes craft ideas more than Teacher as indicated in the November and December issues of the past five years. (Instructor has recently published a holiday activities book for teachers.) Teacher contained references to holiday activities in its "Creative Calendar" pages and suggestions for discussions. Instructor suggests some of the following titles: "Candle-dipping Days," "Harvest-Time Mosaics," "No-sew Pilgrims," "Trimming the Tree," "Santa's Mailbag." It is not my intent to evaluate the activities but to note their emphasis.

⁴John U. Michaelis, Social Studies for Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments. 3rd ed. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: New Jersey, 1963), pp. 205-06; and, Dorothy Fraser, "Current Affairs, Special Events, and Civic Participation," in John U. Michaelis, ed., Social Studies in Elementary Schools. 32nd Yearbook. (National Council of the Social Studies: Washington, D. C., 1962), pp. 131-49. An elaboration upon the useful suggestions of these works may be found in this chapter under "Resources: What is Available."

⁵Robert Spillane, "I Wish the Grinch Would Steal All the Holidays," Teacher. 92 (October, 1974): 10.

⁶The Northeast Regional Social Studies Conference of 1978 focused upon civic or citizenship education. The author and staff members of the Smith College Campus School presented a workshop entitled, "Holiday Celebrations: A Divisive or Constructive Force in Citizenship Education?" About 25 teachers and administrators from Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New York and Connecticut attended.

⁷Vincent Popolizio, "For the Elementary Teacher: Holiday Stereotypes," School Arts. 71 (September, 1971): 8.

⁸Spillane, October, 1974, p. 10.

⁹Comments about Columbus Day and the Fourth of July are from two articles in the Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, Massachusetts: Laurel Sorenson, "How Columbus Discovered N. New York," Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, Mass., October 8, 1977; and Lauren McCartney, "Fourth of . . . What?" Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, Mass., July 3, 1978, p. 3.

Comments about Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day were selected from Harold Dunn, "Christmas Grows on Many Trees" National Education Association Journal. 56 (December, 1967): 20-21.

¹⁰Solomon S. Bernard, "Hanukah is not Christmas," Grade Teacher. 88 (December, 1970): 26.

¹¹Fraser in Michaelis, ed., 1962, p. 143.

¹²Spillane notes the inconsistency in holidays celebrated as part of school and those for which school is closed as well as the large number of patriotic observances which focus entirely on men. (Spillane, October, 1974, p. 10.) The reader is referred to the appendix for a list of holidays cited by Michaelis as most commonly observed in schools.

¹³For examples of this attitude, the reader is referred to the following articles: Gloria W. Grant, "Criteria for Cultural Pluralism in the Classroom," Educational Leadership. 32 (December, 1974): 190-92; Miriam Ortiz and Lourdes Traviso, "Multicultural Activities for the Classroom Teacher," p. 123 ff., and H. Prentice Baptiste, Jr., "Developing Multicultural Learning Activities," p. 107, in Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, and Applications. (ASCD Multicultural Education Commission: Washington, D. C., 1977).

In addition, the one black member of the conference workshop voiced the opinion that observance of the Fourth of July and other such holidays has little meaning for the black children as they are holidays representative of the white ethos. (March, 1978)

¹⁴The Indians Who Met the Pilgrims. (Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Development Corporation, 1976), pp. 39-44.

¹⁵Dorothy Levanson and Robert Spillane, "Malpractice Insurance: Who Needs It?" Teacher. 95 (September, 1977): 95.

¹⁶Elaine K. Hollander and Judith R. Saypol, "Teaching About Religious Holidays in Public Schools: A Workshop to Increase Awareness," Education. 97 (Fall, 1976): 71-2.

¹⁷Julia Cass, "No Holy Night: Public Schools Ban Carols," The Philadelphia Inquirer. 299, (December 21, 1978), pp. 1, 19.

¹⁸Stanley Moulton, "Rabbi Laments Hoopla of Yule," Daily Hampshire Gazette. Northampton, Mass., December 21, 1977, p. 1.

¹⁹Editorial letters, Daily Hampshire Gazette. Northampton, Mass. January 19, 1978.

²⁰Moulton, December 21, 1977, p. 1.

²¹Timberlake, 1978, p. 130.

²²Edna A. Anderson, et al., Holidays and Special Occasions: Silver Burdett Primary Social Studies. (Silver Burdett: New Jersey, 1966). (Introduction in all eight teachers' manuals.)

²³Anderson, et al., "United Nations Day--Brotherhood Week," 1966, p. 4.

²⁴For complete citations for each text, the reader is referred to the bibliography.

²⁵See information cited in footnote 13.

²⁶James A. Banks, Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.: Boston, 1975), pp. 52-53.

²⁷The following articles were reviewed:

J. Washburn, "Research a Holiday," Instructor. 79 (May, 1970): 41. "Who Should Decide about Holiday Observances?" Teacher opinion poll, Instructor. 80 (November, 1970): 29.

H. Wilcox, "Celebrate Birthdays," Instructor. 79 (January, 1970): 44.

F. H. Crystal, "Holidays Dilemma: Celebrating the Holidays in Pre-school and Kindergarten," Young Children. 23 (November, 1967): 66-73.

R. Bragdon, "Religious Freedom and School Holidays," Phi Delta Kappan. 58 (May, 1977): 70.

"Goodbye Good Friday; Dade County Florida Schools," Nations Schools and Colleges. 1 (December, 1974): 20.

F. B. Calla, "Holidays in Anticipation of Spring," Social Studies. 67 (January, 1976): 35.

"Feast of Lights," Early Years. 8 (December, 1977): 36. (Other articles read are referred to directly in other sections of this chapter.)

²⁸Timberlake, January, 1978, pp. 128-132; and, Paul C. Burns, "A Checklist for Teaching About Holidays," Instructor. 71 (February, 1962): 89,99.

²⁹Stephanie Schamess, "Ceremony, Celebration, and Culture: Some Considerations of the 'Three C's' and Our Schools," The Elementary School Journal. 79 (September, 1978): 1-5.

³⁰Michaelis, 1963, pp. 197-98.

³¹Fraser, 1962, p. 144.

C H A P T E R I I

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AS SUBJECT MATTER: THE FIRST DATA SOURCE

Introduction

Curriculum design of any type necessitates justification: a curriculum must identify both what is to be learned and the value inherent in the learnings. The latter addresses the "Why" question of curriculum selection and forms the rationale. The value positions and assumptions incorporated in a rationale generally fall into three categories: conceptions about the learner, the society, and the subject matter. All three contribute to the setting of educational goals.¹

This chapter proposes to focus upon the subject matter alone, not in terms of specific holiday celebrations but rather the general category which includes all holiday celebrations. It will identify types of holiday celebrations along with their respective functions, and it will explore the suitability of specific types within the context of the elementary school. The relationship between holiday celebrations and selected research related to ritual will be undertaken to support claims about the value implicit in celebrating. Commentary about the development of holidays celebrated in the United States along

with an assessment of their current status will be offered also.

Two purposes underlie this approach to the study of celebrations: (1) an elaboration of the nature of celebrations will offer a perspective for the identification of educational goals and intended learnings; and, (2) the identification of the values inherent in celebrations per se will facilitate decision making about their purposes in schools and their potential contribution to the attainment of educational aims. The analysis of celebrations will, therefore, provide the first data source in the curriculum framework: the nature of the subject-matter which will allow for continued investigation in the next two chapters related to the aims of education and the nature of the learner and the learning process.

Part 1: Holiday Celebrations: Types and Nature

Because of the endless number of holidays, it is difficult to differentiate clearly their types. There are many possible categories: festive, commemorative, religious, ethnic, familial, organizational, historical, etc. Any categorization scheme will in the end prove inadequate because holidays are often multi-faceted and thus may simultaneously reflect more than one of the categories. Furthermore, time and emphasis may change the importance

or mode of a celebration which would result in an overlap of categories. Despite these problems, a system of categorization is important if holiday celebrations are to be sensibly analysed and prove useful as a subject matter for curriculum development. For purposes of this study, therefore, this writer selected three rather broad categories suggested by Robert Lee in Religion and Leisure in America: religious, seasonal, and patriotic.² Although some holidays are exclusively associated with one category, it must be recognized at the outset that some cross categories (e.g., Easter as a religious and seasonal holiday; or, Thanksgiving, as a religious, patriotic and/or seasonal holiday). These three categories were chosen because they are the types most commonly associated with holiday celebrations in schools. Before examining each type, a study of the origin of the concept of holiday itself is necessary. Such an investigation will place the concept in its historical context and will provide insight into its nature and purpose.

The term "holiday" is essentially a secular one and yet its origin is religious. The original form of the holiday was the holy day, a public religious observance of a ceremonial character at a time set apart from daily labors. In primitive times, holy days were intended to worship the gods or to appease/placate them. The cessation

of work at such times was not the cause of observance. Rather, the belief which inspired these "days off" was that the sacred and the profane (in Durkheim's sense) were not to be mingled for fear of contamination of the former by the latter as well as the belief that abstinence from work is a proper means for expressing reverence for the divinities.³

These early holidays generally expressed one of two aspects, a negative and restrictive one or a positive and festive one. The negative restrictions and taboos were periods of quiet and abstinence imposed at a time of crisis (epidemic, death, earthquake) or prior to an important period in the yearly cycle (change of the moon, planting of crops, celebration of a solemn religious ceremony). Holy days characterized by festival celebration arose to mark times of good fortune (successful hunt, victorious battle, plentiful harvest) as well as from traditional rites peculiar to a people (beginning or end of the agricultural year, stages of the moon, positions of the constellations). The occasions for festival celebrations were those auspicious times when the gods had "smiled" upon their subjects. They became times to express collective joy. In time, the anniversary type holy day became joined with the seasonal.⁴ In both instances, fast and feast, primitive holy days were directly tied to religious beliefs--either fears or joys--and reflected man's quest

to attach meaning to his worldly experiences. As Robert Lee asserted,

both responses, taboo and feast, originated in a sense of holy mystery....In setting aside certain 'holy days' he (man) acknowledged his dependence upon that which was transcendent to him. Whether as taboo restrictions or as feasting regulations, the origin of these rites and rituals rested in the sense of awe and wonder about why and how things happened as they did.⁵

The formation of a calendar contributed to the regularization of holy days, particularly those of the seasonal variety. The rhythm of nature as evidenced by changing seasons and phases of the moon provided a means for reckoning time and gave occasion for celebration. This was particularly true of agricultural societies which were dependent upon nature for their food supply. Despite the fact that an accurate calendar was not devised until the sixteenth century, the early calendar year provided a basis for holy days and festivals.

Since pastoral and agricultural conditions were conducive to recognizing the divine control of the rhythms in the natural world, these observances remained primarily as occasions for ritual activity relating to food supply and worship of the sacred powers around them.⁶

As Lee also notes, man did not only respond to nature in the ritual of holy days; he also attempted to control it. Fertility rites, rain dances, and sacrifices are all examples of holy day rituals of this type.

As primitive society yielded to more complex social organizations, the nature of holy days also changed. A more cosmopolitan and urban-like existence led to a sense of communal or "national" identity. Commemorative days which marked important events in the community's history assumed the importance once held by the seasonal festival or holy day. Military heroes were celebrated along with expressions of gratitude to the gods for safe delivery from battle or some crisis period. According to Hutton Webster, the advance of civilization generally increases the number of festivals or feasts observed along with their regularization. Holy days became more ritually elaborate, more precisely fixed in time and order, and a priestly order arose to establish and maintain a calendar of the seasons' celebrations which coincided with the natural divisions of the year.⁷ A more festive aspect became associated with the celebration of holy days as they proliferated in number and kind.⁸ The nature of holy days also changed in another respect. As the social structure became more complex, the division of labor became more stratified with a "leisure class" of small numbers and a large work force. Holy days became more and more a release from work for the latter which in itself became a motivation for celebration. The nature of the holy day was thus changed from an emphasis upon religion to one of a day of rest. Lee views this point as the time when holy days

became holidays:

Holy Day: A special day centered primarily in the meaning of divine mystery and revelation as expressed in the event it commemorates. It is celebrated in worship, either by a joyous thanksgiving festival or as a solemn penitential quiet time.

Holiday: A day in which freedom from the requirements of work is the primary focus. It may also relate to the meaning of its origin and thus take on special preparation, but the intent is basically to have a good time in the celebration.⁹

One might be able to favorably compare the change in attitude toward holy days in this early period and the attitude of contemporary society toward those special days set aside for celebrations.

A description of the origin of holy day celebrations would be incomplete without some discussion of the Judaic and Christian traditions. The latter arose from the former and both developed rather prescriptive liturgical calendars. The Jewish holiday tradition serves as a good example of the re-interpretation of early agricultural celebrations in terms of the history of a specific people: Passover or the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the spring became associated with the deliverance from Egypt; Weeks or Pentacost (First Fruits) in the summer commemorated Moses' reception of the Law on Mt. Sinai; and, Booths or Ingathering in the fall was a remembrance of the Jewish wanderings in the Wilderness. Individual holy days of a strict religious nature and not commemorative were also included (Rosh

Hashana and Yom Kippur) along with the two joyous celebrations of Chanukah (commemoration of the Maccabean revolt) and Purim (commemoration of the story in the Book of Esther).

This calendar of observances ensured times of rest for the people, which united them in shared meanings and reminded them periodically of their uniqueness as people called of the One God--distinct from the pagan religions where the people were at the mercy of many gods.¹⁰

Although growing out of this tradition, Christianity retained only two of the Jewish holy days, Passover and Pentacost. Passover, of course, became the celebration of Easter commemorative of the resurrection of Jesus and the Feast of the Pentacost became the celebration of the descent of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2). With the recognition of Christianity as a legitimate religion by Constantine, the Christian Church established its own liturgical calendar encompassing a number of holy days which commemorated apostles, the Virgin, saints and martyrs. The two of greatest significance became Christmas, a commemorative holy day of the birth of Jesus, and Epiphany, a remembrance of the visit by the Magi. Quite rigid rites and regulations were enforced over time which resulted in serious objections raised by the leaders of the Reformation.

It is evident from the preceding that holidays originated within a religious context and reflected man's attempt to cope with his world. They became associated

with the changes and vicissitudes of nature and served to give rhythm to the yearly agricultural cycle. The emergence of community identity changed the original nature of holy days as the seasonal character became tied to the commemorative history of a people or culture. Accompanying this change was an increased emphasis upon festive celebrations and a greater elaboration of the holy day calendar. The holy day eventually took on the character of the holiday with an emphasis upon celebrating leisure.

Ritual and holiday celebrations. Any study of the nature and functions of holiday celebrations must be a derivative one. No adequate analysis of holiday celebrations appears in the literature and, therefore, one must infer or derive their significance from some closely associated phenomenon. Because of the religious origin of the holiday and the close relationship between holidays and holy days, the focus of the next section will be upon ritual which is considered a characteristic element of holy day observance by anthropologists and sociologists. The discussion of ritual will not be restricted to the religious realm but will also investigate the secular as the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane espoused by the followers of Durkheim is a questionable dualism in itself and particularly inappropriate for contemporary society. (The validity of this separation in rituals of primitive cultures has also

recently been subjected to criticism.11)

To pursue the nature of ritual and its particular attributes is an awesome task for the uninitiated. The topic appears to be the province of anthropologists and religious historians and not particularly that of the educator (despite the opinions of some that education is little more than a ritual process). Further complicating the task is a lack of consensus among those who are most knowledgeable about the subject (see below for a discussion of selected controversies). What follows, therefore, is this writer's attempt to relate ritual and holiday celebrations as an amateur anthropologist. Although adequately documented, it offers tentative propositions for which there appears to be limited empirical evidence. The analysis is also based upon the assumption or premise that American celebrations contain the potential for achieving similar goals and serving similar functions as some of the rites of primitive societies. This position is consistent with the opinion expressed by W. Lloyd Warner in his introduction to one of the volumes of his "Yankee City" series:

When I began my research on the New England community we shall call 'Yankee City', I had just spent three years studying some of the Stone Age people in the remote parts of North Australia. Much of their life was devoted to elaborate sacred rites celebrating their relations with their gods and symbolically expressing what they were as man in a sacred universe. From the beginning of the research

on America I was struck by the basic similarities between the meanings and functions of American myth and ceremony and those of aboriginal Australia.¹²

It must be admitted that the American ceremonial tradition has changed since Warner wrote this series. However, the relationship between the two still exists--if only in a state of potentiality--as will be indicated below. This relationship must be accepted if the research conclusions related to the theory of ritual in this study are to be admissible as little research related to ritual in complex, technological societies appears to have been done.

Definition. An understanding of the term "ritual" is prior to its analysis and identification with holiday celebrations. Arriving at a definition, however, is not a simple task as it is used in many ways.

Margaret Mead: To speak of ritual is to speak of patterns of Human Behavior.... behavior that is repetitious and different from the ordinary.... Ritual has an extra degree of intensity.

Emile Durkheim: But the real characteristic of religious phenomena is that they always suppose a bipartite division of the whole universe, known and knowable, into two classes which embrace all that exists, but which radically exclude each other. Sacred things are those which the interdiction protect and isolate; profane things, those to which these interdictions are applied and must remain at a distance from the first. Religious beliefs are the relations which sustain either with each other or with profane things. Finally, rites are the rules of conduct which prescribe how a man should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects.

Frederick Goodrich Henke: A rite or ceremony is the observance of some formal act or series of acts in the manner prescribed by custom or authority, and from the point of view of functional psychology must be considered as a type of overt reaction performed for the purpose of control.

Edmund Leach: Most modern anthropologists would agree that culturally defined sets of behaviors can function as a language, but not all will accept my view that the term ritual is best used to denote this communicative aspect of behavior.... ritual serves to remind the congregation just where each member stands in relation to every other and in relation to a larger system....From the viewpoint of the actor rites can alter the state of the world because they invoke power.

A. R. Radcliff-Brown: There exists...a ritual relation whenever a society imposes upon its members a certain attitude towards an object, which attitude involves some measure of respect expressed in a traditional mode of behavior to that object. Thus the relation between a Christian and the first day of the week is a typical example of a ritual relation.¹³

The various definitions cited above reflect a significant divergence of opinion among social anthropologists: those who regard ritual as a belief system (Durkheim) and those who view it as a form of political action (Leach, Henke). Radcliff-Brown's definition combines attitudes, beliefs, objects, and actions while Margaret Mead's is sufficiently ambiguous to include all aspects. The specific viewpoints appear to agree that the content of belief and action may be considered as "a related characteristic of a given social structure."¹⁴ The nature and priority of the relationship forms the basis of the disagreement. The ritual-

as-belief proponents assert that knowledge of a society's total conceptual system is necessary to understand its rites; the analysis of ceremonies, therefore, must derive from the categories employed by the society to cope with its world of existence. Ritual-as-action proponents assert that certain behaviors or rituals are expressions of the status of people as they relate to one another. A corollary to this distinction is the argument of the "belief group" that the meaning of rituals is derived from the interpretation of the believing actors--a consistency of meaning for all participants is implied. The "action group" maintains that each participant in the ritual may interpret its meaning in different--even contrasting--ways dependent upon his current social status.¹⁵ The importance of the two schools of thought to this study, although the term "school" should not imply total agreement even among the proponents of a particular view, is the implications for society of each. The rites as belief viewpoint appears to foster tradition and to re-affirm the existing social structure; it is essentially expressive of what is. The rite-as-action view implies both an expressive and an instrumental quality--not only does it represent the social structure but it also achieves a transformation in the world (role conflict resolution, or initiation into a different status). The two viewpoints share a common problem: the mind-body dichotomy. By attempting to define

which is prior, belief or action, one succumbs to this dualistic notion. As physiology and psychology indicate, the mind and body are in a state of constant interaction; while the brain informs the actions, actions in turn inform the brain which modifies structures as part of a continuous process. In light of this, the best definition is one which negates the dualism and combines both:

...ritual expresses those fundamental categories by which men attempt to apprehend and to control their social existence--categories that refer to social positions and to mystical entities. We assume that man is a rule-making and order-seeking creature to whom transition and change represent a challenge, if not actual threat. The cataclysms that menace the fabric of social coherence range from epidemics and assassinations to the transition from youth to manhood, birth to death, and spring into winter. Societies tend to meet these situations of crisis with ritual, which presents the enduring validity of certain principles of order. Symbolic action affirms something: it makes a statement about the conditions of existence in terms of the relations of persons and groups. Ritual, then, is essentially communication, and language in which societies discuss a variety of matters. It deals with the relationships a man has to other men, to institutions, spirits, and nature, and with all the various permutations of which these themes are capable.... Moreover ritual not only says something, it also does things: it changes one season into another, makes boys become men, transforms ill persons into healthy ones, and the ghosts of the dead into the souls of ancestors.¹⁶

This definition obviates the distinction between the sacred and the profane as it combines both the religious and secular explanations of existence. Its all-inclusive nature allows us to examine further rituals of the

commemorative, calendrical, and "rites de passage" variety, all of which can be classified as kinds of holiday celebrations.

Formal properties. An examination of the "formal properties" of ritual in general will contribute to the hypothesis that holiday celebrations and ritual bear a direct relationship to each other. The properties to be identified derive from a combination of those gleaned from Margaret Mead's article "Ritual and Social Crisis" and those elaborated by Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff in their introduction to the book Secular Ritual. The properties include the following:

1. Repetitious: can be repetition of an occasion content or form as well as a combination of the three
2. Acted: generally self-consciously acted and not of a spontaneous nature; most often something is done
3. Bodily behavior--special or stylized qualities: actions of participants, as well as the objects employed, are unusual or out of the ordinary; attention is called to them and removes them from the mundane
4. Intensity: higher affective quality than is ordinarily found
5. Ordered: a distinct beginning and end with prescribed actions and objects; although responses at times may be spontaneous, an appropriate time and place are indicated by such actions
6. Evocative: the style of presentation is generally intended to produce an attentive state of mind and a particular level of involvement or commitment.
7. Social or collective: the presence of others who share expectations or sentiments. (Mead would add that a relationship between an individual and the supernatural world also fall within this property).¹⁷

These properties of ritual can also be witnessed in holiday celebrations. The accompanying chart (see Figure 1) indicates the mutuality of the defined properties for three holidays which fit the categories described earlier.

The common characteristics shared by rituals and holidays as well as the origin of the latter suggests that the two can be equated in many respects. In fact, it can be argued that holiday celebrations are ritual expressions of religious, civic, or life-cycle (seasonal) themes. This is the position assumed as we begin to examine the functions of ritual which will reveal its values for the human condition. The similarity between the value attributed to rituals and those derived from holiday celebrations will also be identified.

Functions of rituals and holidays: concept of time. Ritual as it relates to man's concept of time provides us with one of its primary functions. Time, as used here, refers to the yearly cycle as well as to the stages of one's life and the continuity of the general species and particular cultures. The repetitive nature of ritual promises man a sense of security by its very predictability while it also establishes his connection to the past and makes the future a manageable abstraction.

The yearly cycle reflects the passage of nature's time which, as noted before, has become closely tied to

FIGURE 1 SHARED PROPERTIES OF RITUAL AND HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS

	Passover (Religious)	Halloween (Seasonal)	Washington's Birthday (Patriotic)
1. Repetitious	Mid-March to Mid-April (10th day of lunar month of Nisan)	October 31st-Eve of All Saints Day (All Hallows Eve)	February 22nd
2. Acted	Haggadah with asking of four questions Seder Reading and Response Synagogue Observation	Costumes - Parades Trick or Treats-door to door begging for candy, apples, etc.	Plays, Parades. Re-enactment of colonial life Handshaking by governor in Boston. Farwell address read in Senate
3. Bodily Behavior	Elements of the Seder: Foods-symbols of Israelite experience in Egypt Songs and Readings Open Door-Invitation to Elijah	Apples and nuts-love Themes. Pumpkins-Jack-o'-Lantern. Dressing in Costume. Parading	Parades, Oratory Symbols-cherry tree axe = honesty
4. Intensity	Festive mood-Feeling part of Original Pass-over	Festive, Excitement Mischief, Fantasy-legitimized	Day off- (work and school)
5. Ordered	Seder Format, Number of days (7 or 8), Synagogue Observation	Mischief Night-October 30 Trick or Treat-October 31	Single day or Long weekend
6. Evocative	Readings, Songs-commitment to freedom	Legitimized fun and mischief UNICEF Trick or Treat (giving to others)	See Number 2
7. Social	Seder, Synagogue Themes: Exodus, festival sacrifice, deliverance, birth of a nation, messianic hopes.	Groups of children seeking fun and expressing fantasy.	Nation sharing respect for first president.

the liturgical year for those who are religious. What began as ritual techniques or expressions to gain human control over the unpredictable forces of nature has been incorporated within the contemporary calendar to mark the change of seasons and the sequence of the year. The predictable alternation between warmth and cold, light and dark, birth and death associated with the solar cycle have become part of the folk tradition historically represented in ritual festivals at specific times in the year. The bringing in of greenery and light during the winter solstice, the symbolism of the eggs at Easter, and the celebrations of the abundance of food at Thanksgiving are examples of these ritual expressions. Seasonal festivals offer occasions for highlighting those times which establish the regularity as well as the rhythm of day-to-day existence and connect man and nature. As W. Lloyd Warner asserts,

The conception of the earth's yearly movement around the sun, used by Western man (as well as others) to give precise form and human significance to the bleak, unyielding, and unmeaningful extension of duration, provides fixed points that give accurate, safe places on which to put marks saying that a bit of meaningless duration ends and another begins. The marks of the repetitive movement give Yankee City and Western man a feeling of security, of being on familiar ground where they know, feel, and can be sure about what is likely to happen. Enclosed within this system, collective memories of yesterday become a reliable and dependable map for knowing what will happen tomorrow, thus reducing anxieties about the future uncertainties.¹⁸

Just as the yearly cycle is marked by ritual and celebration, so too are those times of significance in one's life. Birthdays, graduations, bar mitzvahs, inaugurations, weddings, and funerals are observed in ritual ways which identify the stages of a biological life and/or denote one's assumption of a new role in society. These are occasions to mark the passage of man's time as separate from that of nature. In most instances they fall within the category of rites of passage whose primary purpose is to assist the individual in effecting a status change.¹⁹ The ceremonies cited allow the individual to legitimize the change and the public to give its acknowledgment. In their totality, they assist man's attempts to measure time in terms of his particular existence.

Ritual and celebration also lend meaning to time in its more objective sense: an unending expanse which transcends the life of any individual or culture and stretches from the present into the past and the future. Time, according to Durkheim,

is like an abstract and impersonal frame which surrounds, not only an individual existence, but that of all humanity. It is like an endless chart, where all duration is spread out before the mind, and upon which all possible events can be located....²⁰

The yearly cycle of celebrations and their accompanying ritual observances--be they religious or secular--establish the beginning and endpoints of that specific time and

establish the link between the past and the future yearly durations. A festival generally makes the connection between the two points and thus ritualizes the separation between past and present time.²¹ An examination of the Jewish and Christian calendars gives witness to this condition as well as to the concept of the continuity of time as expressed by the repetition of the religious calendars. The linear quality of objective or social time yields to the cyclical nature of sacred time and consequently negates any real beginning and end. The secular ceremonial calendar establishes a more direct tie to the past which when modified by the present lends direction to the future; in this way it too lends continuity to the various time frames but in a more linear fashion. In both instances the perpetuity of the human species is affirmed and offers the species reasonable means for coping with the magnitude of the concept of time as "endless duration."

In an analysis of a Californian graduation ceremony of elderly citizens who had studied Jewish history, Barbara Myerhoff identifies yet another function of ritual as it relates to time. She asserts that rituals provide continuity of two types: first, individual-biographical; and second, collective-historical. The former identifies, as implied by the term, a sense of one's particular life and its continual progression with age. The second refers to the sense of belonging to "'One People'" as experienced by

a whole group participating in a ritual ceremony. Both conditions require the ability to re-experience the past in the present. The individual-biographical continuity necessitates re-living events from one's childhood while the collective-historical phase incorporates re-living past events which have shaped the group into a unified body.²² Certainly many of the rites of passage include some element of the first condition and holiday/holy day celebrations demonstrate the second. The religious celebration of Christmas denotes the historical event which binds all Christians; the Jewish observance of Passover commemorates the deliverance from Egypt; and, the Fourth of July signifies the event which began the transformation of the English colonies into an independent nation. Celebrations such as these allow man to appropriate the past into his own experience and thus account for his present condition. As Harvey Cox notes, man is an historical being, one who perceives himself in time and symbolically expresses this perception in order to establish and maintain it:

Well-tabulated chronicles and sober planning alone do not keep us alive to time. We recall the past not only by recording it but by re-living it, by making present again its fears and delectations. We anticipate the future not only by preparing but by conjuring up and creating it. Our links to yesterday and tomorrow depend also on the aesthetic, emotional, and symbolic aspects of human life--on saga, play, and celebration.²³

It is the act of reliving so characteristic of anniversary celebrations such as centennials and bicentennials, as well as many other holidays, which cements the connection between the present and the past.

Social and integrative functions. The second major function is closely tied to the function related to time; in fact there are times when the two overlap. As ritual and celebration facilitate man's attempts to cope with time frames, particularly the past, they also contribute to his identification with specific social groups and foster the integration of these groups within the larger context of the totality of social organizations.

By definition, rituals and celebrations are public and communal. Thus they serve to impress upon the participants the social nature of the event as an expression of collective beliefs and values. Rituals remind individuals that they are a part of something larger than themselves which contributes to the development of social identity.

As W. Lloyd Warner asserts in Dream and Reality:

Ceremonies, periodically held, serve to impress on men their social nature and make them aware of something beyond themselves which they feel and believe to be sacred....

That which is beyond, yet part of, a person is no more than the awareness on the part of individuals of their participation in a social group. The religious symbols, as well as the secular ones, must express the nature of the social structure of the group of which they are a part and which they represent. 24

This condition is perhaps most clearly evident in rites of initiation but it is also characteristic of holiday rituals. Cemetery services of veterans' organizations on Memorial Day, the eulogies delivered on Martin Luther King Day by organizations of the Black community, and the wearing of green on St. Patrick's Day by the Irish are examples of ritual acts which help individuals identify their association with particular social groups.

National identity is also reinforced on those occasions which celebrate a shared heritage. This too may be construed as a form of social identity, particularly in contemporary societies. Robert Bocock singles out the nationalistic rituals as the major political civic rituals characteristic of industrial societies:

The predominant form of political civic ritual in the modern world, and certainly including industrial societies, are the rituals of nationalism. This seems to be so because national identity depends almost wholly on the symbolic level for its maintenance.... At some fundamental level, people seem to use nationality as a base for their sense of identity, and for making some sense and meaning out of the flux of their experience.²⁵

This symbolic expression of national identity often assumes the form of ritualization of the past as reflected in holiday celebrations. Thanksgiving, Independence Day, Lincoln's Birthday are examples of holidays which commemorate important events in American history and symbolize for many the essence of our identity as a nation. They denote who we

are and what we think about ourselves. Similar examples, although on a smaller scale, are the town and city commemorations of anniversary dates of their foundings. The elaborate parades and ceremonies along with the total community emphasis on such occasions give symbolic expression of the particular community's identity.²⁶

The rituals described above not only identify the individual with the social group; they also serve to instruct the individual (participants and observers) about the traditions, values, and beliefs represented by the group. Through ritual expression, the group reviews and renews, or redefines those elements which establish and maintain the communal solidarity. Values are communicated through this re-affirmation of the group's bond: the Taoist belief in balanced opposites--Yang and Yin--are clearly evidenced in the celebrations of the Chinese New Year; the significance of the family as a unit is reflected in Thanksgiving celebration; the necessity of hard work to achieve success, the "Protestant Ethic," is communicated through the observance of Labor Day. The instructional level serves to initiate the novices in the group and to remind those of long standing membership of their shared purpose. Through ritual activities, then, the individual not only establishes his social identity, but also achieves a state of psycho-social integration--"that point of development that makes adequate intergroup relationships not only

possible but inevitable."²⁷ It is through public reenactments of the group's self-awareness that this process occurs, according to Adrien Kavanagh, and holiday celebration rituals are cited as examples.

The social-integrative function is not limited to intra-group relations but also extends to the realm of intergroup relations. In a highly differentiated society such as the United States, the proliferation of social groups (religious, ethnic, political, etc.) is great and creates a segmented nation. The potential for separation to become the watchword of social identity is extremely high unless there are forces or events which compel the diverse and autonomous social groups to unite. Times of crisis often bring people together but so too can holiday celebrations. This integration function can occur on two levels: first, at the larger community level of social identification; and second, at the universal level of enduring themes which affect all mankind.

The ceremonial calendar of a particular community or nation serves to bring together those disparate social organizations within the political structure and provides an opportunity to express their shared values. It becomes part of the larger symbol system which represents the common historical and cultural heritage. Citing Lincoln's and Washington's Birthdays along with Memorial Day--and one might add a number of others--W. Lloyd Warner maintains

that ceremonies associated with these days serve to strengthen the social solidarity demanded in a complex and heterogeneous society.²⁸ Bocock's analysis of the significance of holidays in modern England, particularly Remembrance Day, provide other examples of this social integrative function. In fact, he contends that its purpose accounts in part for their continuance:

In order to explain the persistence of civic ritual in groups of this kind [referring to towns, cities, schools, courts, political parties, etc.] the functionalist notion of 'integration' would seem to have some value; the ritual occasion brings members together, and makes them aware of their relationship to the group. Such ritual occasions also serve pattern maintenance functions, by reminding people of the basic values which the group rests upon, and renewing commitment to these values on the part of members. In many of these rituals, people are made aware of 'society', its laws and the obligations of its members, of something more powerful than themselves standing over and above them.²⁹

The themes expressed in many holiday celebrations focus attention upon the commonalities of human experience: birth, death, change, struggle, joy, hope, freedom, sorrow. In this way, they function to integrate the various segments of society along with all humankind on a more global level. The seasonal feasts and festivals represent the constant and ever-present struggle between man and nature. Halloween, as viewed by children, is the occasion to gain mastery over the fears and fantasies of life and fits with

the traditional battle to gain control over the darker side of the subconscious and irrational impulses of man. Memorial day rituals emphasize the theme of sacrifice and death, while Passover and Easter focus on freedom/rebirth, and renewal. While each of the holidays listed may have personal meanings for the participants, their central themes, as evidenced in the particular stories, re-enactments, and rituals associated with them, serve to unite each man with all men.

The social and integrative function presented in this section occurs on three levels: personal identification through group association, intra-group relationships and communication, and inter-group associations as a community of citizenry and as the community of all mankind. The three levels relate to each other in an ever-expanding way as the individual progressively realizes that in each association there is something larger than himself. Society is established, strengthened, and modified throughout this process; it is in this way that ritual and holiday celebrations fulfill their social function.

The liberalizing and creative function. The preceding pages have emphasized what might be termed the "traditionalizing" aspect of ritual celebration, that element which seeks to locate and transmit established values. Ritual need not be limited to this end as it can also promote moving out in new directions by relieving man from his

mundane existence. "Ritual may do much more than mirror existing social arrangements and existing modes of thought. It can act to reorganize them and even help to create them."³⁰ It thus contains the potential to satisfy two impulses: tradition formation and liberalization. Bocock summarizes this duality in the following way:

Ritual action can have two sorts of consequences for the society in which it takes place: either it can provide a process whereby people become more attached to the basic way of life and values of the society, or to the major subgroups within it of which the participants in ritual are a part; or ritual can lead to people making new demands on the way of life in their society, and a drive to see change both in action and in the values the society pursues.³¹

The focus of this section will be on ritual celebrations which release man from conventional behavior expectations and thereby encourage his imagination and creativity.

Holiday celebrations are events which interrupt the routine of daily existence and the passage of time. They are times when all but the most necessary service people are granted a day free from work. Thus they offer opportunities to rejuvenate the spirit as well as time for reflection. In this very obvious and simple way, holidays are liberating as man is released from ordinary time restrictions and demands. Creativity necessitates time free from the preoccupation with concern of day-to-day survival. The holiday calendar, with its prescribed breaks in routine, offers the occasion for man to be creative.

The break from the monotony of the work life and its disciplined morality occasioned by holidays serves as a safety valve for society. They become, in Huxley's words, "escape rituals" which relieve the stresses and conflicts of daily social existence.³² (It should be noted that holidays are often cited as being the most emotionally stressful times of year for some). Celebrations allow people to do what is not ordinarily done. Social codes are generally lifted or suspended at such times because the festive mood is one of excess.³³ We may be more demonstrative, eat and drink beyond normal limits, dress in outlandish fashion, and yield to fantasy and dreams. Both Durkheim and Cox observe this quality of feasts and festivals; Cox specifically notes that it is a characteristic of all men:

Man is by his very nature a creature who not only works and thinks but who sings, dances, prays, tells stories, and celebrates. He is homo festivus. Notice the universal character of festivity in human life. No culture is without it.³⁴

This universal quality allows the conclusion that occasional festive excess satisfies a basic human psychic need. It must also be noted that too much freedom of this type has historically been dangerous to the survival of civilizations and that ritualization controls and limits it if only by the time prescriptions of the holiday itself. (New Year's Eve, Mardi Gras, and Fasching celebrations are

excellent examples of the ritual of excessive behavior.)

The relationship between festivity and fantasy helps to establish the link between celebration and creativity; it releases man from the constraints of conventional thought and expression. Festivity is the capacity of revelry and joyous celebration, while fantasy is the ability to foresee alternatives in life's situations, according to Cox.³⁵ The expression of fantasy is provided in both the ritual form and occasion.

It is through ritual movement, gesture, song, and dance, that man keeps in touch with the sources of creativity. Ritual appeared along with myth in man's development, and springs from the same sources. In ritual, men 'act out' the reveries and hopes of the tribe.³⁶

Fantasy as a conception of alternatives is reflected in holiday celebrations as evidenced by the child on Halloween who assumes the guise of some character of his dreams or as Christians sing the praises of the risen Christ to symbolize their own release from the difficulties of the temporal world and a promise of eternal happiness in the next life.

The vision of the festive and the fantastic in ritual celebration has important implications for change and innovations. It allows for the adaptation and modification of holiday celebrations in a changing social setting. Although the symbols and ritual acts may retain their original essences, the meaning of particular holidays will be informed by the experiences of the individuals and the

society which is observing them at the given moment. Memorial Day, originally celebrated to remember the dead of the Civil War, has today been expanded to commemorate all who have died; this change is noteworthy in a society in which the concern about death has significantly increased. Christmas, intended to be an intensely religious holiday, has become a commercialized holiday with an emphasis upon gift-giving and good cheer in a time when many assess the quality of life in terms of material prosperity and sensual pleasure. The desirability of these changes is not at issue; rather, the point to be made is that holiday celebrations, because they combine festivity and fantasy, are capable of change. Man, too, in order to survive must be "innovative and adaptive":

He must draw from the richest wealth of experience available to him and must never be bound to existing formulas for solving problems. Festivity, by breaking routine and opening man to the past, enlarges his experience and reduces his provincialism. Fantasy opens doors which merely empirical celebration ignores. It widens the possibilities for innovation.³⁷

Holiday celebrations remove man from his posture of presentism by linking him to the past and allowing him to mine it for its wealth. He is enabled to attain distance from the contemporary situation, evaluate its condition, and pursue alternative courses of action. In this way, ritual celebrations may liberate not only man's creative impulses but also offer a plan of action which may free him from the

bonds of an intolerable situation.

The various modes of expression associated with ritual celebration--dance, song, story, art--are often inspired by the content of the celebrations. A rich aesthetic tradition has arisen as an extension of the significance of holidays per se. Heightened emotion associated with holidays along with the themes of commemorative events inspire creative expressions. Such expression becomes another form of communication either through ritual action or speech.

The holiday ritual tradition in the United States. If one scans the list of legal holidays (state and federal), the "special days" of observance, and the special weeks devoted to the celebration of a particular topic or theme, it appears that the United States has a rich tradition of holiday and ritual celebrations. But in fact, the "tradition" is a young one with limited development which currently emphasizes leisure time and often commercialism.

The early history of this country was marked by an absence of holidays. Two primary factors accounted for this condition: first, the anti-formalism and emphasis upon toil and labor characteristic of the Puritans; and, second, the rejection of the English traditions and therefore their holiday structure by many who settled in the Colonies. Time available for celebrating was also at a

premium and some found that seasonal celebrations at assigned points in the year did not necessarily match the seasonal changes in the New World.

In time, of course, the various colonies became united and began to develop a history to commemorate and the rigidity and dominance of puritan beliefs gave way to the more ritualized religions professed by the immigrants who settled in this country. The combination of these factors resulted in the development of a holiday calendar which through the recognition of legal holidays has become standardized. Two have been borrowed from antiquity: Christmas as part of the well-seasoned winter solstice tradition, and New Year's which is part of an ancient tradition whose date of January first is borrowed directly from the festivities of the Dutch. Washington's birthday replaced the celebration of King George's birthday. The remaining legal holidays originated in the United States: Thanksgiving, although part of a long-standing harvest celebration tradition, was the first truly American holiday; Independence Day, or the Fourth of July, emphasizes the importance of the Declaration of Independence and, as our first patriotic celebration, finds its origin in 1776--this is one holiday, it appears, which other nations have borrowed from us; Labor Day, suggested by Peter J. McGuire in 1882, was originally intended to honor the laboring man in the United States and has become a signifier

of the end of summer. Other holidays celebrated in the largest number of States include Lincoln's birthday, Memorial Day (Decoration Day), Columbus Day, Veterans' Day (Armistice Day), and Good Friday in many. Individual states celebrate local or ethnic heroes, election day, and those holidays which fall on Sunday (Easter, Fathers' Day, Mothers' Day).³⁸

Of importance to this study is the status of holiday celebrations in the United States which is, perhaps, representative of their observance in most complex industrial societies. Most obvious in contemporary holiday observances is the lack of connection with their origin, both general and specific. They no longer appear to contain the major quality of the holy day that of dedication or consecration, nor do they reflect the significance of the day itself. Instead, there has been a levelling tendency, as noted by George Stewart, to make all holidays similar in observance. They have become in many instances little more than "days off" quite like any of the fifty-two weekends of the year. This attitude, coupled with the commercial pressures of most holidays, but particularly Christmas and Thanksgiving, have made holidays occasions for ambiguous celebration lacking solemnity and purpose other than recreation. August Heckscher makes the point most vividly:

We have been in danger of forgetting the meanings of holidays. Traditional moments of recollection and appraisal within the year are marked by hectic migrations from city to country (and sometimes vice-versa); the days are spoiled by the confusion of traffic and consumed amid superficial pleasures. We have lost the capacity to remember on Memorial Day, to give thanks on Thanksgiving Day, and to honor labor on Labor Day.³⁹

Instead of elevating the condition of our lives through holiday rituals derived from the meaning of holidays, we have turned to Madison Avenue for our rituals.

It is difficult to arrive at an explanation for the condition of holiday celebrations. It may arise from the activity and pace of our lives or from the diversification and impersonalization characteristic of an industrial nation composed of numerous and varied groups. Or, it may be the result of an attitude of presentism which (according to Harvey Cox) finds a society so totally absorbed in the here and now, that its members live only for the moment and refuse to establish links with the past or the future.⁴⁰ Margaret Mead's analysis of the American ritualizer may come close to the reason. She maintains that we view ritual as foreign--perhaps a Puritan holdover--and look down upon it. (Even the rituals associated with Thanksgiving are disavowed, such as the traditional turkey or attendance at religious services). And because we are a people of television, Ms. Mead contends, we demand that everything be new and different. This attitude is

bolstered by the expectation of irregularity and change which most probably arises from the rapid rate of technological advancement. This aversion to doing anything twice negates one of the primary elements of ritual, its repetitive nature.⁴¹ It may be too that ritual per se has fallen into disrepute. As E. Shils of King's College, Cambridge notes, the intellectuals of the past century appear to believe that ritual is alien to a modern world, as it portends no instrumental value. Those rituals which have survived are, therefore, little more than empty spectacles.⁴² To carry this notion beyond intellectuals to American society in general, one could conclude that perhaps the meanings of holiday celebrations have lost their significance for "modern" man and that the functions or needs once satisfied by ritual observances at holiday times are no longer relevant.

It is the writer's contention that the preceding conclusion is an unwarranted one and that what is needed is a re-education of modern society to the meaning and place of holiday celebrations as ritual expressions in its life. In fact, in this time of questioning of values and alienation from society expressed by many, we may find that a re-interpretation of the holiday tradition may infuse life with more significance. That celebration and ritual retain the potential for contemporary society is evidenced by three significant events of the recent past.

The first was the highly ritualized funeral of President John F. Kennedy. The ceremony, witnessed by millions of Americans, served to carry this country through a crisis of significant proportion. The protest movements of the 1960's and the communal organizations of the "flower children" offer a second example of ritualized behavior patterns and symbol systems intended to communicate a way of life and commit the members to the value positions proclaimed. The third and most recent event was the celebration of the Bicentennial which created a mood of excitement and an understanding of something larger than the individual which binds a people together. One need only note the numbers of tourists who visited Philadelphia or to have witnessed the people on the Boston Esplanade as the late Arthur Fiedler conducted the "Stars and Stripes Forever" to attest to this claim. We still need, as Margaret Mead has asserted,

rituals that will carry them (people) through crises, rituals that will enable each individual, however deep his grief or confusion, however high his excitement, to reach out to the feelings of others who have experienced the same thing, and to his own previous experiences, and to reach out in a way that gives depth and meaning to the present.⁴³

Holiday celebrations can help to fulfill this need.

Part 2: Holiday Celebrations in the School

In this section it is assumed that holiday celebrations can be important to both the individual and society because they contain the potential for contributing to the well-being of man as he copes with the conditions of life. It is also assumed that schools are appropriate and natural settings for the observance of holiday celebrations. The position taken supports the importance of holiday celebrations in the education of children and is similar to that urged by H. J. Blackman:

Celebrations of achievement within the school or outside, ceremonial treatment of a theme, remembrance of the illustrious or familiar dead; such ritual acts should be made an occasion, and rare enough to be wholehearted and call out the services of the whole school. Serious public idealism which will inform ritual acts and be reinforced by them begins here in school....1

Certainly other institutions and organizations "inform ritual acts" but the school may provide the environment for informing children about the distinctive features of particular celebrations as well as the general nature of man as a celebratory creature.

Because this chapter is concerned chiefly with the subject matter aspect of holiday celebrations, this part will focus upon holiday celebrations in the school. It will investigate the appropriateness of the act of

celebrating in schools and attempt to define the place of religious holidays in light of constitutional guarantees and the Supreme Court's position relative to church and state separation; it will conclude with a concept map designating the potential learnings inherent in a celebrations curriculum and, in this way, relate the first and second parts of this chapter.

The setting. The school is an ideal setting for both celebrating holidays and studying about them. As a social institution, it offers the opportunity of bringing children together for shared purposes and festivity. As a microcosm of the larger community, it reflects a variety of traditions, customs, and beliefs about which children can learn. And as an institution for children, it encounters and must address their feelings of excitement and anticipation about holidays and celebrations. These qualities combine to make the school a natural and obvious milieu for observing special days which commemorate the past, highlight the present, and create memories for the future.

Commemorative celebrations. Holidays of the commemorative variety serve to acquaint the child with his or others' cultural heritage. Holidays are generally set apart to give expression to the values, ideals, and beliefs of cultures and can thus serve an instructional purpose. By calling attention to significant events, people, documents,

and customs, holiday celebrations dramatize the bonds which unite people and motivate their actions. When the school celebrates or studies such holidays, it can contribute to the child's understanding of who he is, how he is the same as/or different from other people, why he and other people act as they do. It can also foster appreciations for the contributions of various individuals and cultures, for the commonality of the human experience, for the richness of diversity, and for the unifying principles which determine tradition or heritage. The potential for learnings implicit in specific holidays is clearly expressed by Michaelis when he writes,

Wholesome attitudes and deeper appreciations may be developed as children learn about the contributions of great men and women, discover the deeper meaning of Thanksgiving, learn how to have fun at Hallowe'en and still show concern for others, find out how Christmas and New Year's Eve are celebrated in different countries, express friendship and affection for others on Valentine's Day, and discover how they can show appreciation on Mother's Day and Father's Day. Loyalty, patriotism, and responsibilities of citizenship take on deeper meaning as children are directed in their observance of Bill of Rights Day, Constitution Day, General Election Day, Veterans Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Flag Day, and Independence Day. Concepts such as interdependence, cross-cultural sharing, and cultural diversity, are deepened and broadened as children discover similarities and differences in modes of celebrating holidays at home and in other lands. Intergroup understanding may be increased as children observe Brotherhood Week, and join others in observing Hanukkah as well as Christmas, a practice which is found with increasing frequency in recent years. International understanding may be increased as Pan-American Day and United Nations Day are observed.²

The significance and meaning of the celebration or study for children will be determined in large measure by the manner of presentation. Careful selection of holidays must be made to insure the appropriateness of the content for the particular age-level. And, activities must be designed which support significant learnings and are consistent with the ideals associated with the day. Employing these very general guidelines to observe special days which are a part of inherited cultural traditions will inform children about the past and thus transmit the "culturally unique and the unusual aspects of an important dimension of human existence."³

Festive celebrations. Opportunities for more than simply observing or studying about holidays should also be provided. Children should be allowed to actually celebrate and thus experience and gain knowledge about the variety of modes of celebration, ranging from eating foods, to playing games, to performing pageants, to observing a solemn moment with special music, dance, literature or other creative forms of expression. These forms of celebration are most often associated with the more festive holidays such as Halloween, Valentine's Day and birthdays; but, they may also be appropriate for occasions which denote achievement of a shared goal such as the class completing a difficult project, or the opening of a new playground

for the whole school, or the end of a year spent together. Thoughtful approaches to the highlighting of these moments of the present acknowledge the collective importance of the occasion and lend meaning to shared experiences. Celebrations of this type, according to Ralph Tyler, "stimulate the recall of feelings of the earlier occasions and help to enhance the feelings associated with significant times in one's life."⁴ They thus provide opportunities for children to express their emotions in socially acceptable ways and to identify those experiences in their lives which are satisfying and can serve as stimuli for festive enjoyment. In order for this type of celebration to be successful, children must perceive the goals set as valuable and their achievement must be possible. In other words, the celebration must be handled with integrity; it should have significance for the participants.

Celebrating in school is also appropriate on those holidays which are meant for children. Birthdays are among the most important days of a child's life. They accentuate his uniqueness and focus on the growth and change which have occurred during his years. Celebrations in school (more than cake and party hats) make the child a central figure whose dignity is valued.⁵ Halloween and Valentines Day are two other festive holidays which excite children and cannot be overlooked in an environment which serves children. Yet, these two days are often dreaded by

teachers because of the high energy and emotional levels-- and sometimes anxiety--which they promote. Teachers can legitimize such emotions by accepting their existence and channeling them in positive directions; celebrations of such days can be profitable for both children and teachers. Celebrating as used here is not restricted to "partying" although this is an important element. It refers to planning experiences which foster learnings about the day and guiding children to identify appropriate means for expressing their excitement. It may mean that the whole day or part of it should be set aside to validate the importance to children. It must mean that children are engaged in meaningful activities related to the day and become consciously aware of their feelings while finding ways to express them through celebrating. By singling out the day for special recognition or incorporating it within topics of study of the group, teachers can imbue the day with meaning beyond that of excessive revelry. By ignoring such holidays, teachers reject what is important to children, overlook opportunities for important learnings about human nature, and risk an unsettling day.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language defines "celebrate" as follows:

1. To observe (a day or event) with ceremonies of respect, festivity, or rejoicing.
2. To perform (a religious ceremony).
3. To announce publically, proclaim.
4. To extol; praise.⁶

The breadth of the definition has implications for the school as it encompasses all types of celebrations including religious holiday celebrations. As indicated in the preceding discussion, the school is an appropriate place--and in this writer's view, a necessary one--for ceremonies of respect, festivity, and rejoicing. It is also a place for public proclamation, praise, and extolling. It is not, however, a place to perform a religious ceremony or any ritual which would ordinarily be performed in a particular setting by a specially ordained person identified for that task. Constitutional prescriptions negate the school as an appropriate setting for such ritual performances. Does this, then, mean that religious holidays have no place in the school? It is the writer's contention, despite conflicting opinions, that religious holiday celebrations are an essential ingredient in a holiday curriculum and cannot be ignored. The section which follows will identify both their place in the school setting and the conditions required to insure compliance with the Supreme Court's stand on separation of church and state.

Religious celebrations. The observance of religious holidays in public, elementary schools is a condition laden with the potential for creating community upheaval. It evokes strong support from those who advocate the spiritual guidance role of the public school and condemnation from

those who urge a strict interpretation of the separation of church and state. Evidence of these responses is noted in the discussion above (Chapter I) about the Western Massachusetts controversy in 1977 and those in Pennsylvania in 1978 regarding the celebration of Christmas in their respective communities. Another striking example was the Colorado community in the 1960's which became so embroiled in the issue of religious holidays--a situation which arose from a question about the amount of rehearsal and preparation time to be devoted to the Christmas program--that townspeople exaggerated the issues, alienated one another, and finally a group burned a cross on the superintendent of school's front lawn. When a study committee arrived at a solution to the "problem," it recommended the procedures as they had been outlined originally and the community and school personnel accepted it with little question.⁷ Of significance in this situation was the intensity of feelings about religion and education which allowed things to get out of control and perspective to be lost. One is left wondering whether religion is indeed something about which people cannot talk. Are there no means by which religious people, and the multitude of various faiths contained in this category, and non-religious individuals can learn to accept their differences and find an acceptable means of communication about the relationship between the churches, the state,

and the individual? One way in which this question can be answered in the affirmative is if institutions can lay the foundation for understanding and appreciation of the pluralistic beliefs expressed by individual community members. Knowledge about one's own beliefs and the beliefs of others are prime ingredients and the schools can contribute to such knowledge through a carefully conceived and executed holiday celebrations curriculum.

The section which follows seeks to identify how the school can achieve this end. It will explore the learnings inherent in religious holidays in general, investigate the legal ramifications and prohibitions related to their observance, and distinguish between education about religion and religious education. It is this author's belief, as Mr. Justice Brennan asserted in the Schempp decision, that religion has played a major part in our cultural development as it has in the rest of the world--and in fact still does as Iranian affairs attest--and, therefore, it has a place in educational programs. In order to locate its appropriate place, certain conditions must exist; these will be delineated in the final portion of this section.

Learnings. The learnings to be gained from the specific religious holidays are peculiar to them but the general category of religious holidays share potential learnings. The more obvious ones refer to the functions

of celebrations related to time, communal solidarity, and universal themes. Because many religious holidays are of the commemorative type, they relate the history of significant events of a particular religion. Equally important are the beliefs and values which are given expression through the celebratory acts and symbols (Christian creche, Passover Seder, the Chinese dragon dance of the New Year). These learnings generally fall within the cognitive domain and are of the knowledge and concept variety. Knowledge of this type provides the basis for understanding ourselves and others; it is a prerequisite to perceiving the perspectives of those whose values/beliefs and, therefore, actions differ from one's own. Such understanding is required for citizens to work together cooperatively to resolve community problems and to entertain possible alternatives for change.

The rich aesthetic tradition associated with religious holidays allows opportunities for learning about the variety of modes of expression inspired by deep-felt beliefs.⁸ Literature, drama, pageantry, music, dance, painting, and sculpture associated with the holidays provide areas of study for the child as well as media for self-expression. These elements of the aesthetic tradition can introduce the child to examples of quality work and also facilitate the understanding of the significance of the holiday to the celebrants; it thus contributes to the preservation

of its integrity to the people who observe the day. The study need not--and should not--be limited to the traditional but can extend to the child's own personal expression of the meaning of the holiday to him. It is from real experience and deeply felt emotions that true artistic expressions spring. Such activities compel the child to think about the meaning of the holiday, to ask questions and seek information about the day, and to communicate this knowledge to others. The products which result offer opportunities to focus discussions about the traditions of a particular people and can in this manner generate greater understanding.⁹

Learnings in the affective area which build upon the knowledge component are perhaps the most important to derive from the study of religious holidays. They fall into two basic categories: self-concept and respect for various cultural groups. The child's self-esteem can be enhanced by a focus upon those religious holidays which he celebrates. The school thus validates the legitimacy of the cultural group to which he belongs. Every child wishes to be recognized as valued by the school community and religious holiday celebrations offer such an opportunity, albeit not the only one. (Certainly the recognition of holidays specific to only certain religions must raise questions about the view of the school toward those not observed). Also fostered is an understanding of who the

child is by the child. Recognition of religious holiday celebrations with opportunities to share one's traditions with others in a positive and concerned environment helps the child isolate that which he does and believes--and begin to make the connections between the two--and thus develop better understanding of himself. The identity factor is an important one as the child begins to view himself in relationship to others in his school peer group. Not only does it contribute to self-concept development but it also allows the child to view others in relationship to the self. The coordination principle expressed by Piaget is operative here. The child's self-awareness grows from comparison/contrast with others as he coordinates observations about the self as they relate to understandings of others. What can be gained by the individual child through the study of religious holidays, then, is a sense of pride in his religious heritage and a better understanding of who he is.

In an environment of secure and comfortable peer relationships as well as one which recognizes the value of each individual, the growing child should be able to identify differences, talk about them, and gain an understanding of the interests and values of others. It is in such an atmosphere that learnings about what people believe and how they express those beliefs can be pursued. Opportunities to inform as well as dispel misconceptions are

provided. A humorous example from a recent study at the Smith College Campus School of the celebration of Christmas in the United States may help to illustrate this point. A group of eight and nine year olds were investigating traditions related to greenery associated with the seasons. After reading a selection about holly and exploring its decorative possibilities, an eight year old boy exclaimed, "Now I understand what the halls are decked with!" (paraphrased). He then explained that he had never understood what the song "Deck the Halls" meant as he thought the holly referred to was the same as the common expression for the food challah (a yeast leavened, white egg bread eaten at Jewish Sabbath and holiday ceremonies). This learning may seem insignificant but one suspects that misconceptions of this type multiply, unless children become informed about the ways of people different from them, and create the impression that the actions of others are rather absurd. Such impressions make it difficult if not impossible to foster appreciation for differences. Ours is a nation of a variety of religious faiths and within those faiths a variety of sub-groups who celebrate different holidays and in different ways when they observe the same days. Under such circumstances, the validity of differences and a willingness to work cooperatively is crucial; therefore, children need to both recognize and appreciate ways in which they differ from each other.

As children explore their respective holidays as well as why and how they celebrate them, opportunities arise for recognition of the basic similarities of the human condition despite apparent differences. In fact, it becomes possible at times to relate religious and non-religious actions. An incident described by Stephanie Schamess in an article published in The Elementary School Journal provides a good example:

A Jewish child lights the candles on a Hanukkah menorah and recites the traditional Hebrew blessing over the candles. (The teacher had previously provided the class with the historical background of the holiday). As the children sit in the semi-darkened classroom, watching the flickering candles, they spontaneously begin discussing prayer--a potentially touchy subject but one that was apparently of some concern to this class. One child confesses that he prays to himself at night when he is frightened. Another quotes, shyly, from her favorite prayer, learned at church. A third says he doesn't pray or go to church, but asks whether wishing very hard for something is the same as praying. Several other children venture opinions about the differences between traditional prayers and personal prayers. There is some talk about different religious services. The children conclude that anyone can pray but that certain prayers are special and said only in church or synagogue.

The children are listening intently and respectfully to one another: there is no need for the teacher to intervene or remind children to take turns speaking. There are occasional solemn but comfortable silences as new information is digested and new ideas are formulated. After a while, the teacher turns on the lights to announce that it is dismissal time. The children return to their more usual boisterous behavior. The teacher's background information about the holiday had set the stage for the ceremony that followed. But it was the solemn

emotional impact of the ceremony itself that stimulated the children to think and talk about their concerns and ideas. Through the insights that came from sharing these ideas, each child gained new respect and understanding of the others' differing beliefs and traditions.¹⁰

Although the ceremony per se was of primary significance to the Jewish child(ren), the discussion it spawned about prayer led to conclusions regarding the similarity among them, whether religious or not. The ceremony also brought the group together under special circumstances which allowed them to share personal feelings in a significant way. Such moments in the classroom are rare occasions which religious celebrations can promote because of the deep attachment to them expressed by many children. Out of them grow greater understanding of each other and a heightened sense of group feeling.

Current approaches. Recent Supreme Court decisions, specifically Engle v. Vitale 370 U.S. 421 (1962) and School District of Abington Township, Pennsylvania v. Schempp 374 U.S. 203 (1963) have raised significant questions about the constitutionality of observing religious holidays in the schools. Although both cases focused specifically upon prayer and Bible readings, many have applied the decisions to religious holidays. Three consequences have resulted: secularization of religious holidays where appropriate; elimination and avoidance of religious holidays; continuation of religious holiday programs as in the

past indicative of a general ignoring of the Court's decisions about the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment. All three conditions reflect confusion about the decisions and fail to acknowledge the constitutional and appropriate place of religious holidays in our schools. An examination of these positions and the specific court decisions will attempt to identify how religious holidays may be observed in the school without violating the "neutrality" positions mandated by the Supreme Court.

The emphasis upon secular symbols and practices related to religious holidays has been one way of attempting to comply with the court's strictures while at the same time acknowledging the interests of children. Easter and Christmas most readily lend themselves to this approach as is clearly reflected by the media, particularly television. Although the motives for this approach are generally beyond question, the results can not be justified on two counts. First, to secularize holidays denies their integrity and makes them trivial. The significance of the observance to the celebrants is lost and perhaps demeaned; and, children gain little knowledge about themselves or others. The excitement of the children who celebrate the holidays has been appealed to, but the genuine interest upon which the teacher might capitalize missed. A second problem inherent in this approach is its unsuitability for

non-Christian religious holidays. One is hard-pressed to identify secular symbols and practices, except perhaps the dreidel game of Chanukah, associated with other religions. This condition limits the number of religious holidays which may be included in school observances and would virtually exclude all non-Christian ones. Not only does this position appear to violate the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Establishment Clause, but it also gives a negative message to non-Christian children. Their religions are not respected by the school community because they fail to satisfy the secular criterion. The general affect, then, of the secularization of religious holidays is one of denial or negation; it obviates the holiday's integrity, rejects the non-Christian child, and effectively overlooks the Supreme Court's decisions. Injustice is leveled at both Christian and non-Christian children where this approach is followed.

The second response to the prayer decisions has been the elimination of the religious holiday observances in some schools. This, too, is a reasonable approach given the lack of clarity surrounding the appropriateness of religious holidays in the public sector. It appears consistent with the position of government neutrality and supportive of the Establishment Clause. In terms of the guarantee included in the First Amendment, questions might be raised regarding the protection of the right of Free

Exercise. Some might assert that the avoidance of religious holidays by the schools is tacit support of a secularist or atheistic position and therefore a denial of the rights of theists to exercise their freedom of religion. This attitude is akin to that expressed by many following the Engle v. Vitale decision in both the general public (particularly Southern) and the United States Congress.¹¹ (The reaction may even have assumed greater proportions at that time because the New York Regent's prayer was non-demoninational in origin and nature.) This writer suspects that the position of the Court would follow the line of reasoning expressed in Schempp by Mr. Justice Clark that the rights of each individual cannot be infringed upon by a majority viewpoint.

Related to the legal issue is the question of the message the schools give regarding their attitude toward religion if they ignore religious holidays. Is such a position a denial of the importance of religion from both an historical and a contemporary perspective? Although not intended to be so, the policy of "benign neglect" can be construed as a failure to acknowledge the central role played by religion in cultural development. It might be argued that courses in the history of religion would indicate a positive attitude by the schools. However, it appears impossible to teach about religions without including study of their holiday celebrations as they highlight

the important events and values of the religious groups.

As is clear from the earlier section about the potential for learning contained in the study of holiday celebrations, much would be lost in the child's development of self-awareness and understanding of others. Also lost is the natural opportunity to capitalize upon the interest and excitement of children about religious holidays. This position seems a negation, finally, of the teachers' responsibility to respond sensitively to the interests and needs of their children. As indicated by the American Association of School Administrators in their analysis of Christmas observances, school districts must consider the needs and interests of children in society when making policy decisions.¹²

The third position cited earlier is to continue practices as they had always been despite the Court decisions. What this essentially means is the observance of primarily Christian holidays with emphasis upon pageants and plays as the major activities. During the ten years following the Schempp case, this approach was most widely taken throughout the country. A survey conducted by R. B. Dierenfield which included analysis of school practices involving prayer, Bible reading, baccalaureate services, religious holidays, and services, reported the following about religious holidays:

'religious holidays are celebrated by public schools through special programs. The most popular is Christmas (84.70%), which show a rise over six years ago and is widespread over all sections of the country. Thanksgiving celebrations are also commonly found, with 61.81% of school systems holding them. Religious music is the most widely employed activity in Christmas programs (over 99%). Nativity scenes, the subject of some court cases in recent years, are found in over half the schools surveyed, with some pronounced sectional differences noted.'13

It is impossible to determine the reason for the rise but it might be a rebellious response to the prayer and Bible reading decisions. It is also difficult to determine the songs placed in the category of Christmas music; it would be important to know if they contained religious content and required an affirmation of belief. Of particular interest in this study is the lack of inclusion of the non-Christian religious holidays. (The writer hesitates to draw any conclusions as information requested in this survey is not available.) One might generally conclude, however, that if practices have remained essentially the same, little recognition of the relationship between the prayer decisions and religious holiday celebrations has been given. Questions then arise about the constitutionality of the approach.

It would also seem most probable that the potential learnings derived from the study of religious holiday celebrations are not being realized. This conclusion is warranted because of the essentially Christian observances

in the schools and the assumption that the activity approach described in Chapter I is most likely followed

Selected opinions about religious holidays. The failure of the Court to address the issue of religious holiday observances in schools except by implication has created the situation which allows for the approaches described above. Opportunity was provided in Chamberlin v. Dade County Board of Public Instruction, 377 U.S. 402 (1964), which included all of the possible features of religion in public schools which might be objectionable to those who believed their rights under the First Amendment were being violated: prayer, Bible reading, Christmas celebrations, religious symbols, baccalaureate programs, a religious census, and religious tests for employment. The case was sponsored by a group of Jewish, Unitarian and agnostic parents on behalf of their children because the practices cited were considered unconstitutional; it was supervised by Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress. In the Circuit Court for Dade County, Judge J. Fritz Gordon banned plays presented in the public schools around the Christmas season which portrayed the birth of Jesus and those which concerned the crucifixion at Easter time. According to the judge, such plays were equivalent to religious teaching and, therefore, had no place in the public schools. He did not view, as did not Florida's highest court judges, prayer or Bible reading as unconstitutional

nor the religious test for employment. On this basis, the plaintiffs appealed to the Supreme Court for rulings about such practices. The Court, in light of the Schempp decision of 1963, remanded the case to the Florida Supreme Court for revision of its original decisions which it refused to do.¹⁴ Perhaps the Supreme Court believed its earlier decisions would be sufficiently clear to address all of the issues. Or, and this seems more likely given the decision and its concurring opinions, members of the Court did not wish to rule on the issue of religious holiday observances in the public school, leaving it to school boards and faculty members to decide how such holidays might be observed without violating constitutional guarantees. As Charles E. Rice notes:

Mr. Justice Brennan, in his opinion which attempted to avoid the extreme implication of the Schempp decision, was constrained to indicate that 'the regular use of public school property for religious activities' such as the erection of a Nativity scene, may be unconstitutional. (374 U.S. at 298)

This contention will be elaborated upon and supported in a succeeding discussion of the Court's position.

Conflicting interpretations of the Court's decisions are not limited to school practices. Teachers and school administrators seeking guidance regarding the observance of religious holidays will find conflicting opinions in the literature. The examples which follow will help to illustrate this point. Frances Hale Crystal writing in

Young Children in 1967 asserted that the original purpose of the constitutional rulings,

...was not so much to forbid the observance as to guarantee that each citizen might have the right to worship or refrain from worship in his own way. No school and no government were to make decisions in an area recognized to be governed by private conscience. Seen in this way, the teacher's role becomes one of acquainting children with a wide variety of religious thoughts and customs, presenting no one mode of thought as the only one accepted or valued.¹⁵

This interpretation places the burden on the teacher to expose children to religious thought and not to impose any one point of view. Ms. Crystal offers examples of how this can be achieved through the observance of a variety of religious holidays reflective of the group of children being taught. John M. Swomley, Jr., a professor of Christian Social Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at the St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, Missouri, and a member of the Committee on Civil and Religious Liberty of the National Council of Churches, views the Supreme Court's decisions as negating the possibility of school celebrations of religious holidays with special religious exercises, pageants, or symbolic dramatizations of faith. He also denies the viability of the position expressed by Ms. Crystal because it overlooks the feelings of the non-celebrating groups:

The celebration of Christmas and other Christian holidays is offensive not only to Jews and other non-Christians (as is also the case

with celebration of Jewish holidays) but also to some Christians whose beliefs or interpretations do not coincide with those used. Religious faith is often so intensely and emotionally a part of each person's life and his family solidarity that contradictory emphasis in the school are destructive and unsettling.¹⁶

He bolsters the point being made by quoting the American Jewish Council's position that Christological observances put the Jewish child in the untenable position of choosing between peer groups and family traditions.¹⁷ Although not favorably disposed to the Court's rulings regarding prayer and Bible reading, Charles E. Rice equates religious holidays with religious exercises and, therefore, concludes that both are unconstitutional.¹⁸ Elaine K. Hollander and Judith R. Saypol cite statements from the decisions per se to support their contention that a ban on religious holiday celebrations as often observed in public schools is a natural extension of Zorach v. Clauson, Engle v. Vitale, and Abington School District v. Schempp:

If as the Court stated, the recitation of a 'demoninationally neutral' prayer's established an official religion', [Engle v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962)] school pageants or displays depicting the birth of Jesus do likewise. Similarly, a nativity scene in a public school places 'the power, prestige and financial support of government...behind a particular religious belief,' [Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 421 (1962)] and public school religious holiday observances 'blend secular and sectarian education', [Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S. 306 (1954) at 314] a practice condemned by the high court.¹⁹

The two modify this strict interpretation slightly, although not in reference to any particular religious holiday, by asserting that religious holiday displays, exhibits, vestments, or dramatic presentations are appropriate when "an accessory or integral part of the study of some subject in the curriculum" (history, literature, music, art) and does not seek to indoctrinate.²⁰

Two proponents of the observance of religious holidays who view them in a non-proselytizing fashion are Arthur H. Rice, a professor of education at Indiana University, and the American Association of School Administrators. Referring specifically to Christmas, Professor Rice cites the historical existence of the Christ figure upon whose teachings the Christian Church was founded and the subsequent impact of the Church upon Western civilization and concludes,

These are facts which the observance of Christmas can commemorate without any attempt or intention to indoctrinate for a particular religious belief. The American ideal of human behavior, the rights and privileges of human life that undergird our philosophy of democracy; all are sustained by the tenets of Christianity. These are the truths that properly are the Christian message for the public schools.²¹

Noting that the public school may not observe a religious holiday such as Christmas as if it were a church or a combination of churches, the American Association of School Administrators affirms that "an educational institution for children may not, consistent with proven educational

principles of readiness and interest, ignore Christmas."²²

The key to good policy is the responsibility of the public school to support and protect the religious development of all its children, including the non-Christian.

To avoid entanglement with the Establishment Clause, the Association asserts the following:

There is a vast difference in spirit and effect between a school's 'own' Christmas pageant or Christmas displays on the one hand, and an exposition by some children to other children of their family, cultural, and church customs and rites, when it is one of a series of expositions at appropriate times of differing customs and rites designed to build a common appreciation of the many religious contributions to our heritage, on the other hand. The former is establishment of religion. The latter is the recognition of the deep importance to each child of his own religion and to all people of varying religious commitments of their fellow citizens.²³

All of the views expressed in the above can be considered accurate to some extent as each perceives religious holiday celebrations in particular ways. It is indeed true that some practices would prove unconstitutional while others would be perfectly in line with the Court's mandates. How is the teacher, administrator, school board member, and parent to know which practices are allowable? An examination of the specific court cases and the decisions handed down should result in some guidance.

Supreme Court decisions: restrictions. Supreme Court decisions about the relationship between government (and therefore education) and religion have been both

prescriptive and open-ended. Interpreting the constitution as calling for state neutrality toward religion, the Court has argued that public officials and institutions may not be hostile to religion. By so doing, it has affirmed both the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment. It has, as suggested by William T. Ball, given us points of departure: "...the Court has indeed got us to certain points and not to others, set us on certain paths, not others, but has also said in effect, 'From here on, you're on your own.'"²⁴ This principle was announced by the Court in the McCullum case and reiterated by Justice Brennan in the Schempp decision:

To what extent, and at what points in the curriculum, religious materials should be cited are matters which the court ought to entrust very largely to the experienced officials who superintend our Nation's public schools. They are experts in such matters and we are not. We should heed Mr. Justice Jackson's caveat that any attempt by this Court to announce curriculum standards would be 'to decree a uniform, rapid and, if we are consistent, an unchanging standard for countless school boards representing and serving highly localized groups which not only differ from each other but which themselves from time to time change attitudes.'
McCullum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).²⁵

Consequently decisions about religious holiday celebrations as part of curricula, then, will be left to the officials of the schools; and, their decisions must be founded upon the premises outlined by the Court. The specific prescriptive foundations laid refer to government sponsorship

of religion, worship, doctrine, and majority and minority rights. Certain restrictions are placed upon approaches to religious holiday celebrations while the Court's support of teaching about religion makes it possible to include celebrations in a curriculum in ways that are both legal and constitutionally consistent with the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses.

Beginning with the Everson (1947) decision, the Court has repeatedly and forcefully maintained the position that government sponsorship of religion is in violation of the First Amendment. In the New Jersey bus transportation case, the court said that "[N]either a state [n]or the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."²⁶ Release time decisions (McCollum and Zorach) clearly followed this line of reasoning. In the former, the Court declared that the use of tax supported public school facilities during the school day supported the efforts of religious groups to spread their faith. As such, the state's compulsory education system gave aid to religious sects and violated the Establishment Clause. In Zorach, the Court held that a release time program which occurred outside of the state's school system maintained the necessary separation and also supported the Court's positive attitude toward religion:

Government may not finance religious groups nor undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian education nor use secular institutions to force one or some religion on any person.

and,

When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs. To hold that it may not would be to find in the Constitution a requirement that the government show a callous indifference to religious groups. That would be preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe.²⁷

In the prayer and Bible reading decisions of the 1960's, the Court expanded its position beyond support of particular sects to include religion in general. The New York Regents Prayer case (Engle v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 1962) concerned a non-demoninational prayer read daily in New York schools as mandated by the Board of Regents. The Court decided against the Board of Regents as it deemed any prayer designed by a governmental institution and imposed upon the public to be inconsistent with the Establishment Clause. Expressing its agreement with the petitioners, the Opinion of the Court as delivered by Mr. Justice Black stated:

...we think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of American

people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government.²⁸

In both Engle and Schempp, the Court concluded that the voluntary nature of prayer and Bible readings had no bearing on the decisions. The issue of coercion or compulsion need not be proven in an Establishment Clause violation, although it must be the foundation of a Free Exercise Clause violation. What must be shown is government sponsorship of religion:

The test may be stated as follows: what are the purpose and primary effect of the enactment? If either is the advancement or inhibition of religion then the enactment exceeds the scope of legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither enhances nor inhibits religion.²⁹

Applying this test in the Schempp case, the Court found,

We agree with the trial court's finding as to the religious character of the exercises. Given that finding, the exercises and the law requiring them are in violation of the Establishment Clause....None of these factors is consistent with the contention that the Bible is here used either as an instrument for non-religious moral inspiration or as a reference for the teaching of secular subjects.³⁰

In both instances, then, the Court concluded that the exercises were religious and the state was sponsoring religion--a clear violation of the Establishment Clause.

The mode of establishment in the Engle and Schempp decisions has import for religious holiday celebrations in

schools. Both prayer recitation and Bible reading were declared religious ceremonies of the worship variety and consequently constitutionally intolerable.³¹ State sponsorship of any religious exercise, but particularly those which might influence young children, is considered inappropriate as it places the "power, support, and prestige of the government" behind the religious expression. In light of the Court's position, it would appear that any holiday exercises of a religious nature which implied worship and were manifestly religious would prove to be unconstitutional.

A third area, but one related to the preceding, is that of doctrine or expression of belief. The McCullum case ruled against religious instruction in the public school and thus closed its doors to doctrinal teaching. The Engle and Schempp cases may also be construed as cases prohibiting affirmation of belief. But it is the Barnette (1943) decision which appears to express most clearly the Court's position regarding the profession of belief or disbelief. Although originating from the religious position of the Jehovah's Witnesses relative to flag salute, the Court's conclusion moved beyond the religious sphere:

If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.³²

The Court's statement in this case affirmed its support of the Free Exercise Clause by declaring the right to believe as an absolute one. The state, according to the Barnette decision, could not force public school students to salute the flag if the students in good faith believed such action violated their religious beliefs. It follows from this decision that schools cannot compel students to affirm any belief or participate in any ceremony which would require an expression of belief contrary to their religious or non-religious principles. Compulsion in this case was an important issue as attendance at school was not voluntary but necessary since it involved young children of elementary and secondary school age. The Court's position in the Barnette case was also upheld in the Torcaso v. Watkins (1961) case. The Supreme Court determined that a state may not employ religious tests as a condition of employment. As in Barnette, the Court stood behind the Free Exercise Clause when it concluded that the required affirmation of belief in God to become a Notary Public for the state of Maryland was an infringement of the individual's right of religious liberty.

A further prescription which applies to religious holiday celebrations in the public elementary schools concerns the issue of majority and minority rights. In the Zorach case, the Court claimed its support of a variety of religious beliefs:

We guarantee the freedom to worship as one chooses. We make room for as wide a variety of beliefs and creeds as the spiritual needs of man deem necessary. We sponsor an attitude on the part of government that shows no partiality to any one group and that lets each flourish according to the zeal of its adherents and the appeal of its dogma.³³

Thus, while affirming its support of a wide spectrum of beliefs, the Court has stated clearly its opposition to the imposition of any majority belief upon minority creeds.

Mr. Justice Brennan also struck down arrangements that excused or exempted students from participation in school sponsored religious activities. Employing Barnette and Torcaso as precedents, he argued in Schempp that the state could not "require a student to profess his disbelief as the prerequisite to his constitutional right of abstention." Further, referring to earlier decisions, Mr. Justice Brennan cited an important aspect of excusal and exemption which may obviate a child's constitutional rights:

First, by requiring what is tantamount in the eyes of teachers and schoolmates to a profession of disbelief, or at least of non-conformity, the procedures may well deter those children who do not wish to participate for any reason based upon the dictates of conscience from exercising an indisputable constitutional right to be excused. Thus the excusal provision in its operation subjects them to a cruel dilemma. In consequence, even devout children may well avoid claiming their right and simply continue to participate in exercises distasteful to them because of an understandable reluctance to be stigmatized as atheists or nonconformists simply on the basis of their request.³⁴

The majority versus minority rights issue related to religion locates the overlap between the Establishment and the Free Exercise Clauses. By not supporting a religious viewpoint subscribed to by a majority, the Court mandates that the state may not establish a religion and thus insures that each individual will retain his right of free exercise.

The restrictive and thus prescriptive premises for guiding decisions related to religious holiday celebrations may be summarized as follows:

1. The state or government may not sponsor religion or irreligion; laws and procedures must support secular purposes which neither advance nor inhibit religion;
2. Exercises of a religious nature which connote worship may not be supported in a public school;
3. The state may neither prescribe nor require an expression or affirmation of religious belief or disbelief;
4. No religious view may be imposed through the machinery of the state such that it infringes upon the religious freedom of minority or majority viewpoints.

These four premises circumscribe all curriculum development related to religion in the public schools and must, therefore, guide decision-making about religious holiday celebrations. To the uncritical reader, it may appear that by their very nature, the four prohibit the observance of religious holidays in public schools. However, careful

examination of what the Court has designated as permissible in the area of religion in the public schools along with an elaboration of the place of religious holidays in a celebrations curriculum should dispel this notion.

A position of neutrality. The basic position of public education toward religion is to be one of neutrality: it may neither promote nor inhibit religion. Neutrality as defined by the Court, does not imply hostility nor advocacy of a secularist position. Mr. Justice Douglas' concurring opinion in Engle v. Vitale outlined the relationship:

The First Amendment leaves the Government in a position not of hostility to religion but of neutrality. The philosophy is that the atheist or agnostic--the non-believer--is entitled to go his own way. The philosophy is that if government interferes in matters spiritual, it will be a divisive force. The First Amendment teaches that a government neutral in the field of religion better serves all religious interests.³⁵

The neutrality stance does not create such a high "wall of separation" that all relationships between government and religion are precluded. Mr. Justice Brennan identified specific examples in Schempp of the necessity of such relationships: provisions for churches and chaplains at military establishments and for chaplains in penal institutions, excusal of children from school on religious holidays, allowance of temporary use of public buildings

by religious organizations when their own places are unavailable because of disaster or emergency, recitation of invocational prayers in legislative chambers, appointment of legislative chaplains.³⁶ This view seems consistent with the Court's opinion in Zorach v. Clauson (1952) delivered by Mr. Justice Douglas:

The First Amendment, however, does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of Church and State. Rather, it studiously defines the manner, the specific ways, in which there shall be no concert or union or dependency one on the other. That is the common sense of the matter. Otherwise the state and religion would be alien to each other--hostile, suspicious, and unfriendly. Churches could not be required to pay even property taxes. Municipalities would not be permitted to render police or fire protection to religious groups. Policemen who helped parishioners into their places of worship would violate the Constitution. Prayers in our legislative halls; the appeals to the Almighty in the messages of the Chief Executive; the proclamation making Thanksgiving Day a holiday; 'so help me God' in our courtroom oaths--these and all other references to the Almighty that run through our laws, our public schools, our ceremonies, would be flouting the First Amendment.³⁷

In most of the instances cited above, the affairs touched by Church and State affect adults and are voluntary. When dealing with religion in the public elementary and secondary schools, we are concerned with children who are compelled to attend the institutions and who are not generally sufficiently mature to make decisions relative to religion. The Court's recognition of the delicacy of the relationship

in the school environment is clearly reflected in both the prayer and Bible reading cases. However, its appreciation of the importance of religion in the development of American society specifically and world cultures in general resulted in policy statements which find a place for religion in the public school curriculum.

Many of the court cases related to religion and education expressed the Court's recognition of Americans as a religious people whose institutions derive from a religiously-oriented tradition. The clearest statement to date about how the religious nature relates to the education of public school children appeared in Abington v. Schempp. As part of his defense against the criticism that declaring Bible reading unconstitutional was tantamount to establishment of a religion of secularism, Mr. Justice Clark affirmed that ,

...one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may be effected consistently with the First Amendment.³⁸

In his concurring opinion, Mr. Justice Brennan expressed his agreement that teaching about religion was not precluded by the Court's stand. Noting that non-devotional use of the Bible was constitutional and that "it would be

impossible to teach meaningfully many subjects in the social sciences or the humanities without some mention of religion," Mr. Justice Brennan left the matter of how it would be done to educators.³⁹ The crucial point in these opinions is their support of studying religion in a secular context, one that is non-devotional and does not fall into the category of religious education. Curricula designed to be consistent with these opinions would thus pass the test of "purpose and primary effect:" they would neither enhance nor inhibit religion.

Combining the restrictive premises cited earlier with the Court's advocacy of teaching about religion, one has the general framework within which religious holiday celebrations must be placed if they are to avoid violation of both the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses of the First Amendment. The key points are the maintenance of neutrality and the setting of religious holiday celebrations within a secular context.

The first point, that of neutrality, implies an equality of treatment of all religious beliefs as well as the non-religious position. Schools which include a study of celebrations as part of their social studies curriculum may highlight the plural nature of religious belief in both our nation and the world. The common reasons for celebration (birth of founders, events of historical importance, days of thanksgiving, important dates of the

yearly calendar) may serve as the focus while children explore the specific and diverse modes of celebration as well as the particular beliefs which motivate the celebrants. Common symbols and their meanings or common themes reflected by specific symbols may be investigated also. The breadth of the content requires a curriculum which extends throughout a child's elementary school experience. It does not support the observance of Christmas every year nor the practice of observing Chanukah at the same time, nor on alternating years with Christmas. What is suggested is a carefully sequenced study of a variety of religious holidays with repeated encounters to broaden the scope of holidays and to add depth to the understanding about holiday celebrations. In this way the child may be exposed to the celebrations of his community members as well as to those of people with whom he is unfamiliar. Built into such a curricular structure must also be content which supports the understanding that there are people, be they religious or not, who do not observe any religious holidays.

Content selection is not the only consideration in the attainment of neutrality. The approach and materials used as well as the sensitivity and knowledge of the teacher are also crucial factors which can make the difference between teaching about religion and religious instruction. The ultimate issue is one of objectivity versus indoctrina-

tion.⁴⁰ The materials chosen may be of a religious nature, such as the Bible or the Koran, if used as reference sources and not for religious purposes. Statements in a California State Board of Education publication in 1973 illustrate this point:

The study of representative portions of the classical sources of major religious traditions is appropriate in public education. These religious documents have contributed to the major cultures, to the personal lives of countless persons, and to self-understanding....In accord with appropriate grade levels, the study of biblical sources should include an understanding of the fundamental approaches to the examination of texts; an awareness of the historical, cultural, and geographical context and the language; a scrutiny of literary forms and images; and a consideration of themes, events, basic ideas and values.⁴¹

(Age-appropriateness is a critical element and will be addressed in Chapter IV). The materials or religious documents cannot be evaluated nor employed as expressions of truth; in fact, their use is restricted to an elaboration of the sources of beliefs of particular people which motivate their actions. The latter is particularly applicable to religious holiday celebrations as the "stories" which impel individuals to celebrate often originate in religious documents. The materials selected should not be restricted to the common elements of belief nor reflect a monolithic view. They should be sensitive to the reality of divergent viewpoints which is characterized by minority beliefs. In a PERSC publication, this viewpoint is high-

lighted under "Criteria for Evaluating Curricular Materials:"

It [material] should also reflect the point of view of the people who have experienced it, preserving the integrity and authenticity of their particular religious commitment. In this way, material can be sensitive to the views, beliefs, and concerns of religious minorities.⁴²

The approach taken must be one which does not in effect celebrate the holiday but rather one that recognizes its importance to the celebrants by studying about it, i.e., learning who celebrates, why it is celebrated, and how it is observed. The study must preserve the integrity of the holiday by avoiding secularization and focusing on its holiness to the celebrants. Children who do not observe the holiday being studied must also be engaged in the study, not as guests but as active learners who are developing an understanding about how some children celebrate in their homes or places of worship.

The teacher is an essential ingredient as he will set the tone for the approach. The first requirement is that the teacher be knowledgeable about the holiday to be studied and sensitive to the religious or non-religious affiliations of the students. It is equally important for the teacher to be aware of his own religious beliefs to ensure that a non-confessional attitude is assumed when teaching about religious holidays to avoid proselytizing.

Empathy and openness to alternative religious and non-religious beliefs must be the teacher's position in order to communicate the significance of the diversity of points of view and to help others in the group to grasp this point. When teaching about religious holidays, the teacher must also be sensitive to the beliefs of the parents and the larger community to anticipate problems and to be able to address any misconceptions which might result. It is important, too, that all curricular planning be guided by the constitutional premises cited earlier which requires familiarity with the Supreme Court's position relative to religious studies in the public school.⁴³ The teacher, then, must facilitate the students' grasp of the appropriate religious concepts in an objective fashion, devoid of any pre-judging or analysis of questions of truth. What is involved, as Paul H. Hirst claims, is getting "a glimpse of the world 'through religious glasses':"

It demands enabling pupils to see how believers look at the world and the human experience, in an imaginative grasp of what makes the believer tick....After all, religions are claimed to be ways of seeing things, and not just cultural objects to be observed, say historically. But there are alternative sets of religious glasses, each giving a different view, and it is not the function of the public school to determine in any way which, if any, its pupils shall wear.⁴⁴

A study of the rites, ceremonies, and traditions associated with particular holidays of a variety of religious

persuasions can be an effective vehicle for introducing children to this plural nature of viewing the world.

Recognition of the individual worth of each child and providing an environment in which open, comfortable, and secure peer relationships are fostered are perhaps the two most important ways by which a teacher may encourage an objective approach to religious holidays. In such an atmosphere, children are able to recognize differences, talk about them, and gain an understanding of the interests and values of others as well as identify their own. It is within this context that teachers must function if they are to approach religious holiday celebrations in a fashion which is both pedagogically and constitutionally sound. Such an environment allows approaching religious holidays in a constructive way as the American Association of School Administrators concludes,

In a public school which has regularly found occasions for children to tell about their own and hear about others' religious celebrations, rites, and beliefs, few problems arise. The teacher sets the atmosphere. He or she need only be warmly interested and supportive for children to see that their differing customs and beliefs are neither strange nor the cause for estrangement but are rather wonderful and essential elements of a pluralistic society.⁴⁵

The discussion of neutrality to this point has assumed the position that "full" impartiality in the sense of avoidance of studying about religion in the public school is

both undesirable and unconstitutional. It is undesirable because such a position would deny the place of religion in the development of civilizations, would not "foster the uniqueness and vitality of the religious identification of the children whom it serves,"⁴⁶ and would not promote an appreciation of religious diversity. It is unconstitutional because it would support an irreligious viewpoint to the detriment of the religious viewpoint, a violation of the Establishment Clause. The position taken is akin to that described as "affirmative impartiality" by Nicholas Wolterstorff: "A man will display affirmative impartiality with respect to the religion or irreligion of two men if nothing he says manifests preference for the religion or irreligion of one over that of the other."⁴⁷ The position recognizes the importance of religion to some individuals and the part it has played in the development of particular cultures and societies. It also implies a factual and analytical approach toward the study of religions which has significant implications for religious holiday celebrations. In essence, religious holidays may not be observed in schools as they would be in the home or place of worship. A religious pageant or exercise of worship would be an inappropriate mode of recognizing the day. Instead, religious holidays must be placed within the context of secular subject matter which enhances children's understanding of the day and their appreciation of the

values of those who celebrate it. How this can be achieved will be outlined in the next section which focuses upon holiday celebrations as a curriculum area.

A holiday celebrations curriculum. Holiday celebrations are generally subsumed within the social studies because of their emphasis upon customs, traditions and the histories of particular peoples. The study and observance of them contribute to the realization of social studies goals, those related to both socio-civic and personal behavior. An elaboration of the relationship between holiday celebrations and social studies will be undertaken in the next chapter. As the final portion of this chapter, emphasis will be placed upon holiday celebrations as a curricular area in its own right. The validity of this claim will be established as major concepts and generalizations about holiday celebrations are identified and defined. It will also locate the place of religious holidays within a secular curriculum about holiday celebrations and offer an example of a curriculum outline which contains religious holidays.

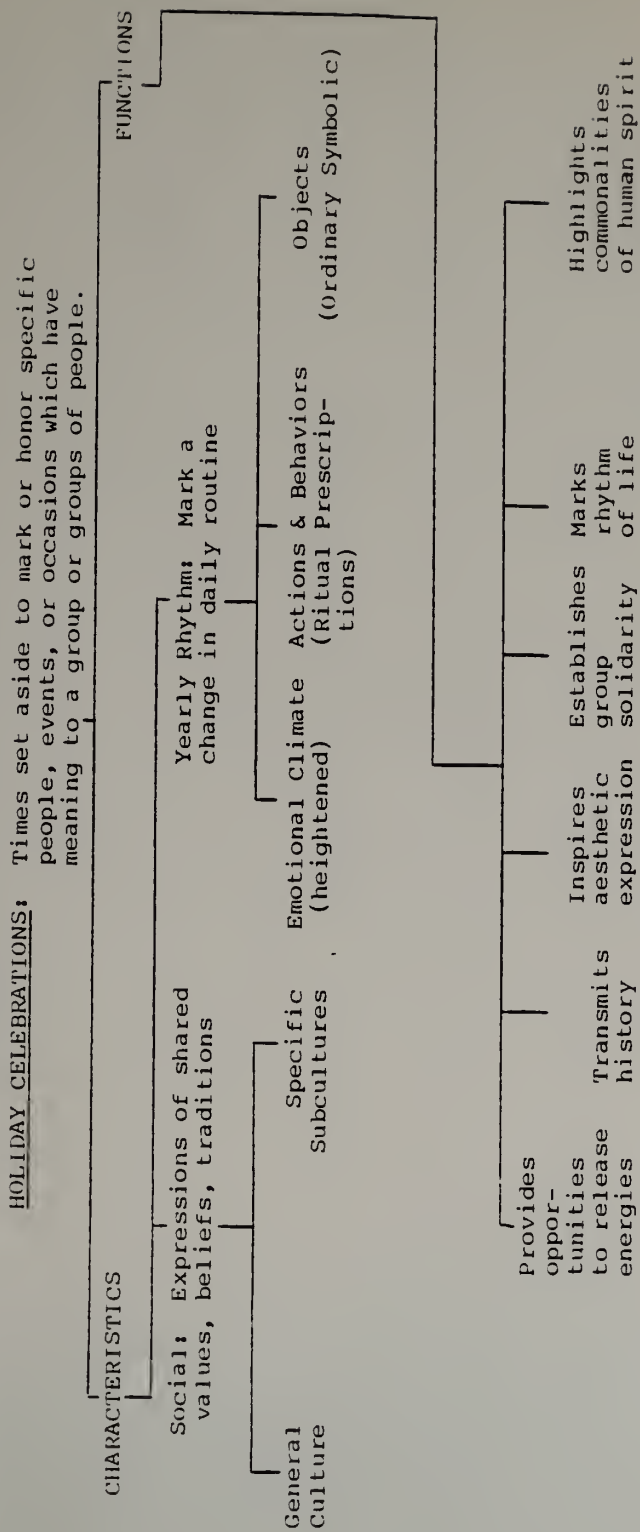
The two primary themes which undergird the holiday celebrations curriculum are the nature of celebrations and man as a celebratory creature. The former allows the child to discover both what a celebration is and the variety of ways to celebrate. The latter encourages the child to

discover the types, origins, functions, and themes of holiday celebrations as well as what specific holidays reveal about the people who celebrate them. It is anticipated that as the child pursues these two themes he will learn how to celebrate and gain an appreciation for the role of celebrations in defining his own and others' identities. The following schematic model (see Figure 2) represents the concepts and generalizations included in such a curriculum.

The model as shown is conceptually hierarchical and represents cognitive learnings appropriate for elementary age children. It is expected that children would be introduced to the more concrete concepts at younger ages and work toward an understanding of the more abstract ones as they matured and had repeated experiences celebrating or studying about a variety of holidays. An understanding of the functions of holidays would be reserved for children in the upper elementary years for the most part, although the foundations would be laid at earlier ages by examining with them the reasons for celebrations which had been held in their own classrooms. The level of abstraction and complexity of the model could be expanded for use at the secondary level by relating it more closely to the functions of ritual described earlier in this chapter.

A major factor not indicated by the model is the need for a spiral celebrations curriculum, i.e., one which

Figure 2 A CONCEPT MAP FOR HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS
 (See Appendix D for an elaboration of categories)



repeats itself over a number of years providing opportunities for studying different aspects of the same holiday(s) at increasingly higher levels of abstraction. In this way, children not only gain more information about the specific holidays but are also able to refine and lend depth to their understanding about holiday celebrations in general. An example of the possibilities for holiday study in the month of December with an elaboration of one of those possibilities will help to illustrate the cycles suggested as well as how the study of a specific holiday celebration can contribute to the learnings identified in the model.

Possible topics for study by a total school, as part of an ongoing cycle of study, might include the following:

1. Christmas as it is celebrated in the United States: emphasis upon family, folk, and religious traditions, customs, and beliefs which are combined in contemporary celebrations; recognition of the holiday as one generally observed by those who hold Christian beliefs.
2. Winter Solstice Celebrations: emphasis upon man's attempt to cope with nature and the role of celebrations in doing so.
3. New Year Celebrations: emphasis upon the universality of this tradition despite calendrical differences and what is revealed about the nature of man as he celebrates his particular New Year.

All three can provide opportunities for in-depth study at various ages; and over a seven year period (K-6), a child would have studied each at least twice. Relationships

among the three can also be established because of the increasing generality of the topics. All would focus upon types and modes of celebration, reasons for celebrations (functions), and common themes expressed in the celebrations. No religious holidays studied would be celebrated although re-enactments of celebratory rites might be demonstrated by celebrants and witnessed by non-celebrants. Children might also, when sufficiently mature, visit a place of worship to view a ceremony being conducted. The rationale for such activities would include establishing a direct link between the secular learnings of the study and the ceremony itself. It would also necessitate demonstrating that no secular means could equally satisfy the objectives set. Although no celebration of a religious nature could occur, there is no reason why a celebration of a shared task completed cannot be held. Celebration of the total school effort may be in the form of a program in which the learnings gained are shared by all children through displays, dramatizations--not pageants, oral presentations, dance, and music. Individual classrooms might choose to celebrate the occasion with special foods and folk customs of the holiday(s) studied. Both instances highlight the social nature of holiday celebrations and mark a special event to be remembered.

The following is an overview of a school's study of topic number two, Winter Solstice Celebrations:

I. CELEBRATIONS OF THE WINTER SOLSTICE:

The theme of this study throughout the school will be "the festivals of light" which are associated with the winter solstice period of the year. It will emphasize teachings about the seasons and the earth's relationship to the sun as well as understandings about celebration as a primary mode of dealing with the forces of nature. Prior experiences of children and age-appropriate content are two of the criteria for selection. The study of the winter solstice will place last year's study of the celebration of Christmas in the United States into the larger context of celebrations throughout the world and history at this time of the year.

II. GENERAL GOALS

A. To engage the total school in the study of a holiday celebration at levels consistent with past experiences, developmental understanding and interests, and future programs.

B. To promote selected understandings about the nature of celebration: festive occasions, the rhythm of the year, security of predictable patterns, universality of themes (light, hope, renewal, freedom), variety of modes of expression (art, music, drama, dance, literature).

C. To promote an appreciation of the attempts throughout history to gain mastery over the forces of nature and darkness (evil).

III. GENERALIZATIONS

A. The Winter Solstice (shortest day of the year) marks the time when the sun's apparent "journey" from south to north begins and promises the hope of spring.

B. The Winter Solstice, in its many forms, is celebrated by most cultures in climate zones which are marked by seasonal changes and experience a yearly agricultural cycle.

C. Winter months are times of cold, darkness, and lack of growth; to counteract these conditions, some people decorate their homes with lighting and greenery, feast on special foods of the season, and gather together to counter the cold of the season.

D. Celebration of the Winter Solstice is an ancient rite which has been adapted in the modern winter celebrations; the enduring themes of light over dark, warmth over cold, freedom over enslavement bridge the gap between the two time periods. Modern celebrations in the winter months derive many of their customs and traditions from ancient winter festivals.

IV. THEMES FOR STUDY (according to age levels)

5's: Winter celebrations of the group:

- traditions of individual families
- special foods prepared in homes
- decorations and gift giving

6-7's: Seasonal changes: focus on winter

- physical environment
- animals in winter
- people, particularly children, in winter

Celebration of Christmas and Chanukah in the world today (foods, customs, lighting and greenery)

-What do children do in

- England
- Italy
- Denmark
- Sweden
- Mexico
- Norway
- Puerto Rico
- Israel

(possible areas of investigation; countries chosen based upon backgrounds and traditions reflected by family customs of children in each group)

8-9's: (1) Study of Earth's movement (equinox and solstice) and one non-Western celebration.

(2) Study of Chanukah in depth

-story

-origin

-how celebrated today

(3) Study of Yuletide (customs and traditions of Northern Europe with emphasis upon Norse legend of "Balder and the Mistletoe")

All three groups would be expected to devote some study to the physical features of the winter solstice.

10-11's: Origins of Celebration: Ancient Traditions

(1) Roman Saturnalia, Persian Mithras celebration, Druids, Greek myth of Persephone

(2) Native Americans: Inca, Iroquois, Hopi Colonial Americans

(3) Christmas and Chanukah and the Ancient Tradition

Art: Displays of paintings related to celebrations
Assist groups with murals and other displays

Music: Festive songs of the season
Origin of carols
Vivaldi's "Four Seasons"

French: Yuletide customs of France

Physical Education: Folk Dances (English Mourris Dances)

Library: Displays of seasonal items
Collection and circulation of materials for teachers and children.

The learnings gained from the Winter Solstice study relate the earth's physical conditions to the celebrations per se, and extend, as indicated by the goals and generalizations, to the characteristics and functions cited in the model. The themes reflect progressive abstraction of content and concepts. By the time a child is ten or eleven years old, he engages in a study emphasizing the celebrations of unfamiliar cultures of the past. It is also expected that children of that age will begin to make connections between ancient and modern traditions and reasons for celebration; and, perhaps, some will begin to understand the reasons for the similarities and differences between the two periods. The holidays studied include both religious and folk elements which are united by the common theme of the festivals of light. The religious motivations for celebration are assigned to older children whose cognitive development is more suited to understanding them. The religious holidays become one facet of the Winter Solstice study and contribute to the child's developing appreciation of the diversity of beliefs man has designed over time to explain his world. Learnings may be shared at particular age levels or by the total school since each group's focus is different. By so doing, children gain a better sense of the various elements which combine to make the celebrations of the Winter Solstice.

The study described above is but one example of how the general learnings about holiday celebrations may be attained. When combined with other units of study related to holidays, either as part of other social studies units or by themselves, and when combined with actual celebrations by the children, an understanding of what a celebration is and how to do it is enhanced. And, in this process, children will be learning about a universal dimension of the human species--homo festivus.

Summary. By focusing on holiday celebrations in the elementary school, this portion of the chapter has attempted to relate the subject matter analysis of Part I to actual classroom practice. The discussion presented was based upon two premises: first, holiday celebrations have value for contemporary man and society; and second, the elementary school is an appropriate setting for children to both celebrate and to learn about holiday celebrations. Constitutional restrictions and provisions about religious holidays were emphasized to indicate how they may be included in a celebrations curriculum without violating the Constitution. Finally, a schematic model or concept map was presented to identify the concepts and generalizations inherent in the subject matter.

The chapter in its totality isolates the knowledge component of holiday celebrations in order to establish

its curricular importance. As the first data source in a total conceptual scheme, it will serve as one element in decision-making about holiday celebrations observed and studied in schools. It also provides a screen for the development of meaningful activities as the latter may be tied to significant learnings if related to the concept map. The next chapter will move beyond the general category of holiday celebrations and identify how they relate to the aims of education and the goals of social studies. In this way, an examination of the second data source--the society--will be undertaken.

Footnotes - Part 1

¹Although each factor may be the exclusive basis for a curriculum (i.e. child-centered, society-centered, or subject-matter centered), the position in this paper follows that of Posner and Rudnitsky who argue for the inclusion of all three. See George J. Posner and Alan N. Rudnitsky, Course Design: A Guide to Curriculum Development for Teachers. (Longman: New York, 1978), pp. 34-45.

²Robert Lee, Religion and Leisure in America. (Abingdon Press: New York, 1964), pp. 140-144. (Lee asserts that such a category scheme remains ambiguous and that the only clear differentiation of holidays results from labelling them in relation to days off with/without pay.)

³Hutton Webster, "Holidays" in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, eds., (MacMillan Co.: New York, 1932), pp. 412-413.

⁴Webster, p. 413.

⁵Lee, p. 129.

⁶Lee, p. 130.

⁷Webster, p. 413.

⁸Celebrations become increasingly more elaborate and their number for the Greeks and Romans increased to the point of encompassing almost half the days for a calendar year. See Lee, p. 132.

⁹Lee, p. 133.

¹⁰Lee, p. 135.

¹¹Christopher Crocker notes that as anthropologists became more field-study oriented, they discovered that the demarcation between the two spheres was neither indicated in the language nor behavior of primitive cultures. See Crocker, "Ritual and Development of Social Structure," in James D. Shaughnessy, ed., The Roots of Ritual. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1973), pp. 52-53.

¹²W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Ill., 1953), pp. viii, xi.

¹³Margaret Mead, "Ritual and Social Crisis," in Shaughnessy, ed., Roots of Ritual, p. 87; Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. trans. by Joseph Ward Swain. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.: London, 1915), pp. 40-41; Frederick Goodrich Henke, A Study of the Psychology of Ritualism. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Ill., 1910), p. 8; Edmund R. Leach, "Ritual" in David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. V. 13, (MacMillan Co. and The Free Press: U.S.A., 1968), p. 524; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society. (London: 1952), p. 123, quoted in John Skoriepiski, Symbol and Theory: A philosophical study of theories of religion in social anthropology. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1976), p. 71.

¹⁴Crocker, p. 48.

¹⁵Crocker, pp. 48-54.

¹⁶Crocker, p. 51. For a detailed analysis of the action versus belief views and a critical appraisal of each, see Crocker, pp. 50-72.

¹⁷Margaret Mead, "Ritual and Social Crisis," pp. 87-95; Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Secular Ritual: Forms and Means" in Moore and Myerhoff, eds., Secular Ritual. (Van Gorum, Assen: Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 1977), pp. 7-8. Properties 1, 3, 7 were identified by both; properties 2, 5, 6 by Moore and Myerhoff, and 4 by Mead.

¹⁸W. Lloyd Warner, The Living and the Dead: A Study of Symbolic Life of Americans. (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1959), p. 417.

¹⁹This association with rites of passage is derived from Van Gennep's definition cited in Victor W. Turner The Ritual Process. ("Rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position, and age" p. 94.)

²⁰Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, p. 10.

²¹Warner, The Living and the Dead, p. 417.

²²Barbara G. Myerhoff, "We Don't Wrap Herring in a Printed Page," in Moore and Myerhoff, Secular Ritual, pp. 199-224.

²³Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1969), p. 12.

²⁴Warner, Dream and Reality, p. 23.

²⁵Robert Bocock, Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.: London, 1974), p. 99.

²⁶For a detailed analysis of a specific celebration of this type and an explication of its effect upon a community, see Warner, The Living and the Dead, pp. 107ff.

²⁷Adrian Kavanaugh, "The Role of Ritual in Personal Development" in Shaughnessy, The Roots of Ritual, pp. 151-153.

²⁸W. Lloyd Warner, Dream and Reality, pp. 2, 22. In The Living and the Dead, Warner provides a detailed analysis of how this function was served during the Tercentary Celebration of Yankee City, pp. 108ff.

²⁹Bocock, p. 61.

³⁰Moore and Myerhoff, p. 5.

³¹Bocock, p. 174.

³²Sir Julian Huxley, "A Discussion of Ritualization of Behaviors in Animals and Man," in Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, vol. 251, Biological Sciences. (Royal Society Burlington House: Picadilly, London, W.1., 1966), p. 265.

³³Conscious excess is cited by Harvey Cox as one of the three emotional ingredients of fantasy; the other two are celebrative affirmation (saying 'yes' to life) and juxtaposition (contrast with everyday life).

³⁴Cox, p. 10; Durkheim, Elementary Forms, p. 382.

³⁵Cox, p. 7.

³⁶Cox, p. 70.

³⁷Cox, p. 12.

38The information about the history of holidays in the United States is from George R. Stewart, American Ways of Life. (Doubleday and Company, Inc.: Garden City, N.J. 1954), pp. 246-274; and Lee, Religion and Leisure in America, pp. 139-143.

39August Heckscher, "A Sense of Celebration," (newspaper article, source unknown).

40Cox, Feast of Fools, p. 41.

41Margaret Mead, "Ritual and Social Change," in Shaughnessy, The Roots of Ritual, pp. 96-99.

42E. Shils, "Ritual and Crisis," in Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, vol. 251, Biological Sciences (Royal Society Burlington House: Picadilly, London, W. 1. 1966), p. 56.

43Mead, p. 99.

Footnotes - Part 2

¹H. J. Blackman, "Ideological aspects: a reevaluation of ritual," in "A Discussion on Ritualization of Behavior in Animals and Man," Sir Julian Huxley, ed., Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, vol. 251, Biological Sciences. (Royal Society Burlington House, Picadilly, London, W.1. 1966), p. 46.

²John U. Michaelis, New Designs for Elementary Curriculum and Instruction, 2nd ed. (McGraw Hill Co.: New York, 1975), pp. 196-197.

³Stephanie Schamess, "Ceremony, Celebration, and Culture: Some Considerations of the 'Three C's' and Our Schools." The Elementary School Journal. 79 (September, 1978): 4.

⁴Ralph W. Tyler, "What Is Affective Education and How Do We Bring It About," (unpublished address), 1979, p. 13.

⁵Lucille Lindberg and Rita Swedlow, Early Childhood Education. (Allyn and Bacon, Inc.: Boston, MA, 1970), p. 170.

⁶The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. William Morris, ed. (American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc. and Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1969), p. 216.

⁷Natt B. Burbank, "Reason Versus Emotion in a Community," in David W. Beggs, III, and R. Bruce McQuigg, eds., America's Schools and Churches: Partners in Conflict. (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1965), pp. 10-18.

⁸It should be noted that some religions (Judaism and Islam, for example) forbid the creation of graven images and it may, therefore, be difficult to isolate an art mode of the painting and sculpture variety. However, there are other elements of the aesthetic tradition which such religions reflect: Islamic mosques, Jewish literary tradition, rituals associated with specific holidays.

⁹See Bernard I. Forman, "Are Jewish Children Left Out?" School Arts 57 (December, 1957): 25-28, for examples of Jewish holiday celebrations which can be incorporated within a school art program.

¹⁰Schamess, p. 5.

¹¹For a detailed analysis of this response, see Paul Blanshard, Religion and the Schools: The Great Controversy. (Beacon Press: Boston, 1963), pp. 50-74.

¹²Religion in the public schools. (American Association of School Administrators: Washington, D. C., 1964), p. 34.

¹³R. B. Dierenfield, "Religion in Public Schools: Its Current Status," Religious Education. (The Religious Education Association: January-February, 1973), p. 113, cited in Lawrence Byrnes, Religion and Public Education. (Harper and Row Publishers: New York, 1975), p. 24.

¹⁴Blanshard, pp. 106-09.

¹⁵Frances Hale Crystal, "The Holiday Dilemma: Celebrating the Holidays in Preschools and Kindergartens," Young Children. 23 (November, 1967): 66.

¹⁶John M. Swomley, Jr., Religion, The State, and The Schools. (Pegasus: New York, 1968), p. 85.

¹⁷Public School Sectarianism and the Jewish Child. (New York: American Jewish Congress), p. 10, in Swomley, p. 85.

¹⁸Charles E. Rice, The Supreme Court and Public Prayer: The Need for Restraint. (Fordham University Press: New York, 1964), p. 115.

¹⁹Elaine K. Hollander and Judith R. Saypol, "Teaching About Religious Holidays in the Public School: A Workshop to Increase Awareness," Education. 97 (Fall, 1976): 63.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Arthur H. Rice, "Where Christmas Fits in the Public Schools," Nation's Schools. 74 (December, 1964): 24.

²²Religion in the Public Schools, p. 34.

²³Ibid., pp. 36-37.

²⁴William B. Ball, "Religion and Public Education: The Post-Schempp Years," in Theodore Sizer, ed. Religion and Public Education. (Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1967), p. 145.

²⁵School District v. Schempp. 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

²⁶Everson v. Board of Education. 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

²⁷Engle v. Vitale. 370 U.S. 421 (1962).

²⁸Engle v. Vitale.

²⁹School District v. Schempp.

³⁰School District v. Schempp.

³¹Engle v. Vitale, and School District v. Schempp.

³²West Virginia v. Barnette. 319 U.S. 624 (1943).

³³Zorach v. Clauson. 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

³⁴School District v. Schempp.

³⁵Engle v. Vitale.

³⁶School District v. Schempp.

³⁷Zorach v. Clauson.

³⁸School District v. Schempp.

³⁹School District v. Schempp.

⁴⁰Indoctrination as used here is the definition of Barry Chazan: Thus it is possible to characterize 'indoctrination' as the attempt to authoritatively and unquestioningly impose on others beliefs and belief systems whose acceptance should be rooted in the agents own free and rational acceptance. In Chazan "'Indoctrination' and Religious Education," Religious Education. 67 (July-August, 1972): 250.

⁴¹Handbook on the Legal Rights and Responsibilities of School Personnel and Students in the Areas of Moral and Civic Education and Teaching About Religion. California State Board of Education, Office of State Printing, January 12, 1973, pp. 25-32, in Byrnes, p. 96.

⁴²Peter Bracher, James V. Panoch, Nicholas Piediscalsi, James K. Uphoff, eds., Religion Studies in the Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 1963-1973. Public Education Religion Studies Center, Wright State University: Dayton, Ohio: 1974, Appendix, p. 86.

⁴³The reader is referred to two sources for an elaboration of the teacher's role in religion studies: the California guidelines cited above in Byrnes, pp. 94-97, and the PERSC publication cited in #42, pp. 10-12.

⁴⁴Paul H. Hirst, "Public and Private Values and Religious Educational Content," in Theodore R.Sizer, ed., Religion and Public Education. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 338.

⁴⁵Religion in the Public Schools. (American Association of School Administrators: Washington, D.C., 1964), p. 36.

⁴⁶Ball, p. 157.

⁴⁷Nicholas Wolterstorff, "Neutrality and Impartiality," in Sizer, p. 9.

C H A P T E R I I I

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND SOCIETY: THE SECOND DATA SOURCE

Introduction

The second part of the rationale for including holiday celebrations in elementary schools will investigate the value positions and assumptions derived from societal considerations. It will relate the subject matter outlined in Chapter II to the aims of education and the goals of social studies. The philosophical statement which will result from this part of the study will indicate the ways in which the appropriate observance/study of holidays can contribute to the values inherent in a democracy and to the child's developing view of self, society, and the world.

The first section of this chapter will focus upon holiday celebrations and the development of dispositions desirable for participation in a democracy: belief in the sanctity of the individual, development of rational loyalty and knowledgeable decision-making, acceptance of diversity, and commitment to social improvement. It will also establish the link between holidays and core values: equality, justice, human dignity, and freedom. The second section will locate holiday celebrations within the general area of the social studies. It will establish the relation-

ship between the aims of education and social studies goals, offer guidelines for curriculum decisions related to holiday celebrations as an element of the social studies, and offer examples of holiday studies which support the aims identified and reflect current trends in social studies education.

Part 1: Celebrations and the Aims of Education

Any analysis of the "aims" of education is problematical because of the nebulous nature of the term "aim." It is necessary, therefore, to establish the context in which the term will be used in that which follows. The writer takes the position, following Dewey and R. S. Peters, that education is of value in itself and, therefore, there is no extrinsic end to education. Education is both end and means as it is continuous and a life-long process; rejected are any "ultimate" or a priori aims such as those espoused by Hutchins or Maritain. Aims of education are derived, then, from observable experience, are maintained in a fluid means-end relationship, and when combined with intelligence determine ways of acting. As John Dewey claimed,

An aim denotes the result of any natural process brought to consciousness and made a factor in determining present observation and choice of ways of acting. Specifically it means foresight of the alternative consequences attending upon acting in a given situation in different ways, and the use of what is anticipated to direct observation and experiment.¹

It is, therefore, not imposed from without nor remote from current activity. Aims serve as suggestions for educators' tentative plans, direct present activities and are modified as conditions change. They are, as R. S. Peters contends, ways of explaining what we are trying to do and what is of value in doing it. In education, they both clarify and specify:

To ask questions about the aims of education is ... a way of getting people to get clear about and focus their attention on what is worthwhile in achieving. It is not to ask for the production of ends extrinsic to education which might explain their activities as educators....the formulation of his [teacher's] aim is an aid to making his activity more structured and coherent by isolating an aspect under which he is acting. It is not something he does in order to explain what he is doing; it is, rather, a more precise specification of it.²

Set within this context, the discussion which follows will seek to establish the educational value of holiday celebrations and thereby relate them to goal statements about living and participating in a democratic society.

Education in a democracy.

The primary business of education, in effecting the promises of American democracy, is to guard, cherish, advance and make available in the life of coming generations the funded and growing wisdom, knowledge, and aspirations of the race. This involves the dissemination of knowledge, the liberation of minds, the development of skills, the promotion of free inquiries, in encouragement of the creative or inventive spirit, and the establishment of wholesome attitudes toward order and change--all useful in the good life for each person, in the practical

arts, and in the maintenance and improvement of American society, in the world of nations.³ (Educational Policies Commission 1938)

The prime purpose of the public schools is to cultivate the political virtues that are appropriate to constitutional self-government and that are required to achieve a society which stands for justice, equality, and freedom in the modern world....⁴ (R. Freeman Butts)

In a democracy it is neither desirable nor possible to have education function as an assembly line. The primary function must be the untidy process of helping the society as a whole and individuals within society strike a balance between personal and group aims and needs while at the same time maintaining an atmosphere in which there is freedom to function and skills equal to the task.⁵ (ASCD 1979 Yearbook Committee)

The rather broad statements above encompass the promises of education and highlight its various elements ranging from the improvement of society to the fulfillment of individual aspirations to the formation of basic values endemic to the progressive functioning of democratic citizens. All three statements signify or imply the central importance of the individual and the general expectations for change in a democratic society which daily faces the prospect of continued technological advancement. Holiday celebrations observed or studied in schools must be consistent with the tenets of democracy as well as the reality of existing conditions. Because of their social nature (an expression of group values and affiliations) and their traditionalizing function (transmission of those values through prescribed behaviors), holiday celebrations contain the

potential for overlooking the importance of the individual and for inhibiting change related to social improvement. It is necessary at the outset, therefore, to establish the framework within which to view holiday celebrations in order to hold the negative potential in check and to focus upon holiday celebrations as the fulfillment of "the promises of American democracy," ones which are dedicated to the principle of the ultimate sanctity of the individual and committed to the prospect of social progress.

Negative potential of holiday celebrations.

The status of the individual must remain our primary concern. All our institutions-- political, social, and economic--must further enhance the dignity of the citizen, promote the maximum development of his capabilities, stimulate their responsible exercise, and widen the range and effectiveness of opportunities for individual choice.⁶

This quotation from the President's Commission on National Goals in 1960 clearly establishes the superiority of the individual over any man-made institutions in a democracy. It follows that all associations are voluntary and result from personal election. Social organizations, including governmental institutions, receive their justification from the individual who is free to move among and within the variety of groups based upon his integrity. The organization, therefore, is the instrument of the individual rather than the individual being the instrument of

the organization. The individual is "...the point of reference from which values are taken and the final criterion of worth. Democracy and Education alike find their warrant in respect for the individual."⁷ Emphasis upon the individual does not obviate the need for social responsibility nor extend license to the individual; to do so would imply anarchy. Instead, it fosters genuine freedom of the individual who must constrain his individualism in order to guarantee equal opportunity to all individuals. It also recognizes that affirmation of the sanctity of the individual necessitates an acceptance of difference, diversity, and complexity--an issue of significance when applied to holiday celebrations.⁸

Viewed within this context, holiday celebrations must not serve the purposes of any specific interest nor that of the state. To do so would be to deny the dignity and sanctity of the individual, to employ the technique of indoctrination, and to support an a priori end which might militate against the realization of the common good--all incompatible with democracy. Therefore, the motives, modes, and meanings of celebrations must be carefully considered before they become part of an already time-constricted curriculum. Celebrations to be observed in schools should possess some intrinsic value for the individual students and not be limited to their instrumental value, i.e., serve

the ends of a particular social organization or group of individuals.

With the emergence of "new" nations following revolutions in Third World countries, rituals and holiday celebrations/ceremonies have been used for expressed ideological and political purposes. This phenomenon is particularly evident in Hispanic countries.⁹ Harvey Cox views such ritualistic expressions as denials of creativity and spontaneity and elevating the mold above the molder as it "petrifies the spirit."¹⁰ The celebration of May Day in the Soviet Union offers a familiar example of a holiday whose aim has been established from without, and thus, lacks intrinsic value for the individual. The demonstration of military might associated with this holiday is designed to bring people together to engage in a shared experience--a general characteristic of celebration and also one consistent with democratic association. Value may be derived by the individual as he identifies his membership in a group and as his sense of security is bolstered. The ultimate value of the experience does not reside with the individual, but instead with the state whose end the celebration serves. Holiday celebrations of this type provide an excellent medium for the advancement of the totalitarian state and for private causes as they contain the potential for gathering large groups of people for the purpose of indoctrination. The aim sought is not one of

the advancement of the individual but the promotion of a particular social organization. The individual does not, in such cases, freely and rationally consent to the association but is drawn in by the emotional fever or the fear of reprisal--neither is an appropriate condition of democratic association. As holidays are selected for observation in the elementary schools of a democracy, therefore, it is essential that they be put to the test of their worth to the individual and their contribution to his self-fulfillment as a participant in a democratic society. The educator must be cognizant, as Sir Percy Nunn stated, "that national traditions and institutions are important only because they help to fashion desirable patterns of individual life, and [he must] refuse to lose its [democratic idea's] sense of reality in face of their impressive grandeur."¹¹

As a holiday celebrations curriculum must concern itself with support of the individual, it must also address the issue of change. The latter is crucial given the means-end relationship and its continuous nature cited earlier. Change has become--to use a hackneyed expression--a fact of life and, as such, it has significant implications for education. According to Shirley H. Engle and Wilma S. Longstreet, the rapid pace of technological development or change has created a leviathon over which we have lost control and whose rapid acceleration has

created an intra-generational gap, a disjuncture between what we learn and value as children and the reality of our adult lives.¹² The validity of this assertion, or the quality of the changes wrought, is not in question at the moment; it is included to dramatize the notion of change which characterizes the contemporary scene, is inherent in the concept of democracy, and with which curriculum designers must cope. As John Dewey asserts in The Public and its Problems, one of the standards of education in a democracy is how well it promotes change "in behalf of a bettered community life."¹³ Perpetuation of existing customs, traditions, and social orders for their own sake, therefore, is inconsistent with this concept of change. Holiday celebrations of the patriotic variety may become victims of this condition. Their observance can be limited to historical meaning and thus overlook their importance for social conditions of the day or their meaning for the future. Likewise, the celebration of traditional holidays because they are traditional may be a failure to recognize the role of change in a democracy. Such an approach finds meaning in the holiday per se and not for the individuals observing it. It also fails to consider the nature or composition of the society, its evolving values, and its relationship to the past. A clear relationship between the holiday to be celebrated and the present condition of society must be established if meaning is to be derived

from the holiday observance. Educators must ask the question: Does the holiday enhance our understanding of the current state of the society, either as an indicator of its origins or as a direction for the future?

The celebration of Thanksgiving in many schools serves as an example of a holiday which has retained its traditional nature and contributed little to the "betterment of community life." It is most often presented as a day when the bountiful harvest of the Plymouth settlers was shared with the Indians of the region. Seldom is emphasis placed upon the contributions made by the Indians to the celebration or the fact that celebration of harvesting was common to both cultures. Even less attention is given to the effect of the European settlement upon the native population, to the cultural differences which augured poorly for a future relationship of reciprocity, or to the National Day of Mourning which originated in 1972 among the Wampanoags to call attention to the lack of conciliatory relationships. Most schools observe the day in an habitual fashion--following tradition--which reflects little cognizance of recent information about the "First Thanksgiving" or the changing societal emphasis which, in recent years, has sought to elevate consciousness about the plight of Native Americans.

The preceding has established the two screens through which holiday celebrations must be passed to insure that by their nature they do not exert a negative influence upon

the individual and thus upon society: first, their observance must hold intrinsic worth for the individual and not serve ideological nor idiosyncratic ends; and second, their observance must recognize the reality of change or social progress and not find their meaning in tradition per se. In the succeeding analysis, it is assumed that neither condition is operative as each negates democracy. Emphasis now will be placed on the elements of holiday celebrations which are conducive to, and consistent with the aims of education in a democracy. This section will seek to establish the relationship between holiday celebrations and the formation of fundamental dispositions, the province of education as defined by Dewey.¹⁴

Positive potentials of holiday celebrations. The acknowledgment of change must not be construed as the elimination of the traditional or the historical. Rather, what is demanded is an examination of the relevance of our cultural inheritance for today's or tomorrow's world. Our dialogue with the past must be informed and continuous; it must arise from the desire to constitute the past as meaningful to our present commitment to the democratic ideal.

Most of us have too little notion of the long struggle through which our present privileges were won. The drama of this historic record should be presented adequately in our schools. No stone should be left unturned in the effort to give youth a full realization of what democracy means, of the privileges which it affords,

or the ways and means through which, with work and patience, it is to be more successfully achieved.¹⁵

Historical origins of present privileges. Perhaps the most obvious disposition to be gained from holiday observances is an appreciation of present privileges in light of their historical origins. Such appreciations can ultimately be a means for enhancing loyalty to democratic ideals. Holiday celebrations which focus on the struggles to preserve or attain freedom, equality, and justice such as Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, and Passover can lend an enduring quality to these democratic ideals and privileges. It can help put them in the perspective of goals sought after which must be protected, rather than as guaranteed conditions of life. They can also provide a framework for examining contemporary struggles for these same ideals which emphasize their need to be continually enacted and achieved. For holidays to achieve these ends, they must be imbued with meaning which supercedes the mere acquisition of knowledge as information--although this is an important aspect--and they must avoid didactic moralizing. To use history in the latter fashion is to negate its ethical value according to Dewey. Meaning can only be derived from knowledge of the past by relating it to the present functioning of society and its concomitant problems. The importance of this relationship is clearly indicated in the writings of Whitehead and Dewey:

I would only remark that the understanding which we want is an understanding of an insistent present. The only use of knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present.¹⁶

It (historical knowledge) is an organ for the analysis of the warp and woof of the present social fabric, of making known the forces which have woven the pattern. The use of history for cultivating a socialized intelligence constitutes its moral significance.¹⁷

It is only as one understands the "great forces of civilization" which have created contemporary conditions, maintains Sidney Hook, along with the causes of current problems that he is able to determine the future path of his culture--to maintain it or to transform it.¹⁸ Implicit in the relationship of the present to the past and to the future for holiday celebrations, then, is the need to examine their relationship to the present and to assess whether or not changes should be made, either in the holidays celebrated or the content emphasized. Employing the past to inform present and future consequences of actions loosens the bonds of tradition and does not permit the acceptance of the status quo as a condition which has always existed and will always continue. "We need," as Maxine Greene noted when citing Maurice Merleau-Ponty's Themes from the Lectures at the College de France, "to form the events we uncover in the past into an 'intelligible series,' the events which sediment meanings in us, 'not just as survivals or residues, but as an invitation to a sequel, the necessity of a future.'"¹⁹ Holiday celebrations must not

only help us to appreciate our privileges but must also raise questions as to their adequacy and successful achievement.

Rational loyalty. Holiday celebrations' potential for promoting loyalty to democracy requires further analysis. Blind devotion to democratic ideals is not being urged but rather what Hook calls "rational loyalty." The latter connotes a critical element while the former is purely an emotional attachment. Hook relates two stages in the development of loyalties: the initial and the rational. Initial loyalty is that which derives from a social atmosphere and practice; it is first in the order of time. Rational loyalty, first in the order of logic, results from critical examinations of the claims of democracy in light of its achievements and failures and shortcomings. Holiday celebrations make claims for democracy and at once appeal to the strengthening of loyalties. If holidays are selectively celebrated in school in light of their relationship to the present, initial loyalties may result for children of the primary and intermediate levels. Subjecting them to critical analysis, not as "debunking" but as an evaluation of achievement of the ideals reflected by the holiday, can promote at least the beginnings of a rational loyalty at the upper elementary level. Certainly the observance of Martin Luther King Day or Susan B. Anthony Day offer significant opportunities to analyse the status of Blacks and

women in this country, as well as the struggle of all peoples for the freedom of equal opportunity and equal treatment before the law.

To attain rational loyalty according to Hook, one must also compare the claims of democracy to "those of its rivals." The application of this process to the study of holiday celebrations of non-democratic communities would help to highlight the democratic ideals by contrasting them to the values which motivate others to celebrate. It would also provide the opportunity to evaluate the principles of democracy. Once comparison is made and assuming that democracy remains the most suitable form of association, then an analysis of the consequences of the ideals as exhibited in the conduct of society must be assessed; it is only then that future plans may be made.

By training its students to think critically, a democracy gives them the power and the right to evaluate democracy, confident that its claims will withstand the analysis--that initial loyalties will become transformed into rational loyalties.... Preaching and edification have their holiday uses but they do not inspire initial loyalty--only practice does.²⁰

The attainment of rational loyalty probably requires a level of maturity, cognitive and moral, not equal to the developmental levels of most elementary aged children. The foundations, however, may be laid during the elementary years. Critical inquiry into the democratic way of life

can be begun during this phase of schooling particularly as it relates to the ideals fostered by some holiday celebrations.

Loyalty to democratic ideals is a necessary condition but not a sufficient one for a democratic life. These ideals must be translated into intelligent moral decisions reflected in the conduct of the members of a community. Such conduct is part of the civic responsibility of each individual in a democracy and education plays a significant role in its realization. The school's role goes beyond the traditional conception of citizenship training. Its contribution resides in the successful attainment of the school's function to promote the individual's capacity for growth within a social context.

Because positive individual and societal growth coincide, as Dewey maintained, it is virtually impossible to separate one from the other. The individual realizes his capacities and potentiality within a social environment and not as an isolated figure within Rousseau's natural environment.²¹ Growth can only occur as the individual establishes satisfying relationships with society and social progress only results when the individual has grown. Employing this reasoning, the Educational Policies Commission (1938) established four categories or vantage points from which the purposes of education can be viewed. Three hold particular importance for holiday celebrations in the

elementary curriculum: self-realization, human relationships, and civic responsibility.

Individual identity. Although the Policies Commission articulated a list of specific objectives to be reached within the self-realization category (ranging from interest and character to speech and reading), emphasis in what follows will be upon individual identity. Building from Dewey's premise about the social environment, it seems logical that an individual must, in order to realize who he is, identify himself as a member of a cultural group which condones specific behaviors based upon common values. ". . . Man is a member of society, heir to a cultural heritage and social organization that determine the forms in which his biological needs and impulses find expression."²² Holiday celebration--be they national, religious or ethnic--can contribute to a child's awareness and understanding of that cultural heritage and social organization to which he is heir. Although Hook's statement quoted above refers directly to his justification of democracy on an experimental rather than a metaphysical basis, it can be related to holidays which do more than appeal to the democratic heritage. Holidays celebrated by specific groups which express their traditions, rituals, beliefs, and values initiate the individual into the group and foster understanding of the self. They place the individual within the social context which conditions conduct in the larger

society. The recognition of such holidays by the school, assuming the social group is an ethical one which supports democratic ideals, legitimizes the child's values and behaviors. It contributes positively to the child's self-image which results in the development of character, a disposition necessary if an individual is to give responsible direction to his life.

In order to satisfactorily achieve self-realization or identity, one must also view oneself in relationship to others. The "others" are not only fellow members of the same social organization; they also include those who represent social organizations expressive of different values and behaviors. Only through the coordination of the view of self in relationship to others can identity be genuinely realized. The school holiday curriculum which includes holidays observed by different members of its community, or traditions of others when the school represents a monolithic cultural tradition, provides the opportunity for the child to clarify his values and traditions as he compares and contrasts them with those of others. Religious holidays studied in the schools along with specific ethnic celebrations approached with integrity contribute to the individual child's self-identification from both of the vantage points cited above.

Understanding of others. A holiday celebrations curriculum which is diversified in its content not only

promotes and validates the identity of individual children. It also contributes to the understanding of others (a necessary condition for cooperative civic participation), to the freedom to make intelligent choices, and to an appreciation of the pluralist nature of our democracy which bears directly upon concerns related to the welfare of all.

The inclusion of holiday celebrations as part of a study of different cultural groups, or the observance of holidays representing the diversity of the school population creates a broader environment for the child. It not only makes the school a reflection of the larger society, but it also allows children to examine the conduct of others which is different from their own. Since celebrations are intimately tied to value systems, a well-sequenced and thoughtful approach to the presentation of diverse holidays can contribute to the child's understanding of others and the beliefs which motivate their actions. If this understanding is to result, the knowledge gained must be accurate and should derive from direct experience of the holiday with its celebrants whenever possible. Intergroup understanding can be promoted if children are allowed to comfortably and securely present their own beliefs in conjunction with, or in contrast to those of fellow classmates. Such study facilitates an awareness of the commonalities of human experience as well as the contributions of distinct groups to civilization. An examination of the

traditions of Halloween and those of the Jewish celebration of Purim would provide an interesting comparative base from which to investigate the contrasting religious motivations which inspired their original celebration. Or, perhaps a comparison between the figures which lurk about on Halloween night and the Netsilik Eskimo "Dark Spirits" would prove a profitable venture for gaining an understanding of the general nature of the human spirit. Viewing Thanksgiving within the well-seasoned harvest celebration tradition of agricultural societies may foster an appreciation of modes of celebration which at first glance may appear alien as well as give added significance to man's continual struggle with nature. Inquiries into the holiday celebration "ways of other people" should ultimately seek to develop respect for people of different opinions. This goal is imperative in a democracy which supports open communication among diverse interests committed to the resolution of shared problems. Holiday curricula predicated on this goal can contribute to Dewey's aim of social efficiency which "is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others."²³

As one becomes willing to understand and respect divergent viewpoints, the way is open to realize, in Horace M. Kallen's words, the "first freedom...the freedom

of choice."²⁴ This freedom to make intelligent choices is based upon rational inquiry and a knowledge of alternatives. (Intelligent choices are distinguished from habitual responses which are non-reflective.²⁵) Association with a variety of groups creates the condition for entertaining the possible alternatives in decision-making. Holiday celebrations as they focus upon values peculiar to a particular group provide a foundation for understanding that there are a variety of ways to act. It removes the child from his narrow associations and puts him into contact with the wider world. This extension can contribute to the realization that peoples' responses to situations and conditions vary. It can also provide knowledge of values and behaviors different from his own which may open the way to more creative and satisfactory answers to his and society's needs. Finally, divergent values allow for an intelligent approach to problem resolution as the individual projects his repertoire of possible responses into the future and evaluates their potential consequences. Viewing the world from multiple perspectives increases the possibility of arriving at creative solutions which do not ignore any segment of society.

Knowledge of cultural groups gained from positive experiences of accurate and authentic observance of ethnic holidays can foster a commitment to diversity. Such undertakings validate specific ethnic cultures in the eyes of

children who represent them and to the general community. The school is thus proclaiming the legitimacy of cultural pluralism--not in its doctrinaire sense--and initiating the development of positive attitudes about one of the realities of the American democracy. In her explanation of the philosophy of multi-ethnic education, Geneva Gay makes the point quite clearly:

The philosophy of multi-ethnic education suggests that ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism should be essential ingredients and increasing characteristics of American education. Their essentiality in educational experiences is paramount because the demands of living effectively as functional citizens in a culturally pluralistic society dictate that students learn to know and appreciate different ethnic groups and their life styles. Schools are socializing agencies and, as such, they should prepare students to truly accept cultural and ethnic diversity as normative and valuable to American society.²⁶

Implicit in appreciating different life styles is understanding traditions and values which are essential components of holiday celebrations. And as James Banks claims, "The essence of a culture can be understood only by studying its cultural values and the relationships of them to the daily lives of the people."²⁷

Commitment to diversity and ethnic studies has increased in popularity as a result of the civil rights movement of the 1960's, the Ethnic Heritage Bill passed by Congress in 1977, and the general resurgence of ethnic pride evidenced by individuals searching for their "roots."

Its manifestations in goal statements in educational literature range from curriculum goals focusing specifically on cultural diversity,²⁸ to broader goals emphasizing intergroup relations.²⁹ Reactions to the renewed interest in cultural identity in general and the role of the schools in particular have varied from vociferous praise by staunch pluralists who advocate a separatist position to ardent assimilationists who support the view that ethnicity is a transitory and temporary state which quickly dissipates as individuals and groups become socialized into the common culture. Both positions have implications for holiday celebrations and reflect an extremism which negates progressive change and understanding. To accept the pluralist philosophy would probably mean that curriculum would be culture specific and seek to assist the child's functioning within his own culture only. Curriculum which supported an assimilationist stance would be limited to the common culture's holidays and seek to "melt" the child's ethnicity. The former has a minority emphasis while the latter is a majority emphasis; there are dangers on both sides. The danger inherent in the cultural pluralist position is negation of the community of all interests and support of separation and division as goods in themselves.

If one's loyalties are essentially to one's ethnic group, ultimately one's responsibilities are too. The concern with social justice, conscience, guilt--whatever it is that makes

men act beyond the sphere of their narrow self-interest becomes attenuated.³⁰

Furthermore, it overlooks the reality of the cultural assimilation which has in fact occurred. The danger implicit in the assimilationist position is its attempt to impose a monolithic value position, the White Anglo-Saxon-Christian tradition, and thus eliminate the richness of distinct cultural groups. It, too, is unrealistic as it fails to recognize that the United States is composed of many cultural groups which have contributed unique characteristics to the common culture. A middle ground between the two extremes must be found, one which recognizes unity within diversity. James Banks "pluralist-assimilationist" ideology appears to be a meeting ground between the polar positions. Its proponents believe that the curriculum should reflect the cultures of various ethnic groups and the common culture. The school should respect the ethnic attachments of individuals, use them in positive ways, and facilitate the child's functioning as a member of a specific cultural group within the common cultural setting.³¹ Holiday celebrations, as a reflection of the pluralist-assimilationist ideology, must help children to appreciate the uniqueness of cultures where appropriate and yet view them as contributing parts of that totality we call the American culture. By doing so, we are advocating acceptance of particular cultures (but not

participation except as that results from individual decisions) and supporting the proposition that the whole is no greater than the sum of its parts. It negates cultural monism in favor of cultural diversity represented by the American Idea of Horace M. Kallen.³² Having accepted this proposition, the schools must carefully examine the holidays celebrated and/or studied to determine their fidelity to the principles of the pluralist-assimilationist ideology. It is not suggested that schools compose an endless list of holidays to be celebrated. Rather, the schools are urged to represent community ethnic celebrations which have meaning for the children whom they serve while recognizing that Americanization of the immigrant population did in fact occur. As Mark Krug contends,

It seems essential to acknowledge the existence of a mainstream American culture, which, because the melting pot was basically successful, is not an Anglo-Saxon culture. This American culture rests on the bedrock of Anglo-Saxon traditions in language, law, and lore, but it has been greatly modified and enriched by infusions from many immigrant cultures.³³

Unity in diversity. Because of the increased emphasis upon ethnic heritage and diversity, the attainment of unity becomes the burdensome task. Holiday celebrations can make a significant contribution toward the satisfaction of this task because they offer opportunities for shared experiences which can serve as integrating forces when directed toward common goals. Holiday celebrations in schools as

unifying experiences can occur on two levels: first, that of joint venture of a particular group of individuals; and, second, that which denotes the larger, shared cultural community.

Celebrations by their very nature bring people together in conjoint experiences. Both the type of celebration and the motivation of the celebrant, however, determine the extent to which communion of purpose is realized. The mutual and reciprocal involvement that is possible through celebration is often not attained in society today. In his analysis of the status of values in modern literature, Nathan A. Scott decries the lack of communal feeling or experience as he compares contemporary man to Melville's "Islanders":

The life of the average megolopolitan today is ungraced by any rituals which strengthen the ties of sympathy and fellow-feeling. Nor is the civic scene complicated and enlivened by any round of celebrations and festivities....³⁴

And Maxine Greene comments that, "people are seldom with one another, even in schools; they are alongside one another and they take this for granted too."³⁵ The causes are perhaps many but two of significance are the individual's preoccupation with self, perhaps the result of technological impersonality, and the intensity with which some ethnic groups seek to establish their identity, perhaps the result of the shortcoming of democratic ideals related to equal opportunity. A holiday celebrations

curriculum which recognizes the diversity of celebration and supports the democratic traditions embodied in specific holidays can provide opportunities for children to be with one another. "With" as used here transcends physical proximity and tends toward emotional and intellectual union. Celebrations possess the potential for creating an atmosphere in which Sidney Hook's elaboration upon moral development may be attained:

...imaginative sympathy for others' feelings and needs, an awareness of how our destinies are interrelated by common predicaments, and a thoughtfulness about the consequences of our actions on the delicate web of human relationships.³⁶

On a more concrete and less ethereal level, holiday celebrations can also teach children how to engage in a cooperative venture. To achieve this end necessitates that the teacher not impose plans but guide the interactions of individuals in a group endeavor. It is specifically a social situation which demands that the child control immediate impulses and contribute particular skills to the power of the total group. This type of associated experience is one in which value is derived from acting together to achieve a perceived purpose and one which compels the child to view himself in relationship to the welfare of the group. It relates directly to Dewey's definition of social efficiency: "the capacity to share in a give and take. It covers all that makes one's own experience more worthwhile

to others, and all that enables one to participate more richly in the worthwhile experiences of others."³⁷ In many ways, this definition applies broadly to all celebrations observed in schools, be they common or restricted to a particular group. Their contribution to unity in diversity is evident in the relationship of the various individuals who combine their experiences and talents to make the group effort a successful one.

The more global element of unity in diversity relates to the development of common values and a community of interests. It is assumed that the school shares responsibility with other social institutions for teaching core values which will serve as a screen for evaluating actions and the consequences of decisions made. The position taken is similar to that asserted by James Banks:

While the school should reflect and perpetuate cultural diversity it has a responsibility to teach a commitment to and a respect for the core values such as justice, equality, and human dignity, which are expressed in our major historical documents.³⁸

Added to this list should be freedom and fraternity. Unless democracy is rejected, it is expected that these core values should both condition and motivate behavior. Critics of the contemporary scene, particularly the effects of rapid technology, claim that both the schools and the nation have lost sight of these values. The widespread acceptance of relativism has had a levelling effect, according to some,

which gives equal significance to everything and prime importance to nothing. "In such an age, the individual is condemned to the awful prison of his individuality, since nothing means the same thing to any broad segment of the people..." comments Nathan A. Scott, Jr.³⁹ Other critics claim that values have taken on an institutional rather than human quality:

We have suffered the diminishing of our humanness and are on the verge of surrendering our democratic freedoms in order to maintain the makeshift economic structure now elevated to a position of value dominance--profits before all else! In the language of our heritage we are willing to trade our birthright for a bowl of porridge.⁴⁰

Both of these statements may be somewhat extreme, but they do reflect the questionable status of core values in American democracy which is also indicated by the general lack of faith in the process of government and those who govern. If one adds to this the seeming uneasiness--and almost impropriety--with expressions of patriotic fervor, the quotations reveal an unsettling reality. The implications weigh heavily when one considers Clyde Kluckhohn's assessment of a healthy society:

One of the broadest and surest generalizations that anthropology can make about human beings is that no society is healthy or creative or strong unless that society has a set of common values that give meaning and purpose to group life, that can be symbolically expressed, that fit with the situation of the time as well as being linked to the historic past, and that do not outrage men's reason and at the same time appeal to their emotions.⁴¹

Symbols, as noted by Rollo May, reflect the formative principles of a society, lend unity to the culture, and allow individuals to transcend the immediate situation because they give expression to fundamental values and goals of a particular society. They possess an almost therapeutic quality since they preserve an individual's identity when confronted with the anxiety and despair of life's crises.⁴² W. Lloyd Warner views common symbols to be of special importance in complex societies because of the latter's structural diversity and the "proliferation of specialized symbol systems." Both of these factors increase the difficulty of easy communication and collaboration.⁴³ The importance of educating toward the core values for both the individual and the society assumes greater importance in light of the functions they serve. Students must become aware of their own values as well as those supported by the general culture in order to assess their adequacy in light of current conditions. Holiday celebrations offer appropriate content for developing such awareness and appreciations along with opportunities to evaluate their current condition. Holiday celebrations should not, however, be studied to inculcate particular values; rather, they should become a vehicle to assist the young in discovering, understanding, and analysing their common heritage of values and thereby contribute to the creation of a community of interests.

Promotion of the common cultural heritage should obviously include observance/study of patriotic holidays. Emphasis upon specific holidays such as Patriot's Day, Independence Day, and Labor Day has meaning for all Americans, despite the claim of some minority groups to the contrary. It cannot be denied that some minorities have struggled unsuccessfully to realize the benefits of the values which motivate these celebrations. For this very reason, such holidays perhaps hold greater significance as attention can be given to how well society reflects and advocates the specific values. Holidays associated with specific groups must be surveyed also to expand the list of those days which have meaning for the common culture. For example, Martin Luther King should not be the exclusive hero of Blacks nor should Susan B. Anthony be viewed narrowly within the context of the women's movement. The lives of both figures have meaning for the broader tradition of democracy in this country. We must avoid the tendency to "ghettoize" our heroes, asserts Robert Spillane, and look to the values which inspired their heroic actions.⁴⁴ Holidays which reflect the common culture are not limited to the patriotic. They extend to include any holidays which emphasize the core values cited earlier; these may include religious holidays such as Passover and seasonal holidays such as Thanksgiving. A curriculum which combines patriotic, ethnic, religious, and seasonal holidays dedicated

to value principles has the potential for realizing a unity of purpose which grows out of individual differences. Holiday celebrations can, therefore, abstract the child from his narrow world and expose him to the potential of the broader environment and ultimately contribute to his understanding of the factors which transcend the competing forces.

The preceding discussion may be viewed as advocating the premise that the school is one of the primary agencies of enculturation. Such a perception would be an accurate one. The question may then be raised as to the appropriateness of such a function in light of coping with change and what has been called the intragenerational disjuncture (experiences and realities of our youth are no longer relevant when adulthood is reached because of rapid technological development). Shirley Engle and Wilma Longstreet argue strongly for the de-emphasis of the enculturation function and urge increasing intellectual openness and flexibility in its place:

The scholastic goal of enculturation fits the development of the mind into present reality and its ways of perceiving and dealing with events. It re-inforces a view of cultural stability and interferes with the individual's capacity to participate in decisions affecting technological progress and the cultural trends of his or her own times. In other words, enculturation by schools may interfere with the survival of democratic governance.⁴⁵

This version of enculturation is a narrow one which essentially equates it with indoctrination. What seems to be overlooked is the need for security and a framework within which to evaluate change which core values can provide. To enculturate should not be the only purpose of the school but it should not be eliminated. Engle and Longstreet seem to view enculturation and promoting intellectual openness as mutually exclusive. This need not be the case when celebrating holidays of a traditional variety if we examine the value positions they express in terms of current conditions. In fact, one can conjecture that the "intra-generational gap" might be less of a concern if individuals could depend upon the consistency of common threads which transcend the changes wrought by man in the pursuit of technology.

Religious and aesthetic heritages. Two elements of our cultural heritage not yet discussed are the religious tradition and the aesthetic tradition associated with holiday celebrations. The former presents particular problems for many schools because of legal confusions while the latter is endangered by commercialism and educational budget cutting.

Religious celebrations, as they may be observed in school, can provide the student with significant knowledge about the world's great ideas as well as an understanding

of his own immediate world. The very presence of significant religious holidays--some so important that schools close in their honor--in the lives of children makes them appropriate areas of study. To deny them is to deny the reality of the child's world. To omit them from classroom study is to neglect a major part of American life. As noted in the Educational Policies Commission's monograph, Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools, "Knowledge about religion is essential for a full understanding of our culture, literature, art, history, and current affairs."⁴⁶ Religious holidays help children to develop tolerance and understanding of various religious persuasions. Initial focus may be on the overt symbols and rituals associated with the celebration while repeated encounters can broaden the scope to indicate the beliefs and values embodied in the celebrations. Through such extended study, children become aware of the variety of religious beliefs, the modes of their expression, and the impact religion has had upon cultural heritage.⁴⁷

The aesthetic component of holiday celebrations encompasses the variety of forms of creative expression. It is perhaps more often associated with music and art but can also include rituals, ceremonies, and literature. The realization of the generality of aesthetic expression as man interprets the ceremonial along with the development of standards of excellence can be gained through holiday

celebration study. The music associated with Christmas and Yom Kippur, the paintings associated with Easter, and the prose of Passover are all examples of quality and excellence to which children can be exposed. As a means for self-realization and enjoyment of the "good life," aesthetic appreciation and expression were cited as goals of education by the Educational Policies Commission in 1938 and the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1971. Development of the aesthetic sensibility and talents of the individual, according to both sets of goal statements, allows men to share emotions and ideas and to better apprehend the human mind and spirit.⁴⁸ In a different vein but related to standards, Dewey notes that the aesthetic (literature, music, painting, etc.) functions primarily to intensify that which is already perceived as appealing and enjoyable. It enhances the qualities of these conditions and makes them intrinsically valuable in their own right. Beyond this they have a purpose:

They have the office, in increased degree, of all appreciation in fixing taste, in forming standards for the worth of later experiences. They arouse discontent with conditions which fall below their measure; they create a demand for surroundings coming up to their own level. They reveal a depth and range of meaning in experiences which otherwise might be mediocre and trivial. They supply, that is, organs of vision.⁴⁹

The aesthetic focus which can be given to holiday celebrations, thus, can serve to heighten the holiday experience

and add to its intrinsic value for the individual.

Occasions for reflection. Holiday celebrations generally mark a deviation from the normal daily experience and thus a change in routine. This quality allows one to step out of the daily pattern and inquire about the state of things; it is an occasion for reflection. What Maxine Greene attributes to the reader of literature can also be attained by the holiday celebrant: "...a distancing of routine, a new vantage point on everyday interpretations, an awareness of alternative possibilities."⁵⁰ Because holiday observance in elementary schools can limit or even change the focus for a period of time, children are able to gain insights about themselves, their peers, or the world in general. The "change of pace" may also provide the teacher with a better understanding of his children, their capabilities or social interactions. The teacher may learn about his own relations with individual children or role within the classroom. The opportunities for sharing among groups throughout the school or for engaging in joint efforts may reveal the nature of the school as a community. If the removal from the mundane activities of the year results in reflective thinking which ultimately leads to a change of conduct or practices, the potential cited in the Greene quotation may be realized from a holiday celebration. The importance of quiet periods of reflection if we are to entertain the possibilities of our

future and thus control our destinies is highlighted by Engle and Longstreet in the following statement:

Quiet reflection, when the rational analysis of what we are doing and where we are going can occur, has become progressively less possible....The schools, in their quest to develop human rational capacities, will need to foster periods of reflection or in other terms, of intellectual review of what is happening, why it is happening, and whether it should happen.⁵¹

Holiday celebrations offer the schools such opportunities to reflect about their own condition and also, through a content and value analysis, the condition of society.

In order for holiday celebrations to support the aims of education, their observance in schools must be tied to a framework which yields significant learnings for children. They must move beyond art activities, pageants, and recitation and be related to significant ideas which enhance the child's organization and understanding of his world. Learnings derived from the social studies can satisfy this mandate as the second part of this chapter will indicate.

Part 2: Holiday Celebrations and the Social Studies

As indicated in Chapter I, holiday celebrations are generally considered to be part of the social studies; more specifically, they are viewed as one segment of "current affairs" or "special events."¹ A survey of teachers and children in schools would most likely reveal that they

consider holidays to be part of history and, for some, culture studies. The analysis of the nature and functions of holiday celebrations presented in Chapter II relates them to the social sciences of anthropology and sociology. None of the classifications is inaccurate; combined, they reflect a lack of clarity about the proper place of holiday celebrations in the curriculum, except as they relate to some area of social studies. This part of Chapter III seeks to demonstrate the possible relationships of holiday celebrations to the social studies which will include those cited above as well as some not mentioned. This purpose will be satisfied by relating the goals of social studies to the purpose outlined, identifying the implications of current trends in the social studies for holiday celebrations, and providing examples of specific holidays viewed within a social studies context.

Social studies goals. "The social studies program is focused on the interaction of people with each other and with their human and natural environment."² Democracy as a social system connotes a specific type of human relationship, one which recognizes the value of each individual as a contributing member of the society and one which advocates employing rational means for the cooperative resolution of social problems. The emphases of the social studies in a democracy are upon the relationships among

people, between people and institutions, between people and the environment, between people and values.³ The points of overlap between the goals of the social studies and the aims of education are those elements of human relationships which support the democratic idea, particularly those associated with the ideals of equality, justice, freedom, and human dignity. The content of the social studies is drawn from the social sciences, the humanities, current affairs, and the particular experiences of the students. The present and the past--and, more recently, the future--serve as time frames for study as children investigate their own culture(s) and that (those) of others.

Recent attempts to identify goals are, as Bruce Joyce notes, reflections of three basic approaches to social studies teaching: the intellectual or academic, the social, and the personal. Advocates of the intellectual dimension argue that the major aim of the social studies is to produce students who are knowledgeable in the specific social sciences; emphasis is placed upon the structures of the disciplines (inquiry and data gathering techniques as well as concepts and generalizations). Those who support the social dimension find the purpose of the social studies in developing democratic citizens, citizens of the world, or individuals who can successfully relate on an interpersonal level. Those who support the personal dimension view the

social studies as concerned with fostering the creative and free individual or the development of social attitudes which do not conflict with personal development. Variation exists among the proponents of each of the dimensions and emphasis upon one does not necessarily obviate the others. However, single dimension approaches tend to identify goal statements peculiar to that approach.⁴ The position assumed by the writer is that all three dimensions must be included in identifying goals if the purpose of the social studies is to be realized. The three are included in Shirley H. Engle's statement of this purpose:

The primary concern of Social Studies is the utilization of knowledge. The aim is to improve the process by which citizens use knowledge from the Social Sciences and other sources in making decisions concerning their individual behavior, and concerning questions of public policy.⁵

No single dimension can achieve this over-riding goal; a combination of intellectual, personal, and social goals must be identified if the individual is to become an active and effective participant in a democracy.

An elaboration of specific goals to satisfy these three dimensions would prove to be an endless list, one for which a variety of models have been developed and which reflect a range of generality from the very specific to the very broad.⁶ Because holiday celebrations can be used variously in a social studies curriculum with goals peculiar

to each use, and because of the overlap between social studies goals and the aims cited previously, an articulation of goals does not seem a profitable pursuit. Rather, guidelines for goal selection to facilitate curriculum design for holiday celebrations seems a more appropriate and worthwhile task. The guidelines to be offered are intended to support the democratic idea and its core values; they stem from a position which holds that,

1. The ultimate goal of education in the social studies is desirable socio-civic and personal behavior;
2. This behavior grows out of the values, ideals, beliefs, and attitudes which people hold;
3. In turn, these characteristics must be rooted in knowledge; and,
4. For the development and use of knowledge, people require appropriate abilities and skills. The perpetuation and improvement of our democratic way of life is dependent upon the development of individuals who achieve these goals.⁷

As the guidelines are identified, they will be related to the three dimensions cited above and specifically tied to holiday celebrations; they reflect some of the current trends in social studies teaching.

Social studies guidelines. The National Council of the Social Studies Task Force on Curriculum Guidelines was charged with setting standards for social studies programs (K-12) in November, 1969; selected results of the task force's efforts, published in 1971, will serve as the basis for the analysis to follow. Moving beyond the highly

cognitive emphasis of the 1960's, the Task Force cited knowledge, valuing, thinking, and social participation--all dedicated to human dignity--as components of the social studies.⁸ The guidelines suggested, therefore, are intended to be characteristics of social studies programs founded upon this rationale.

1. The social studies program should be directly related to the concerns of students. This guideline advocates student participation in setting goals and developing activities as well as offering choices to students which address needs and concerns as revealed in their social world. Application of this guideline to holiday celebrations was alluded to in Part 1 of this chapter in the analysis of holiday celebrations as a cooperative venture. Children can, and should be given opportunities to join in the decision-making about how holidays are to be celebrated or studied in light of the nature of the holiday and the composition of the group of children. They may be directly involved in the selection of the best way to express what they have learned and should evaluate the experiences or activities in which they participated. Both of these instances assist criteria development for celebrating as well as give specific experience in facing the consequences of decisions made with opportunities for assessment in light of the future. The holidays to be observed should be representative of the children's needs,

ages, and group affiliations; and, children may even become involved in actually choosing the classroom holiday calendar for the year. Options to pursue particular traditions or customs of various peoples related to the holidays observed may be offered in consideration of children's interests and cultural heritages. All of these possibilities respect the appropriate place of the child in the curriculum by making him a part of its determination rather than imposing it from above. They also offer opportunities to develop skill in decision-making, recognize individual personal needs, and enhance the child's ability to cope with his social and political world by giving him direct experience with its processes.

2. The social studies program should deal with the real social world.

1. The program should focus on the social world as it is, its flaws, its ideals, its strengths, its dangers, and its promise.
4. The program should provide intensive and recurrent study of cultural, racial, religious, and ethnic groups, those to which the students belong and those to which they do not.
5. The program should offer opportunities for students to meet, discuss, study, and work with members of racial and ethnic groups other than their own.
6. The program should build upon the realities of the immediate school community.

The emphasis upon the real social world is an attempt to present a balanced picture between the "good" and the "bad" of society and to avoid idealizing and mythologizing.

Holiday celebrations which find their meaning in the core values can provide an excellent medium for examining enduring ideals as well as analysing their status in contemporary society. The principle of brotherhood underlying the celebration of United Nations's Day, the theme of peace embodied in the Christian celebration of Christmas, and the value of conservation which motivates Arbor Day observances offer occasions for evaluating the significance of these ideals in today's world as well as for exploring ways to achieve them in the future assuming they are and will remain relevant.

The starting point of any holiday celebrations curriculum should be the students own community, both within and without the school. It should also include holidays which are celebrated by children in their homes when appropriate and give recognition to days which honor local heroes. Legitimacy is thus given to the community's cultural groups while the children establish their cultural identities. Holidays which emphasize the children's own experiences offer familiar content for their development of frames of reference related to celebrations. The holidays celebrated should not, however, create an impression of cultural uniformity even if the children represent a single tradition. Exposure to the variety of cultural groups, their customs and values as expressed in holiday celebrations, should be the ultimate goal; this includes

those of non-Western as well as Western traditions. And whenever possible, children should move out into the community as observers/participants in celebrations of ethnic and racial groups other than their own. If direct contact with such celebrants is not possible, teachers are obligated to provide resources and experiences--perhaps role-playing or simulation--to closely approximate such exposure. Familiarity with the holiday celebrations of one's own cultural group and those of others encourages an understanding and appreciation of the values of a culture(s) and promotes a realization of the pluralism of America. Employing these guidelines in planning holiday celebrations programs helps to fulfill the social dimension of the social studies.

3. The social studies program should draw from currently valid knowledge representative of man's experience, culture, and beliefs. The first implication of this guideline which focuses on the intellectual dimension is that information provided must be accurate. This assumes a considerable knowledge about holiday celebrations on the part of teachers and curriculum specialists and necessitates avoiding simplification which promotes myth rather than knowledge. It also places emphasis upon the concepts, generalizations, and theories of the social sciences, including history, which can grow from having accurate information. The disciplines of anthropology, sociology,

and history have particular importance for a holiday celebrations curriculum as their concepts and generalizations are the most pertinent to holidays. By relating holiday celebrations to specific concepts and generalizations identified as part of the structures of these disciplines, the child is able to organize the knowledge gained and to transfer this knowledge to other situations than the specific ones studied or experienced. Concepts such as culture, values, change, freedom, role, family, diversity, heritage, and the past may be expanded and given depth as children observe or study holidays. The direction of the holiday celebrations program may be determined by relating it to one or more of the generalizations from the disciplines. In fact, almost all holidays would fit a framework which was based on either of two generalizations from anthropology:

Every society, at whatever level of development, has formed its own system of beliefs, knowledge, values, traditions, and skills that can be called its culture.

or,

Culture is socially learned and serves as a potential guide for human behavior in any given society.⁹

Repeated encounters with the concepts upon which these statements are based would be necessary before the generalizations could be formed; in the elementary school, only the foundation for their development would be laid. Inherent in a conceptual approach are the application of

methods of inquiry and the techniques for processing data used by the various social scientists. These would be most appropriately employed when holiday celebrations are integrated within a social studies unit as one source of data or analysis.

The guidelines elaborated above were chosen because they address the three dimensions of goal definition for holiday celebrations viewed within the context of the social studies: the personal, the social, and the intellectual. They imply but do not expressly identify specific goals because of the multitude of possible goals which can be assigned to each dimension. The specific goals to be achieved should be determined by the curriculum developer as he matches the content and concepts of the holiday celebration with the particular children who will celebrate or study it; consideration should be given to the developmental level, social composition, and previous experiences of the group before goals are set. It is expected that the goal statements finally chosen will relate directly to the development of understandings, attitudes and values, and skills required for democratic living.

Approaches: special event and integration. Two basic approaches to holiday celebrations as part of the social studies may be identified: first, celebration or study of a holiday or group of holidays per se; and second,

integration of a holiday within a social studies unit whose primary focus is a topic or theme other than the day itself. Each has implications for the types of social studies learnings possible and each can be a valuable experience for children.

The first approach is generally content specific as it relates to a particular holiday or collection of holidays. The informational learnings identified will help children to gain specific knowledge about the holiday(s): customs, traditions, symbols, celebrants, motivations for celebration, and origins if appropriate. In other words, children will study the "who," "what," "where," "why," and "when" of the holiday. In most instances, holidays approached in this fashion are those observed by the children themselves and they would fit into the "Special Event" category. Some of the learnings would be related to those identified in Chapter II about celebrating and man as a celebratory creature, but these along with other learnings should be built into a framework which is derived from concepts and generalizations for the social sciences. An examination of an observance of Halloween will illustrate the nature of such a framework.

Halloween: a special event. Halloween, observed on October 31st, is a holiday of fun and excitement as it is celebrated today. The mystery and festivity surrounding

this holiday allow children to do what is ordinarily not done; fantasy is legitimized as children become other characters and self-indulgence is permitted as children enjoy the rewards of a night's trick-or-treating. Halloween is a celebration whose origins and traditions can be traced to the Druidic New Year's festival in honor of Samhain and the Christian customs associated with the Scotch and Irish observance of All Hallow's Eve. Possible learnings related to the day for upper elementary aged children may emphasize main ideas which focus upon the relationship between the present and the past traditions:

1. Halloween today is a festive holiday of Autumn which is celebrated by children in a particular way.
2. Halloween is a holiday with an ancient religious tradition; the customs we associate with the celebration today are borrowed and have changed over time.

Supporting content for each of the main ideas would be of the informational variety. For the first, the content would identify the specific ways in which the holiday is celebrated today (costumes, foods, symbols, trick-or-treating, parades, stories, songs, UNICEF collections) while that for the second would elaborate the holiday's religious origins (Druidic feast and symbols, Christian holy day and symbols, customs of the Scotch and Irish immigrants to the United States). Concepts related to symbol, superstition, religion, culture, values, needs, and change, might be

emphasized and tied to one of the following generalizations:

History: The affairs of human societies have historical antecedents and consequences; events of the past influence those of the present.

The methods of rational inquiry have increased man's knowledge of the world and greatly accelerated the accumulation of new knowledge.

Anthropology: Although all mankind is confronted with the same psychological needs to be met, the manner in which these are met differs according to culture.

Any of the three generalizations may provide the direction of a Halloween study; each might, however, imply a particular type of investigation and utilization of the data collected. It must also be noted that although children would be expected to be able to articulate the main ideas identified, they would not be expected to derive the generalizations from this study. The results of their efforts would, however, contribute to the formation of the generalization chosen. An appropriate means for sharing what has been learned as well as celebrating the day may be designed by the children in light of their study and consistent with the method of data collection used; thus, children would be provided with opportunities to utilize social skills as well as their cognitive abilities. Of special importance in such a study is the occasion to gain an appreciation for the contribution of ethnic groups to the common culture.

Involvement in a UNICEF drive, with appropriate preparation given to collection procedures and attention to the rationale of the solicitation, can take children beyond their immediate world to gain an understanding of one of the world's pervasive economic problems; emphasis may be placed upon the concept of interdependence and the value of sharing can be highlighted. (One ventures to guess that a relationship between the begging custom of the Scotch and Irish and the collection might even be made.)

Relating a holiday to social studies goals is not intended to eschew its festive aspect. Rather, the purpose is to locate the balance between the excitement generated by the festivity and the genuine satisfaction to be gained from celebrating a holiday which has real meaning for children because they are well-informed. In fact, the children may decide that a festive celebration or re-enactment is the most suitable way to observe Halloween given the purpose and nature of the original celebrations.

The second approach is the integration of a holiday within a social studies unit of another focus. The learnings derived from such an approach should support the major goals of the unit as the holiday will be viewed within a broader framework than its specific observance. Two advantages to this approach are that the concepts required for understanding the holiday can be emphasized throughout the study and the knowledge brought to the

celebration or holiday study makes its observance a more informed one from the start. The goals of the unit are served as holidays are generally graphic demonstrations of the values and customs of a people; re-enacting or role playing a holiday festival may also be an excellent evaluational tool for the children and the teacher in terms of the knowledge gained--or not gained--from the unit's study. Holiday celebrations included as parts of units about the family or the community, for example, can focus upon the roles of family members as well as the variety of days and ways of celebrating which may introduce young elementary children to the composition of their own community and facilitate their understandings of who they are. Special observances of Martin Luther King Day, Washington's Birthday, and Lincoln's Birthday can enhance children's understanding and appreciation of the growth of democracy in this country and might contribute significantly to a unit about our social heritage. An in-depth exploration of the application of this approach to a specific holiday, Thanksgiving, will demonstrate the learning potential and, again, establish the breadth of the relationships between holidays and the social studies.

Thanksgiving: an integrated study. The possible themes for a study of Thanksgiving are many: the first celebration in the colonies, specific ethnic groups and their respective celebrations (Jewish, Moravian, German

Sectarian), Sarah J. Hale and the nationalization of the holiday, contemporary Thanksgiving customs, the Wampanoag "Day of Mourning," the universal harvest tradition of agricultural societies (Israeli, Greek, Chinese, Iroquois, Russian, English). Any of the themes may be developed to achieve social studies goals. The study which will be described below combines three themes; it relates the contemporary celebration and its customs to the first observance at Plymouth via the Wampanoag "Day of Mourning." This study is a part of a unit about Northeastern Indians with emphasis given to the Wampanoag tribe.¹¹ Because it is predicated upon the assumption that the Wampanoag culture is a valid one, both historically and currently, children must be sufficiently knowledgeable about the culture to appreciate this assumption. Children in the middle or upper elementary age groups are the target population. A minimum of one week must be given to the study of the holiday and the number of children involved must be large because of the scope of the study; three groups of about twenty children each would be ideal.

The main ideas which provide the focus of the study are:

1. People can view the same historical event in different, and even contrasting, ways.
2. A person's perspective for evaluating an event is generally determined by his experiences and the values he has learned from his culture.

The concepts included range from the specific people-- colonists, Pilgrims, natives, Wampanoags--to those of greater abstraction such as needs, values, religion, beliefs, roles, symbol, government, and the past. The factual knowledge gained along with understandings and appreciations developed might contribute to a variety of generalizations from the social sciences. A sampling of all of the possibilities is offered to indicate the range of potential associations which might be made with the major ideas of the social sciences:

History: (a) Guidelines for understanding thought and action in contemporary affairs can be derived from the historical backgrounds of society.

(b) The early history of a country has a definite bearing on the culture, traditions, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of life of its people.

Geography: The choices made by people in adapting to or in adapting their environment depends on cultural values, economics, wants, the degree of technological insight as well as on such physical factors as climate, water, soil, and landscape.

Economics: Economic resources can be used in various ways; different nations have developed different economic systems.

Anthropology: (a) Every society, however primitive, has formed its own system of beliefs, knowledge, values traditions, and skills that can be called its culture.

(b) Although all mankind is confronted with the same psychological and physiological needs to be met, the manner in which these are met varies according to culture.

Political Science: The decisions, policies, and laws that have been made for a given society reflect and are based upon the values, beliefs, and traditions of that society.

Every known society has some kind of authority structure that can be called its government; such a government is granted coercive power.

Sociology: Every society develops a system of roles, norms, values, and sanctions to guide the behavior of individuals and groups within the society.

Although the study may contribute simultaneously and unintentionally to the development of any of these generalizations, the two chosen for guiding this particular study are "History-a" and "Anthropology-b." They were selected because the primary purpose of the study is to foster an appreciation of cultural differences which condition perspectives about historical events and subsequent responses to them. Their selection influences the questions to be answered, the concepts emphasized, the mode of inquiry, and the resources consulted.

Time and space limit a day-by-day description of the unit's development, but a summary of the major activities undertaken is necessary to relate the study to the guidelines identified earlier. Two initiating activities are planned to establish the set for the study: a survey of what children already know about the first Thanksgiving and to elicit questions they would like addressed, and a film-strip viewing to raise additional questions about the

accuracy of portrayal of both cultures. The former is intended to involve children in the goal setting for the unit and the latter provides sufficient information for children to hypothesize about how the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims might have felt on the occasion of their first joint harvest celebration.

Study groups are formed based upon children's interests and backgrounds; general topics for investigation include the Pilgrims, the Wampanoags, and Thanksgiving as a celebration. Within each group, topics for study will be chosen by the children and the topics combine the questions raised by them on the survey and the discussion following the filmstrip as well as ones the teacher believes will make the study complete and support the generalizations chosen. The Thanksgiving group seeks information about how the celebration has changed by studying the people, foods, activities, and motivations for the "First" and the contemporary celebrations (the latter should include interviews of friends, family, neighbors, and teachers). They also investigate the symbolism of the specific foods of the celebration and the relations between the colonists and the Indians prior to the First Thanksgiving. The other two research groups explore the same topics for their respective cultures: basic needs and their satisfaction, family structure and roles, education of children, religious beliefs, political organization, and attitudes toward

land. A variety of resources including books, pictures, primary sources, literature, filmstrips, and taped interviews with living Wampanoags are available. Children determine the most efficient use of their time and manpower (with guidance from the teacher if necessary), the types of resources needed to answer their group's questions, and the best way to share the data gathered with children in the other groups.

Upon completion of the collection and preparation of data, the information is shared in the format determined by each of the groups. The original question related to Wampanoag and Pilgrim feelings is discussed again, or role-played, to demonstrate that new or additional information often changes the way we view events and people. The shared survival needs of both groups at the time of the First Thanksgiving are introduced and analyzed to emphasize that the potential for friendly relationships between the two cultures existed. The question is then posed about how the children feel about Thanksgiving today and how they think the Wampanoag's feel about the day. Selections are read or listened to about the first "National Day of Mourning" sponsored by some members of the Wampanoag Tribe (ideally, a tribe spokesman would present the Indian point of view to the children); this element of the study provides the children with the reality of the current social issue. Time must be allowed for children to react to this

observance and to then pursue its reason for being. (The EDC Match Kit about the Wampanoag's contains an excellent slide/tape packet which relates the conflict between the Indians and the English following the First Thanksgiving; it presents a fairly balanced picture). Care must be taken not to impose a burden of guilt upon the children who celebrate Thanksgiving because of the actions of their ancestors. At the same time, attention can be given to the attempt of the Native Americans to recapture their heritage and their rightful place as contributors to the American culture. A balanced approach will help children to begin to understand that people can view the same things differently and that both perspectives may have validity. The application of this principle to their own social interactions should, once they are able to generalize it, assist in the resolution of problems.

This rather lengthy elaboration of an approach to the study of Thanksgiving has been undertaken to indicate the significant learnings inherent in holiday celebrations when viewed as part of a social studies unit. It has incorporated many of the guidelines suggested by the NCSS Task Force for the identification of goals related to the three dimensions of the social studies:

Personal: students should be involved in the formulation of goals and activities; students should be given options and choices fitted to their needs.

Social: the program should deal with the social world as it is (its ideals and flaws); the program should provide for intensive study of racial, ethnic, and religious groups as well as direct contact when possible (groups should be the same as well as different from their own).

Intellectual: the program should draw upon the concepts, generalizations, theories, and methods of inquiry of the disciplines; the program should provide balance between the past, present, and the future; the program should include the study of man's achievements as well as events and practices contrary to current national goals.

It has attempted finally, as throughout this entire section, to demonstrate that by entertaining the many possible relationships holiday celebrations hold with the social studies, teachers can provide experiences for children which go beyond the special day observance of little consequence and contribute in a significant way to the child's understanding of himself, his culture, and the social world of which he is a member.

Summary. By emphasizing the relationship of holiday celebrations to the values of society (liberty, equality, justice, and human dignity), this chapter has established the link between holidays and educational goals in a democracy. Operating from the premise that the negative potential of holidays related to individualism and change can be held in check, the dispositions for effective participation in a democracy which can be supported by appropriate holiday observances have been delineated:

appreciation of present privileges in light of historical origins, the development of rational loyalty, the promotion of individual growth through the realization of self and of society through a commitment to diversity, an appreciation of the common cultural heritage including its religious and aesthetic traditions, and the development of reflective behavior. By viewing the social studies as an area which promotes the "enhancement of human dignity through learning and commitment to rational processes as principal means of attaining that end,"¹² as well as the subject matter area which best supports content and organizing ideas about holidays, the second part of this chapter isolated guidelines to be used in the development of holiday curricula in the elementary school. It also related those guidelines to the three dimensions of the social studies: the intellectual, the personal, and the social. Two models of holiday celebrations were offered to illustrate both the Special Event approach and the Integration approach along with the learnings for children implicit in each. The second half of the chapter also sought to negate the minimal claims often made for the purposes of holiday celebrations in the elementary school.¹³

The two sections together make a definite statement about holiday celebrations: Holiday celebrations contain the potential to make a significant contribution to the development of dispositions required to undertake the

difficult task of sustaining democracy. The entire chapter focuses upon the society as the second data source in the development of a conceptual scheme for decision-making about holiday celebration; the dispositions described will assume added importance as the next chapter examines the influence of the learner upon curriculum design related to holidays.

Footnotes - Part 1

¹John Dewey, Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. (The Free Press: New York, 1946, c.1916), pp. 100-10.

²R. S. Peters, Ethics and Education. Keystones of Education Series. (Scott, Foresman and Company: Oakland, N. J., 1967), pp. 27-30.

³Educational Policies Commission, Policies for Education in American Democracy. (National Education Association: Washington, D. C., 1947), p. 66.

⁴R. Freeman Butts, Education Summary, (February 1, 1974), p. 5, in Richard C. Remy, Lee F. Anderson, and Richard C. Snyder, "Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools," Democracy In Education: Theory Into Practice. 15 (February, 1976): 32.

⁵ASCD 1979 Yearbook Committee, "A commentary on the Dilemma of Goals in American Education," Lifelong Learning: A Human Agenda. Norman V. Overly, chairperson and editor. (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development: Alexandria, Virginia, 1979), p. 48.

⁶President's Commission on National Goals, Goals For Americans. (The American Assembly, 1960), p. 3, cited in Rena Foy, The World of Education: An Introductory Text. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 64.

⁷Educational Policies Commission, p. 174.

⁸ASCD Yearbook Committee, pp. 73-74; James Boyer, Rudolph E. Waters, Frederick Harris, "Justice, Society, and the Individual," Improving the Human Condition: A Curricular Response to Critical Realities. James John Jelinek, chairperson and editor. (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development: Washington, D. C., 1978), pp. 175 ff.

⁹See selected articles about rituals intended to promote ideological acceptance or to legitimize political organizations in Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., Secular Ritual. (Van Gorrum: Assen/Amsterdam, The Netherlands), 1977.

¹⁰Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Ma., 1969), p. 71.

¹¹Sir Percy Nunn, Education Its Data and First Principles. Cited in Leslie M. Brown, ed., Aims of Education. (Teachers College Press: New York, 1970), p. 9.

¹²For an analysis of the implications of such change and its effect upon education, see Shirley H. Engle and Wilma S. Longstreet, "Education for a Changing Society, Improving the Human Condition", pp. 226-59.

¹³John Dewey, The Public and Its Problems. Cited in William K. Frankena, Three Historical Philosophies of Education: Aristotle, Kant, Dewey. (Scott, Foresman and Company: Chicago, 1965), p. 156.

¹⁴Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 325.

¹⁵Educational Policies Commission, p. 251.

¹⁶Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education and Other Essays. (Macmillan Company: New York, 1929), p. 14.

¹⁷Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 217.

¹⁸Sidney Hook, Education For Modern Man. (Dial Press: New York, 1940), p. 24 and p. 88.

¹⁹Maxine Greene, "An Approach to the Constitution of Democracy," Theory into Practice, p. 20.

²⁰Hook, p. 119.

²¹The assumption is that the society recognizes the importance of the individual and does not oppress or make such prescriptive demands that individual fulfillment is impossible. As noted in a Committee Reflection statement by the ASCD 1979 Yearbook Committee: "It is through society that a person's identity emerges, but only if the powers exerted by society over the individual do not oppress her autonomy and ability to create and modify the values of her society. One must be able to deal with society's concerns and demands effectively so that the needs of one's own self-fulfillment may also be honored." (p. 20)

²²Hook, p. 7.

²³Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 120.

²⁴Horace M. Kallen, Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea: An Essay in Social Philosophy. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1956), p. 73.

²⁵Hook, p. 11.

²⁶Geneva Gay, "Curriculum Design for Multi-cultural Education," Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, and Applications. (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development: Washington, D. C., 1977), pp. 95-96.

²⁷James A. Banks, Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies. (Allyn and Bacon, Inc.: Boston, 1975), p. 86. (The writer is aware that holiday celebrations would only be one contributing factor in the attainment of an understanding of diversity and, therefore, should not be the only vehicle used to realize this aim.)

²⁸The Michigan Department of Education offers goal statements related to concepts associated with cultural pluralism such as: (1) the society in which we live is multi-ethnic; (3) similarities and differences are a basic condition of American life; (4) the individual in American society has the resource of ethnicity as a basis for the realization of self-worth. These understandings are cited in William C. Miller, "Fostering a Commitment to Cultural Pluralism," Educational Leadership. 34 (December, 1976): 224.

²⁹Betty Atwell Wright, Educating for Diversity. (The John Day Company: New York, 1965), pp. 83-85. Examples of intergroup goals offered: (1) appreciation of human similarities and differences; (2) utilization of techniques that exemplify the best traditions of true democracy; (9) belief in judging others on their individual merits and abilities, without stereotyping because of race, religion, nationality, or socio-economic status. (p. 83)

³⁰Howard F. Stein, Robert F. Hill, "The Limits of Ethnicity," The American Scholar. 46 (Spring, 1977): 187.

³¹James A. Banks, "The Implications of Ethnicity for Curriculum Reform," Educational Leadership. 33 (December, 1975): 172.

³²Kallen, pp. 95-100.

³³Mark Krug, The Melting of the Ethnics: Education of the Immigrants, 1880-1914. (Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation: Bloomington, Indiana, 1976), p. 15.

³⁴Nathan A. Scott, Jr., "The Broken Center: The Crisis of Values in Modern Literature," in Rollo May, ed., Symbolism in Religion and Literature. (George Braziller: New York, 1960), p. 183.

³⁵Greene, p. 21.

³⁶Hook, p. 108.

³⁷Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 120.

³⁸James A. Banks, "Cultural Pluralism and the Schools" (editorial), Educational Leadership. 32 (December, 1974): 166.

³⁹Scott in May, p. 183.

⁴⁰Overly, ed., p. 85.

⁴¹Clyde Kluckhohn, "Education, Values, and Anthropological Relativity," in Richard Kluckhohn, ed., Culture and Behavior: Collected Essays of Clyde Kluckhohn. (Free Press of Glencoe: New York, 1962), p. 277.

⁴²Rollo May, "The Significance of Symbols," in May, ed., pp. 24 and 33.

⁴³W. Lloyd Warner, The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans. (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1959), pp. 231-34.

⁴⁴Robert R. Spillane, "I Wish the Grinch Would Steal All The Holidays," Teacher. 92 (October, 1974): 11.

⁴⁵Shirley H. Engle and Wilma S. Longstreet, "Education for a Changing Society," in Jelinek, ed., p. 232.

⁴⁶Educational Policies Commission, Moral And Spiritual Values in the Public Schools. (National Educational Association: Washington, D. C., 1951), pp. 77-78.

⁴⁷See Chapter II for an elaboration of the potential learnings in studying about religious holidays and an analysis of the constitutional requirements for their observance in public schools.

⁴⁸Educational Policies Commission, "The Purposes of Education in American Democracy" (1938) in Policies for Education in American Democracy. Massachusetts Board of Education, Education Goals for Massachusetts. (Department of Education: Boston, 1971).

⁴⁹Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 238.

⁵⁰Greene, p. 21.

⁵¹Engle and Longstreet, p. 231.

Footnotes - Part 2

¹John U. Michaelis, Social Studies for Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments. 3rd edition. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: New Jersey, 1963), p. 205 ff. and Dorothy Fraser, "Current Affairs, Special Events, and Civic Participation," in John U. Michaelis, ed., Social Studies in Elementary Schools. 32nd Yearbook. (National Council of the Social Studies: Washington, D. C., 1962), p. 131 ff.

²John U. Michaelis, Ruth H. Grossman, Lloyd F. Scott, New Designs For Elementary Curriculum and Instruction. (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1975), p. 322.

³Ibid.

⁴Bruce R. Joyce, New Strategies For Social Education. (Science Research Associates, Inc.: Chicago, 1972), pp. 13-26.

⁵Shirley H. Engle, "Exploring the Meaning of the Social Studies," Social Education. 35 (March, 1971): 284.

⁶For examples of specific goals and models of goal statements, the reader is referred to Michaelis, Social Studies ... Democracy, pp. 7-10; John Jarolimek, Social Studies in Elementary Education. Fifth Edition. (Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.: New York, 1977), pp. 5-8; Arthur K. Ellis, Teaching and Learning Elementary Social Studies. (Allyn and Bacon, Inc.: Boston, 1977), p. 17.

⁷National Council of the Social Studies, "The Role of the Social Studies" (1962) in John Jarolimek and Huber M. Walsh, eds., Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education, 3rd Edition (Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc.: New York, 1974), p. 33.

⁸National Council of the Social Studies Task Force on Curriculum Guidelines, "Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines" (1971) in Jarolimek and Huber, pp. 9-13; the individual guidelines cited will not be separately footnoted. The reader is referred to the original source for a complete list of the guidelines.

⁹John Jarolimek, Social Studies in Elementary Education, 4th Edition. (Macmillan Company: New York, 1971), Appendix A "Organizing Ideas from the Disciplines," pp. 514-518. All generalizations included in this section are from this source.

10 Because of the elaboration of learnings related to social skills cited in the first part of this chapter, emphasis will not be placed on them here.

11 The generalizations from the unit which will be supported by the holiday study include: (1) The art of many cultures is rooted in every day life and practicality; (2) Myths, legends, and celebrations often are devoted to explaining the origin of a culture and its practices; (3) Not all change is progress. What benefits one group may hurt another; (4) Stereotyping is a simplistic view of a people and therefore inaccurate; (5) Contact with another culture results in changes in social institutions.

12 NCSS Task Force in Jarolimek and Huber, p. 13.

13 Jarolimek in Social Studies in Elementary Education (5th Edition) represents this attitude: "The chief contribution that holiday observances can make to the education of young children is to acquaint them with their rich cultural heritage and help them grow in their appreciation of it." (p. 151)

C H A P T E R I V

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS AND THE LEARNER: THE THIRD DATA SOURCE

Introduction

The third data source in the articulation of a rationale is the set of value statements related to the learner and the nature of the learning process. The learner is the referent from whom the value derived from the subject matter and the society gain meaning and significance. Values related to the learner have direct bearing upon the objectives identified and the activities designed to satisfy those objectives. They also influence the role of the teacher as well as the teaching strategies or instructional methods chosen. The view of the child in this chapter is that espoused by developmental psychologists (e.g., Piaget, Kohlberg, Bruner, Elkind) who support an interactional theory of cognitive growth. Learning, according to the proponents of this position, is the development of mental structures which are "the product of the patterning of interaction between the organism and the environment, rather than a direct reflection of either innate neurological patterns or external environmental patterns."¹ The first part of this chapter will be devoted to a

description of the developmentalist position with particular emphasis placed upon Piagetian principles of learning. The implications of this theory of cognitive development for a celebrations curriculum will be delineated. Because moral development is so closely related to cognitive growth as well as an area of learning associated with holiday celebrations as viewed in this paper, it will be the focus of the second half of this chapter. An analysis and evaluation of pertinent aspects of Kohlberg's theory of moral development will be presented to establish the relationship between holiday celebrations and moral education. The total chapter identifies the considerations related to the learner which the curriculum developer must address such as which holidays to observe/study and what learnings to emphasize.

Holiday Celebrations and Conceptual Development

Childhood. Childhood, according to the developmentalists, is a "biologically useful phase whose significance is that of progressive adaptation to a physical and social environment."² Granting legitimacy to this phase recognizes the child as an entity unto itself with a nature and psychological constitution peculiar to it. It rejects the view of the child as a "mini-adult" along with the notion of inheritance of mental structures. It recognizes the intellectual and moral structural differences of the

child and the adult while acknowledging that the two function in a similar fashion. Both are active and are motivated by need or interest; both are striving for a state of balance between their deductive structures and the data gained from experience or acting upon objects. The child's reasoning, however, does not match that of the adult as it often achieves coherence despite viewing the external reality from its own perspective and judging as absolute characteristics which he will ultimately realize are relative. The child's logical structures or reasoning schemes are developing and therefore subject to variation and inconsistency.³ Childhood, then, is a period of genuine construction of increasingly adequate logical structures which should eventuate--but not in the romantic sense*--in mature reasoning abilities. This view of childhood signifies the importance of finding the match between the child and educational experiences in terms of content, instructional modes, and conceptual requirements of tasks. It also highlights, according to Elkind, the need to find adequate means of communicating with the child: how to understand what he is saying and to respond in a manner which is meaningful to him.⁴

Because the child begins formal schooling with his own ideas derived from his previous experiences, education must assist the modification of existing ideas as well as

*Romantic sense refers to the "unfolding" principle of maturation.

add new ones; the process involves helping the child to unlearn, relearn, and acquire new learnings. This view of the child also sees him as a knowledge-seeking creature by nature--one who is learning all of the time--and, therefore, educators must design curricula which are sufficiently flexible to allow for the child to proceed at his own pace and according to his own rhythm. Finally, the position assumed by the developmentalists is that the child as learner is part of an ongoing life process of learning which progresses from an egocentric to a socio-centric view of the world and reality. Much of this process occurs during the elementary years and appropriate experiences must be provided for the child to make the necessary transformations which will allow him to view the world from an objective framework.

Elements of the developmental process. The section which follows will identify the salient elements of the developmental theory as outlined by Jean Piaget.⁵ Special attention will be given to the characteristics of the concrete operational stage of development because it encompasses the majority of the elementary school years and thus has significant ramifications for a holiday celebrations curriculum. The final portion of this section will address these ramifications.

A definition of cognitive structure will help to

establish the context of the following analysis: cognitive structures are "rules for the processing of information or the connecting of events" which allow the child to make sense of his world and to establish his identity.⁶ These structures are continuously and progressively formed through the interaction between the subject and the external world. The "rules" which are developing relate to such things as forms and classifications, relations and correspondences, conceptions of space, time, and number, as well as those of causality and propositions.

Integration and substitution. Mental growth, as described by Piaget, occurs in two different ways, integration and substitution, and not merely by the addition of new facts. Integration is the process of forming a newer and higher level of conceptual understanding which integrates two lower levels. These lower level conceptions form the building blocks of the more mature understanding; the latter is, therefore, not a substitute for the former. Most of the ideas which develop from this process relate to logical or quantitative coordinations, e.g., measurement and perspective. The principle of integration occurs according to a sequence which operates in an upward spiral toward the development of more elaborate and differentiated conceptual understandings. The progression results from repeated encounters with the same problem at various levels

of development. Knowledge for the child, then, becomes more than the accumulation of information and skills; it also includes concepts or understandings which are neither right nor wrong but developing.⁷

Substitution as a process of mental growth occurs when the child replaces one idea with a more mature one. There need not be any logical or causal connection between the old and new idea except that the latter conforms more accurately with the commonly accepted notion held by society. Unlike integration, the process of substitution does not eradicate the less mature idea; the primitive or naive viewpoint may re-appear. Ideas of a biological, sociological, or psychological significance are the ones which generally develop according to the principle of substitution. Concepts related to morality, magic, consciousness, and religious identity are formed by this process.⁸

Both processes connote a readiness factor and have a direct relationship to time as duration and time as sequence. In other words, development follows a timetable which reflects the characteristics of the child's structures. Training or other experiences will not advance reasoning if the child has not begun to move in that direction already. This does not mean that the background or conditions to foster progress cannot be laid; it does, however, reject acceleration. The sequence noted conforms

to the characteristics described by the theory of developmental stages. The entire process of the child's progressive ability to distinguish between appearance and reality (egocentric to sociocentric view) results from the growth of new mental structures which allow for the organization of experiences in new modes. This change, according to Piaget, results from the appearance of reasoning or operational thought at about age six to eight. Although at the concrete level of thinking, the child is able to think about things and is not restricted to acting upon them. He has not, however, moved to the point of generalizing in abstract terms; this process occurs at the formal operational level.

Before describing the process of constructing new mental structures, a brief presentation of Piaget's theory of learning is required. Denying the copy theory of learning (the mind copies, as does a photographer, what exists in the outside world and the learner becomes a passive recipient of experience), Piaget posits the theory that it is the child's actions upon the world which change the nature of the experience. Reality is thus formed by the child's mind as it organizes and transforms the experiences.

The main point of our theory is that knowledge results from interactions between the subject and object, which are richer than what the objects can provide by themselves....

The problem we must solve, in order to explain cognitive development, is that of invention and not of mere copying.⁹

Knowledge, therefore, is not given in the object; it results from the interactions of the subject and the objects and the transformations which result therefrom.

The construction of mental structures. The construction or invention of mental structures which derives from the subject-object interaction occurs in a two way process: assimilation of the object to the subject's structures and accommodation of the structures to the data gathered from the object or experience. The two are complementary and occur gradually and simultaneously as a result of repeated interactions with the environment. Assimilation occurs when the individual organizes the object or event from his environment into existing cognitive structures; meaning is derived from the existent structural system and, therefore, only objects which fit the conceptual framework--the concepts and patterns of relationships already developed--can be imbued with meaning. Accommodation, on the other hand, is an adaptation of the existing structures to the environment and can occur only when the new phenomenon or experience does not fit the schema of the individual. When there is no balance between the internal structures and external reality, a state of dis-equilibrium results and assimilation can not initiate

behavior. The subject can successfully deal with this cognitive conflict or contradiction by accommodation which involves an analysis of the difficulty and the reorganization of cognitive structures to locate the match or equilibrium between the internal and external forces.¹⁰ Assimilation and accommodation are complementary aspects of cognitive adaptation, as stated by Flavell, and should not be conceived as distinct and separate.¹¹ Both are present in any cognitive act and as a total process are repeatedly enacted throughout the child's cognitive development. Although gradual, the process is dynamic and constitutes the growth of thought.

The equilibrium point or equilibration process for Piaget is the central factor of development. He notes that the classical notions of maturation, physical experience, and social interaction (the educative factor) all contribute but are insufficient explanations of cognitive development as the formation of dynamic structures. "The equilibrium (between assimilation and accommodation) is to be defined as a compensation of exterior disturbances through activities of the subject oriented in the contrary direction of these disturbances."¹² It is this factor which intervenes in the interaction of the internal and external forces. Equilibration operates throughout the developmental process and is characterized as a sequential control functioning to increase the probability of continued

development. It becomes the final phase of a dialectic process which is ongoing in nature and allows for the life-long process of learning. Achieving the state of equilibrium is the dynamic part of the auto-regulatory, or self-correcting, process derived from the state of need and leading to the invention of new structures.

Holiday celebrations and the developmental process. The most obvious and direct implication of the developmental process of cognitive growth for a holiday celebrations curriculum is the latter's organizational structure. It should be arranged in a spiral fashion similar to that for a science curriculum described by Bruner: ". . . instruction. . . should begin as intellectually honest and as early as possible in a manner consistent with the child's thought. Let the topics be developed and re-developed in later grades."¹³ The curriculum should be so arranged that the child is offered repeated opportunities to encounter concepts at increasingly more complex and abstract levels throughout his school years. Such a structure will provide for the assimilation-accommodation-equilibration process to become operative. Further, it will allow for the development of more adequate structures as the child will build upon previous experiences to develop structures employing the process of integration.

The concept map presented in Chapter II is organized to illustrate the elaboration of concepts and relationships in a hierarchical fashion, one which proceeds from concrete elements of specific celebrations to the more abstract frame which allows for the formation of generalizations about holiday celebrations. Cumulative treatment of holidays, according to the map, would allow the child to move beyond the characteristics of specific holidays to identify the common elements of all celebrations and to eventually derive the functions they serve. Such a process links the study of celebrations to basic ideas about the nature and behavior of the human species and encourages the child to generalize beyond it eventually.

Of particular import in this process is diagnosing the child's conceptual development and planning learning experiences accordingly. Careful planning is required if communication with the child is to be at a level consistent with his level of thought and to foster consolidation or advancement beyond that point. A state of cognitive conflict which is premature or too far advanced does not promote equilibration; it is, instead, dismissed or overlooked by the child. For example, to study the Christmas celebrations customs of foreign countries which have no relation to those of the six or seven year olds in this country is most apt to result in negative attitudes about the customs of other peoples as children at this stage

still retain a rather ethnocentric world view. But, to study about customs which find their origin in other countries and are practiced by children in the age group as described in Chapter II, will help children in the decentering process to realize that the customs are not reserved as their private province. Such learning promotes the development of concepts which are not idiosyncratic and derived from appearance; it promotes the development of the sociocentric view of reality.

Grade placement. Another element of the development process is the readiness factor. When applied to the observance or study of holidays, it suggests particular guidelines related to grade placement. The first implication is that some holidays, or certain aspects of them, are too cognitively complex to be the focus of study for young children; for this reason, they should be reserved for the time when their significance can be matched to the cognitive maturity of the children. Most patriotic holidays whose importance relates to their historical significance fit into this category. The observance of Washington or Lincoln's Birthdays or Martin Luther King Day before the age of eight or nine is to ask an unreasonable cognitive stretching for most children between the ages of five and seven. Concepts of present time are just developing for these children and time in the past is a rather nebulous

concept (for some, it is yesterday or last week or "when I was three" but not centuries ago). To understand the significance of these figures requires not only the ability to deal with the past but also with abstract concepts related to equality, freedom and justice. In order to celebrate these special days, the young child must be presented with a rather flat two-dimensional impression of the men which belies an appreciation of them as struggling human beings with both strengths and weaknesses. At most, such holidays should be discussed if the children bring them up and then from a concrete base: pictures to show what they looked like, specific symbols of familiarity to the children which denote their importance, contemporary modes of celebrating to honor them, and appropriate stories which present them realistically, perhaps stories of their youth with which the children might identify. Such an approach allows the primary child to assimilate the specific information to his existing structures and to begin to form a knowledge base from which the process of accommodation may eventually operate. The general guideline is that the holiday must be able to be made meaningful in the child's terms. Reserving the study of such figures, as noted above, and observance of their holidays for children between nine and eleven seems more appropriate as they are able to cope with historical time and the ambiguities of human nature.

The seasonal and festive holidays are generally a part of children's experiences at all ages. As such, they offer the opportunity for repeated encounters throughout the elementary years to expand breadth and depth of understanding over time. At the younger ages, the children can be introduced to the customs, traditions, symbols, and meaning of the day as it is currently celebrated. When possible, celebrations related to social studies units (family, community perhaps) will provide a framework for viewing the significance of the holiday and actual participation in a celebration will enhance understanding about the concept of celebration per se as well as the specific day observed. Returning to such holidays at the middle and upper elementary ages will allow for the elaboration of concepts related to the holiday which are built upon previous experiences. A modification of a suggested observance of Arbor and Conservation Day presented by Michaelis will illustrate the progressive treatment of a holiday:

Primary Ages: Introduction to the natural environment with a focus upon trees. Concepts related to plant growth, uses of wood, the purposes of trees in natural environment might be emphasized. Activities and experiences related to nature walks, caring for plants, and observing wood being used will provide the data of experience for concept formation.

Middle Ages: Emphasis upon the value of trees (commercial, recreational, decorative) as well as the role played by trees in the conservation

process. Investigation of different kinds of trees and types/uses of wood they provide along with synthetic woods and substitutes. Activities might include visiting lumber mills or wood manufacturing plants as well as reforestation projects. Also included would be library research and guest speakers along with field trips to see the uses of trees.

Upper Ages: Emphasis upon current problems related to wood use specifically and the larger issues of conservation and environmental protection. Concepts and generalizations related to the balance of nature and man's role in maintaining that balance will be the focus. Historical investigation of conservation problems of the past and their solutions as well as the origin of the day can become part of the study. Activities related to the problems--actual involvement in local campaigns--can become the focus of experiences at this level along with efforts to develop nature trails and become involved in community conservation projects.¹⁴

At each level in the school, appropriate celebration could be planned consistent with the focus of the level and the maturity of the group. School-wide programs of tree planting might become part of the total effort. Most significant in this approach is the elaboration and differentiation of concepts and experiences which build one upon the other and promote increasing cognitive sophistication and the approach at each level which seeks to match the cognitive requirements and types of experiences planned to the developmental level of a particular group of children. The seasonal and festive holidays perhaps best fit into this form of the spiral curriculum.

Children's interests. One element of the match between child and curriculum, referred to in previous chapters, is worthy of mention again as it relates directly to communicating with the child in a meaningful way. This is the child's own interest and excitement about holidays he celebrates. Legitimizing the excitement and capitalizing upon the intrinsic motivation expressed by the child will allow for energies to be appropriately channelled (see Chapter II for specific examples). To deny or overlook the child's interest is a failure to respond to him at his level and perception of what is real.

Cognitive conflict. Included within the spiral curriculum should also be opportunities for the invention of new mental structures by means of cognitive conflict leading to equilibration. Such opportunities may range from generalized understandings by which the child realizes that not all people celebrate in the same ways to an understanding of the psychological need of all people to celebrate or more specific understandings about the origins of holidays or the transformations in their mode of celebration over time. The articulation of an approach to the study of Thanksgiving for middle elementary children presented in Chapter III is an example of one in which the potential for the equilibration process to be realized, or at least begun, is presented. Since Thanksgiving is a day generally included in the school holiday calendar, children

of eight or nine are usually familiar with its ritual features and have some knowledge about its origin and significance. The mental schemes most likely developed would relate to a conception of the holiday as one generally celebrating the communal feast of the settlers and the Indians at Plymouth. Therefore, new information and concepts would be assimilated to this existent structure. When first confronted with the Wampanoag "Day of Mourning" as new data of experience, children will face a cognitive conflict which cannot be assimilated to their original concepts and understandings. A reorganization of structures is called for to reach the state of equilibrium by adapting or accommodating to the new data. This is a rather gross description of the process and it must be recognized that the new structures would not be developed immediately unless the child were already in a transitional stage regarding his understandings about the relations between the Indians and the Pilgrim settlers. Opportunities for cognitive growth of this type can be particularly effective among older children who can both understand the values expressed by specific holidays and analyse their status in contemporary society.

Activity. The reflexive activity described above highlights another of the implications of the developmental process, that of activity. Activity as conceived by the developmentalists is sufficiently broad to include working

with manipulative objects as well as mental operations. (It contrasts with receptive learning which is the transmission of knowledge from the adult to the child.)

Piaget describes the range of active learning in the following way:

. . .it has been finally understood that. . . although the child's activity at certain levels necessarily entails the manipulation of objects and even a certain amount of actual physical groping, insofar as elementary logico-mathematical notions, for example, are derived, not from objects manipulated, but from the actions of the child and their coordination, that at other levels the most authentic research activity may take place in the spheres of reflection, of the most advanced abstraction, and of verbal manipulations. . .15

The essential ingredient is that the child be actively engaged in the study at an appropriate level which provides for the coordination of actions and thus the development of intellectual operations. It is perhaps obvious that one cannot learn to celebrate without doing so; but to learn about the nature of celebration in its more global sense, repeated opportunities are necessary so that the series of actions may be coordinated to develop a functional, as opposed to a merely verbal, understanding of the concept. For specific holidays not celebrated but studied about, the activity of role-playing may become the primary active mode of learning about the celebration. Beyond overt bodily activity is the more subtle and often unconscious activity of the mind which responds to

cognitive stimulation through questioning or controversy. This type of activity often finds its expression in research investigations which can, when shared, promote others to coordinate their mental operations with the researcher. This social dimension leads to reflexive activity among all of the participants. The activity suggested, therefore, is of two types: that which involves the child in actually celebrating or role-playing a celebration and that which engages his mind in the discovery of broader and deeper understandings promoted through investigation or study and the sharing of ideas.

The concrete operational child. The child during his elementary school years passes from the pre-operational stage to that of concrete operations and ultimately begins the transition to the formal operational period of development. Cognitive development throughout the concrete operational stage allows the child to move beyond egocentric thought patterns into the more adequate sociocentric view of the world. Because this change has significant implications for the child's social and moral development--the focus for the last part of this chapter--emphasis will now be given to some of the characteristics of thought of the concrete operational child which affect his ability to cope with holiday celebrations curricula.

Classification schemes. The primary difference between the pre-operational child and the concrete operational child is that the former's thinking is dominated by immediate perceptions with all the variations attendant upon such a view while the latter's is dominated by reasoning reflective of specific mental operations; i.e., the physical actions of the pre-operational child become the internalized mental operations of the concrete operational child. The development of logical groupings by the child between seven and eleven has significance for holiday celebrations observed in the elementary school. The concrete operational period begins as the child is able to form classes and series mentally or on the representational plane. Children at this stage are able to form a hierarchy of classes, to create an order of succession (assemble relationships which denote differences; e.g., line up in order of height), employ the operation of substitution (equal relationships using different sub-groups, e.g., different combinations of coins to equal same sum), employ the principle of reciprocity typical of symmetrical relationships (e.g., two brothers are brothers of each other), logical multiplication of classes and series, and to establish a one-to-one correspondence between two asymmetrical groups through a transformation of the relational correspondence (e.g., a family tree of fathers and sons in which relationship between brothers is symmetrical

and between father and sons is assymetrical).¹⁶ Because one of the criteria for logical thinking is the ability to deal with multiple classifications and relationships, the development of classificatory schemes is an important step in the child's cognitive development. As the child in the concrete operational stage moves beyond single attribute classification toward the addition and multiplication of classes, he is able to appreciate that objects can have many attributes which enhances understandings related to the complexity of the environment.

Classification and stereotypical thinking. The importance of the refinement and elaboration of categorization schemes in a holiday celebrations curriculum is its contribution toward the achievement of goals related to understandings about the shared and unique qualities of individuals. In order for a child to view a behavior or value which is different from his own in a positive way, he must be able to appreciate it as but one attribute among many possessed by an individual or a culture. If he cannot move beyond the single attribute identification, he is apt to develop a stereotypical perception which negates genuine understanding. The awareness that an object has many attributes,

. . . provides the child with a broader range of information about events, and reduces the amount of stereotyped thinking. To illustrate, if we think of a Negro only as black, or of a

Catholic in terms of his religion, or of the Chinese in terms of their politics, we are thinking of them in terms of only one attribute. . . . Stereotyped thinking exists when classifications are based on a limited number of attributes. But when the child looks upon every object, every event, and every person as containing many attributes, it suggests to him that no one member is fixed in any particular class, but that it can be in any number of classes, depending upon the critical attribute.¹⁷

Such an appreciation of class relativity allows the child to gain perspective about the unique or different features of a culture or ethnic group by conceiving of it as but one way to look at the group and realizing that classification by other attributes will allow the group to be viewed from another perspective. Studying Martin Luther King as a black hero and also seeing him in the broader context of supporters of democratic ideals important to all Americans is a specific example of the application of multiple classification. Teaching strategies as part of a holiday celebrations curriculum should be designed to facilitate the development of such objective categorization schemes as we encourage children to appreciate the significance of diversity within a unified structure. Because multiple classification along with the total of groupings cited above take time to develop and are fairly mature strategies (probably about age nine before they become readily functional), teachers will need to consider the logical groupings abilities of their children to determine if the

content of the holiday to be celebrated requires particular classification abilities to satisfy the goals and objectives set. Also, by introducing children to the variety of celebratory modes and special days of particular peoples, opportunities can be provided for children to expand their classificatory schemes.

Egocentric to sociocentric views of the world. The maturing of classification schemes has a direct relationship to the concrete operational child's view of the world, his egocentricity. His mastering of classes, relations, and quantities allows him to hold two dimensions in his mind at the same time and thus to hold symbol and referent in mind simultaneously as well as to distinguish between them. The lack of the ability to differentiate between subject-object interactions is characterized by Piaget as egocentrism; the cognitive developments of the concrete operational child make initial differentiation possible and move him to a new level of egocentrism. As Elkind indicates, the egocentrism of the child between ages seven and eleven is the result of his new-found ability to reason from hypotheses and assumptions; it is, in fact, his inability to distinguish between his own hypotheses and assumptions and empirical evidence which contradicts them. "It is this lack of differentiation between assumption and fact that constitutes the egocentrism of the concrete operational period."¹⁸ This

"brand" of egocentrism often results in the child making the facts fit the hypothesis rather than altering it. It is difficult for the child at this stage to reason clearly from the perspective of others although he would be able to perceive another's point of view; he is not yet ready to evaluate his own hypotheses. Piaget's research revealed that until a child reaches the beginning of formal operations, his thought is essentially subjective and he is incapable of objective thought:

. . . until the age of 11-12 children were incapable of entering sufficiently into the point of view of their interlocuters to be able to reason correctly about the latter's beliefs, i.e., that they were incapable of reasoning from pure assumptions, of reasoning correctly from premises which they did not believe in.¹⁹

Piaget's studies related to projective geometry indicate that it is during the concrete operational stage that this "global construct" develops.²⁰ Two stages are noted: one of simple operations in which the child is rooted to his own viewpoint which can change and a second in which the child completes the construction of perspectives and is able to construct those of others.²¹ The dual aspect of perspective is the most significant for holiday celebrations curricula as it indicates that a child can only view himself as related to, and coordinated with his view of others. To restrict the holidays observed to only those with which the child is familiar, therefore, would not promote

recognition of his identity. It is only as he compares/contrasts himself (behaviors and values) with others that the child becomes aware of who he is. And as he begins to understand his perspective or world view, he will begin to appreciate that other individuals may view the world differently. It must be recognized, however, that the child is not operating at an abstract or propositional level; he is still confined to thinking about concrete data and he focuses upon behaviors and not ideas. He is able to make simple generalizations of existing structures to new content. Piaget describes the stage as follows:

But then, as it gradually comes to understand others in the same way as itself, and to subject its will and its thought to rules whose coherence is sufficient to make such an arduous objectivity possible, it succeeds simultaneously both in emerging from itself and in becoming aware of itself, in other words of situating itself from the outside among others while at the same time discovering both its own personality and that of everyone else.²²

One of the direct benefits of the coordination of viewpoints is the child's ability to engage in cooperative ventures and to work successfully in a group. Once the child is able to separate his point of view from that of others, and simultaneously recognizes the viewpoints of others, collaboration becomes possible. In its most obvious respect, such collaboration and cooperation is essential if children are to plan and participate in holiday celebrations per se or the study of celebrations in

which learnings are shared. A more subtle but equally important consequence is the effect of this change upon the child's view of himself and others from a social and moral vantage point.

Holiday Celebrations and Moral Development

The relationship between holiday celebrations and moral development is in some instances quite obvious and in others more subtle. On the one hand, the content of some holidays--the reasons for celebration--commemorate specific principles which inform decisions on the moral plane. On the other hand, the identity of self in relationship to the similar and different others of society helps to define the milieu in which moral decisions are made, tested, and gain their meaning. The combination and simultaneity of these two aspects of holiday celebrations make their observances in schools potential contributors to the moral development of children. The moral domain as used here refers to the realm of decision-making which guides human actions, the values, principles, and ideals upon which intelligent decisions are made. The position supported is not one of inculcating values but teaching about values and teaching children to think about values in order to develop principles by which they will direct their lives. (Inculcation or indoctrination is rejected because of its support of non-reflective acceptance of

values.) It is assumed that the core values cited in Chapter III contain meaning for contemporary American society, however, as they form the philosophical foundation of democratic living which to date remains, in general, the accepted form of communal association in this country.

Piaget and moral development. There are two levels of moral thinking expressed by the elementary-aged child according to Piaget: the morality of constraint (heteronomous stage) and the morality of cooperation (autonomous stage). Although both may exist at the same age or even in the same child, the former is generally characteristic of the early elementary child while the latter is most evident in the middle and upper elementary child. The morality of cooperation replaces the morality of constraint "as the child gains many experiences of reciprocal respect and sympathy with peers."²³ Piaget views the change as one of moving from a position of the blind acceptance of authority to one of an authority of equals derived from rational and mutual agreement. Thus, emphasis upon peers replaces that placed upon adults in the earlier stage and the concept of the center of control shifts. Of particular significance to this study is the change which occurs in the concept of justice. Whereas the young child functions primarily according to the "letter of the law" and

views any transgression as worthy of punishment, the older child is able to consider the "spirit of the law" as he reflects upon intent when assessing actions or outcomes of behavior. As Piaget concludes, ". . .older children hold strongly to the conviction of a distributive justice based on strict equality and a retributive justice which pertains to intentions and circumstances rather than to the actions themselves."²⁴ This concept of justice implies a higher level of moral reasoning than that of submission and derives from cooperation and mutual respect among children. Holiday celebrations which promote an understanding of this principle of justice (Independence Day), therefore, can contribute to the child's movement from the morality of constraint to that of cooperation. The importance of carefully selecting holidays which reflect the variety of children in a group is clearly indicated also, for as Piaget writes, "There is mutual respect when two individuals attribute to each other equivalent personal value and do not confine themselves to evaluating each other's specific actions."²⁵ In order to achieve equivalent personal value, each child must have knowledge about himself and the others with whom he cooperates. Holiday celebrations, as stated earlier, offer particular insights about the celebrants which fosters respect and understanding.

Piaget's research relative to moral development and reasoning serves as a foundational base, along with the work of Socrates and Dewey, for Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development which articulates a more elaborate stage sequence than that designed by Piaget but retains philosophical consistency with that designed by the Genevan psychologist. Because of the relationship between cognitive and moral development as espoused by Kohlberg-- and this writer's view that they are inseparable--attention to his theory of moral development will provide the focus for the oast part of this chapter. An overview of the theory will be provided with attention given to selected aspects which have significance for holiday celebrations in the schools. The writer recognizes that Kohlberg's analysis requires broader and more reliable empirical evidence as well as a stronger case to support its philosophical or formal adequacy. Despite these concerns, the theory does provide a model for moral education with development as its primary aim.²⁶

Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Kohlberg's theory is based upon three fundamental ideas: structural organization, developmental sequence, and interactionism.²⁷ The major concern or interest of the developmentalist is the structural organization of the problem-solving strategies; i.e., the cognitive structuring of the child's

world as he organizes and regulates social experiences. Attention is given to what stimulates the child to respond, how the stimuli are organized into categories, concepts, and images, and what principles or operations are employed to resolve problems and plan a course of action and response. The acceptance of this orientation implies that moral education programs should be aimed at identifying the structural organization of the child and providing opportunities for the continued development of these organizational structures. The latter should ultimately lead to more adequate concepts and approaches which can be applied toward the effective resolution of problem situations.

Developmental sequence. The developmental sequence, like Piaget's, is the ordering of cognitive development into identifiable stages of ever-increasing differentiation and integration of these structures. Each succeeding stage is an elaboration of the preceding one. The movement through stages is more than an additive process as it is a restructuring and displacement of the previous one; the new stage is, therefore, qualitatively different from the previous one. Movement also follows an invariant sequence since the lower stage is a prerequisite of the higher stage. The latter is a more adequate form of reasoning and allows for coping with problems of greater scope and

complication. As one progresses through the stages, therefore, he becomes capable of synthesizing more and different information which is then organized into an integrated framework from which problems may be analysed. Kohlberg has identified three basic levels of moral judgment which contain two substages of development:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. Moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards.</p> | <p>1. Obedience and punishment orientations. Ego-centric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.</p> <p>2. Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.</p> |
| <p>II. Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others.</p> | <p>3. Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior and judgment by intentions.</p> <p>4. Authority and social-order maintaining orientation. Orientation to "doing duty" and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.</p> |

III. Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights, or duties.

5. Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.

6. Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but principles of choice involving appeal to logic, universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.²⁸

Level one, the Preconventional, includes most children under ten, some adolescents, and many adolescent and adult offenders; level two, the Conventional, includes most adolescents and adults in our society and other societies; level three, the Post-conventional, includes a minority of adults and is generally reached only after ages twenty to twenty-five. The aim of education becomes one of facilitating development through the stages; this does not imply acceleration which seems an impossibility given the cognitive structural development required by specific moral stages.

Interactionism. The process by which the child develops his structures is the third fundamental idea, interactionism. The child's cognitive structures are essentially

formed from his interaction with the environment. He develops certain ways of thinking about his world as he notes certain regularities in his environment. When faced with a new experience for which previously developed structures are inadequate, the child seeks a reorganization of existing structures. Once reorganization has occurred, the new structure or way of thinking becomes incorporated within the person's repertoire. The interactionist principle indicates, then, that stage movement or advance results only when a discrepancy between existing structural organizations and environmental experiences occurs. In moral education, sufficient opportunities for cognitive stimulation of this sort must be provided. Kohlberg has suggested that one of the most effective methods for attaining this stimulation is confrontation by a moral dilemma accompanied by reasoning one stage above the individual's level of moral judgment. Presumably an accompanying state of disequilibrium will result which when resolved--after a series of encounters--should yield a higher level of moral reasoning.

Justice. The hierarchy of stages set forth by Kohlberg is ultimately tied to the principle of justice. As one proceeds through the stages, the concept of justice is continually expanded (differentiated and integrated) until by stage six it becomes the essence of principled

morality which determines, or is prescriptive, of the "right" in any given situation for any person. Kohlberg assumes, based on his research, that justice is a universal principle and essentially arises from the role-taking opportunities offered by particular institutions, societies, and cultures. Justice is a principle of "equal and universal human rights." It is not a rule of action but a mode of choosing. Kohlberg maintains that,

A moral principle is a principle for resolving competing claims, you vs. me, you vs. a third person. There is only one principled basis for resolving claims: justice or equality. Treat every man's claim impartially regardless of the man. A moral principle is not only a rule of action but a reason for action. As a reason for action, justice is called respect for person.²⁹

The function of the schools, thus, becomes the teaching of the value of justice by being just institutions. The implications of Kohlberg's theory for holiday celebrations curricula are the same as those for the developmental classroom in many ways: the atmosphere or climate of the classroom, the role of the teacher, the child's moral reasoning levels, and the process to be employed to foster moral development.

Holiday celebrations and moral development in the classroom.

The classroom environment must be one which is just, one in which the members express mutual trust and respect. An atmosphere must be created in which each individual feels

valued by both peers and teachers and believes that the learning enterprise is a joint responsibility. Choices must be offered to children, in accord with their ability to make them, which allow for them to become responsible for the consequences of their actions. For example, children might be given opportunities to devise the holiday calendar of the group, to design the modes of celebration and area of study related to specific holidays, and to develop (with guidance) the criteria for evaluating the success of their efforts. The last becomes particularly important as children gain an increasingly sophisticated understanding about the nature of celebration and the various ways in which to celebrate. For this to happen, children must have sufficient experience, and therefore knowledge, about alternative modes of celebration so that appropriate decisions can be made and children will be in a position to evaluate. The classroom also must be one in which children can comfortably and positively discuss their beliefs and values. This implies that the teacher expresses interest in, and understanding of particular lifestyles of the children and that children are able to listen to the opinions of others as well as express their own. The classroom discussion about Chanukah and prayer quoted in part in Chapter II could only have occurred in such a classroom environment. For any of these conditions to work successfully, time and opportunities to develop a

sense of group identity and responsibility must be provided. Experiences of shared projects to which all contribute as well as group problem solving facilitate the creation of a climate conducive to the free exchange of ideas.

Role of the teacher. The teacher's role, as already implied, is of critical importance; the teacher becomes a facilitator of development rather than the developer. By being knowledgeable about developmental theory and understanding how the particular group of children reason and view their world, the teacher sets the parameters of decision-making consistent with the developmental levels of the children and provides experiences which either stretch or broaden their reasoning and understanding. This particular ability must be applied to the types of holidays celebrated as well as to the value principles emphasized. To focus the observance of Martin Luther King upon his efforts to ensure equal rights for all people would be an appropriate choice for middle elementary children. But, to focus on the legitimacy of his civil disobedience would be cognitively premature for this age child as he is still very much tied to the belief in legal prescription. A match must be found between the child's form of reasoning and the curricular content; this is particularly important for religious and patriotic holidays which often locate

their significance in beliefs and principled positions.

Cognitive dissonance. The teacher's role assumes additional significance as the process by which moral reasoning structures develop is explored. Kohlberg's interactionist position supports cognitive dissonance or the moral dilemma as the primary means of stage advance. Again, the child's level of moral reasoning will in large measure determine how a child will respond to the moral dilemma and should be a prime consideration in the types of dilemmas presented. The young child's egocentricity will particularly affect his ability to view the dilemma from another's point of view; but as the child begins to decenter and to develop mutual respect, the dilemmas can become an effective means for clarifying and expanding moral judgments. Holiday celebrations offer a number of possibilities for the type of dialogue which Kohlberg views as essential for development. It can grow out of actual classroom issues related to what and whose holidays will be celebrated or from the content of the holiday observed or studied. The following examples will serve as illustrations of this point:

Halloween: emphasis upon pranks and mischief as they relate to property and life (the safety of each); e.g., can one have fun and play pranks for their own sake since it is a day for children's mischief?

Emphasis upon the poor and needy of the world as related to the UNICEF drive; e.g., is it just for some of the world's people to have so much while others are unable to feed themselves? (Reserve for a mature group of children).

Valentines Day: emphasis upon classroom card giving; e.g., should each person in the group give a card to everyone or just to his friends?

Christmas: emphasis upon the Christian tradition as a celebration of only one portion of the world's population; e.g., should there be so much emphasis upon Christmas in the media (television, newspapers, magazines, and radio) given that only one group celebrates the holiday? Should gifts be exchanged in the classroom given not all children celebrate the day?

Washington's Birthday: emphasis upon Washington as the "Father of Our Country;" e.g., does Washington deserve this title in light of the fact that he was a slaveholder? How does one reconcile the fame of Washington who was a slaveholder and Lincoln who signed the Emancipation Proclamation to free the slaves?

Independence Day: emphasis upon the separation of the Colonies from the mother country to assert their independence; e.g., how can we justify the disobedience of the colonists in light of King George's mandates?

It is assumed that children would study the holidays in other ways than the emphases noted above to provide a sound informational base for discussion, but the questions related to the emphases cited would relate to moral issues and offer opportunities to hear points of view. The teacher must take care not to view these questions as mandating a correct answer and be able to recognize the levels of

reasoning and offer higher stage thinking when appropriate, particularly if it is not forthcoming from the children. The teacher must also be able to ask penetrating questions to get children to clarify their opinions and to explain their reasoning. Most elementary children, according to Kohlberg, would only be in the first two stages of level one and would not be able to perceive the moral conflicts, except perhaps those which arose from direct classroom experiences. They would be operating from absolute authority positions. The stage assignment does not, from the writer's experience, appropriately match the levels of reasoning for elementary children. Based upon the writer's work with eight to twelve year olds, it would appear that children are more cognitively mature than Kohlberg's research illustrates. And, until a broader empirical base of data is provided, Kohlberg's assessment of moral reasoning levels at particular stages must be questioned.

Social role-taking. A more useful stage sequence for teachers may be one related to social role-taking as it applies to moral development. This suggestion is offered for two reasons: first, it is a less complex diagnostic tool than Kohlberg's stage identification sequences as outlined in the scoring manual (it is questionable whether teachers without specific training could assess moral reasoning levels as outlined by Kohlberg); and second, it identifies the stages of development for

elementary age children by taking the perspective of others which, as both Piaget and Kohlberg assert, is a necessary pre-condition for moral development. The process involves aiding children to see others as themselves but different in respect to specific thoughts, values, feelings, and perceptions of the world; included also is the ability to see oneself from the perspective of others. Before identifying the specific stages and their relationship to holiday celebrations, an overview of Kohlberg's conception of the place of social role-taking in the moral developmental process will be presented.

Kohlberg hypothesizes an isomorphism between the development of intellectual (or logical) and moral (or ethical) judgment. His research indicates that the characteristic form of moral stages is parallel to a corresponding form of logical stages. This does not imply, however, that moral judgments merely necessitate the application of cognitive structures to a moral situation:

We believe moral development is its own sequential process rather than a reflection of cognitive development in a slightly different content area. . . . While moral stages are not simply special applications of logical stages, logical stages must be prior-to moral stages, because they are more general. In other words, one can be at a given logical stage and not at the parallel moral stage, but the reverse is not possible.³⁰

A partial explanation for the difference between the two offered by Kohlberg is the "affective-volitional components"

of moral judgment. An individual may operate in the moral realm from will or desire which intrudes upon moral reasoning. The cognitive and affective aspects are both ingredients of any mental process; the quality of the latter is determined, in large part, by the cognitive developmental structure. Both perspectives constitute part of the child's conceptions of the moral order.

A more adequate explanation of the difference, according to Kohlberg, is the "social role-taking component." Because moral concepts are essentially those of social relationships within the context of social institutions, "social cognition and judgment differ from cognition of physical objects because it involves 'role-taking.'"³¹ It necessitates reacting to others in relation to one's self as well as determining one's behavior from the perspectives of others. The opportunities for role-taking provided by a particular environment account for the variations between intellectual level and moral judgment level. Kohlberg cites research findings to support his contention that there is a strong correlation between opportunities for role-taking and moral development.³² Kohlberg also notes that an implication of the role-taking is that concern for welfare consequences are included in moral judgments.

Justice, or reciprocity and equality, then, is also a part of the primary experience of role taking in social interaction. . . and we believe

it is the component of justice which is central to the cognitive-structural transformation of role taking involved in movement from stage to stage.³³

This central relationship between role-taking and the sense of justice leads Kohlberg to the conclusion about the necessity for participation in just institutions. Such just institutions would be those in which children participate in decision-making through the discussion of moral issues. The other basic mode of behavior characteristic of just institutions would be the moral discussion classes similar to those designed by Fenton and Kohlberg for secondary schools and the Guidance Associates filmstrip series for elementary schools. Neither approach, in this writer's opinion, is an adequate method to promote moral development as they make moral education a "discipline" and separate it from its essence, daily life in a classroom or school. Other problems are evident in the materials themselves, but a discussion of them is not pertinent to this study.

The cognitive dissonance required for moral development, as noted above, results from one's own point of view being confronted by that of others who hold different points of view. Thus, the self, others, and their relationships become the essential content, although Kohlberg would not call it such, in the process of moral development. Holiday celebrations by their nature encompass this

subject-matter and, therefore, provide the data of experience by which children can identify who they are as well as in what ways they are similar to and different from others. The teacher's role is critical as he must establish the conditions as well as provide the experiences which allow for such role-taking to occur. If a mutuality of respect and reciprocity of views is to result, children must have experiences in viewing the world from the perspective of others.

Children must be exposed to celebratory traditions and the beliefs from the broader world community, particularly when the community of the school reflects a single tradition. It also necessitates devising a holiday calendar which is representative of the total school community, one which reflects all ethnic and religious orientations. It must be added that not all representative holidays need be celebrated each year; to do so would, in some cases, mean every day would be a holiday observance. What is intended is that the school's holiday curriculum over a period of years will respect and honor the major holidays of its community and that children will become familiar with the variety as they proceed through their elementary years.

In designing curriculum, the social role-taking stages identified by Sellman may prove more useful than

Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning as the former articulates a progressively differentiated view of the development of the child's reasoning as it relates to interactions of the self with others.³⁴

SOCIAL ROLE-TAKING STAGES

Stage 0 - Egocentric Viewpoint (Age Range 3-6)

Child has a sense of differentiation of self and others but fails to distinguish between the social perspective (thoughts, feelings) of other and self. Child can label other's overt feelings but does not see the cause and effect relation of reasons to social actions.

Stage 1 - Social-Informational Role-Taking (Age Range 6-8)

Child is aware that other has a social perspective based on other's own reasoning, which may or may not be similar to child's. However, child tends to focus on one perspective rather than coordinating viewpoints.

Stage 2 - Self-Reflective Role-Taking (Age Range 8-10)

Child is conscious that each individual is aware of the other's perspective and that this awareness influences self and other's view of each other. Putting self in other's place is a way of judging his intentions, purposes, and actions. Child can form a coordinated chain of perspectives, but cannot yet abstract from this process to the level of simultaneous mutuality.

Stage 3 - Mutual Role-Taking (Age Range 10-12)

Child realizes that both self and other can view each other mutually and simultaneously as subjects. Child can step outside the two-person dyad and view the interaction from a third person perspective.

(The Stage 4 - Social and Conventional System Role-Taking is not presented as it relates to children beyond elementary school age.)

These stages would be helpful in selecting holidays appropriate to particular ages as well as the emphases at specific levels for a holiday included in a spiral curriculum. It should be clear from the table of stages that before age six, little understanding of religious holidays (perhaps patriotic and ethnic should also be included) is possible as no link is established between reasons and social actions. Ritual activities of particular peoples may be viewed, therefore, as strange and alien for the child at this stage. By stage one, similarities and differences in religious holiday rituals may be identified and assumed to derive from the other person's point of view. Stage two social role-taking would allow the child to assess the religious ritual actions in terms of another's purpose and intention; and by stage three, he would understand that both he and the "other" perceive each other's perspectives from a subjective and objective stance. This latter stage of reasoning empowers the child to accept the religious frame of reference and to hypothesize about the thinking and feelings of others in light of his (the subject's) opinions, values, and actions. The general conclusion to be drawn from this scheme of role-taking is that the religious content of holiday celebrations is best

introduced around stage two and held for analysis of its implications for behavior until about stage three. At earlier stages, focus should be upon what is done--and not what is commemorated--as particular religious groups celebrate their respective holidays.

The content of moral development. The emphasis upon form in Kohlberg's theory leads to minimizing content as it is traditionally conceived and, thus, a restricted view of moral education. For Kohlberg, content is the choice in the conflict or dilemma situation and the choices remain indeterminate in specific dilemma situations (Kohlberg does not appear to see value in assessing or pursuing alternatives to dilemmas already resolved). This position is understandable in light of his admonitions against indoctrination of values and his support of the importance of cognitive stimulation for moral reasoning. Missing from his theory is an adequate development of conceptual knowledge required for moral reasoning to occur. Yet, one can infer a content element in Kohlberg's thinking.

The general content, as noted above, is the self, others, and their relationships. More specific content might arise from moral issues or values such as social norms, roles, life, property, or truth;³⁵ and some might grow out of the concerns (self-interest, altruism, motives, conscience, rules, role-taking, justice) as outlined in the Moral Stage Scoring Manual.³⁶ Although acknowledging the

importance of learning this content at the lower levels of the hierarchy, Kohlberg does not indicate except through cognitive adequacy how the content is acquired at the higher stages. It would seem that an understanding of the value of human life, for example, as prior to that of property necessitates more than cognitive development. Certain concepts and understandings, as well as generalizations, are required so that a moral judgment can be made. It is knowledge of this type which one would choose to describe as the content of moral education. If this expanded definition of moral education is accepted, then holiday celebrations assume even greater significance. The inclusion of such content allows for a broader interpretation of the moral life, one which includes getting "'on the inside'" of what is worthwhile as R. S. Peters affirms. Moral education, thus, includes study in depth and breadth in areas which inform us about the conditions of man and enlarge one's perspective. And, the pursuit of concrete examples helps to promote freedom of choice by offering alternatives which can be critically examined. Thus knowledge or content is added to a commitment to what is worthwhile, or the pursuit of the 'good'.³⁷

Since the development of reciprocity is one of the primary ingredients of the concept of justice, children must be offered experiences to recognize the equality of rights of all individuals. An important part of this

recognition, and perhaps its most significant aspect, is the establishment of one's identity in relationship to others and the recognition of both. Holiday celebrations, as noted earlier, contain the potential to satisfy this requirement of the development of reciprocity. They can promote the understanding of every person as a person regardless of his specific beliefs or values which establish his membership in a particular group(s). Understanding the general psychological necessity and functions of celebration as a characteristic of all men despite their particular modes of celebration promotes this generalization. Plumbing the depths of reasons for celebrating also contributes to an understanding of the general struggles of all civilizations, including the contemporary, against nature and time. Identifying the values which impel various peoples to celebrate emphasizes the enduring and universal themes which inspire celebrations. These are all examples of the ways in which a celebrations curriculum can contribute to the development of reciprocity or the understanding of people as people. Inherent in such an understanding is specific content which can then be employed to construct generalizations.

The study and observance of specific holidays can highlight the core values of democratic living, as noted in Chapter III, which also serve as the content of moral education. In order for children, or adults for that

matter, to act in ways which are consistent with the principles of equality, justice, and human dignity, they must understand these principles and be able to apply them to concrete situations. They must also be able to employ them in evaluating the consequences of their actions and those of other members of their societies. Learnings related to these concepts can be emphasized through the observance/study and celebration of holidays. Children's understandings can be enhanced through their discovery of how the actions of others were determined by these values and through their assessments of the status of the values in today's world. It is possible, therefore, to view moral education as more than reasoning as described by Kohlberg and to include a specific content element.

Summary. This chapter has established the relationship between the developmentalists' view of the learner, and therefore the learning process, and a holiday celebrations curriculum. Arising from the Piagetian conception of childhood as a valid stage of growth during which the young child develops increasingly mature cognitive structures or schemes, emphasis has been placed upon communicating with the child at his level and providing experiences which will promote the transformation from an egocentric to a sociocentric view of the world. Particular attention was given to the development of classificatory

schemes during the concrete operational period as they provide the basis for the coordination of viewpoints-- establishing one's own identity in relationship to others-- which results in an understanding of the self as well as an appreciation of the validity of viewpoints which contrast with one's own. Ultimately these realizations lead to an understanding that unity can be derived from diversity, a necessity for the cooperative resolution of social problems in a multi-ethnic and cultural world. The specific implications of the developmentalist position for holiday celebrations in elementary schools include the following:

1. Curriculum should be organized in a spiral fashion which provides for repeated encounters with the same holidays throughout the elementary years; new concepts should be developed as children proceed through the curriculum and they should be built upon those previously formed; concepts should become increasingly more complex and abstract as the child progresses through the curriculum.
2. Grade placement of holidays and the content emphasized should be determined by the match between the children's developmental level(s) and the cognitive requirements signified by the holiday. Some holidays, particularly religious and patriotic, are probably best reserved for middle and upper elementary aged children while seasonal and festive holidays are appropriate for all ages.
3. When selecting holidays for celebration/study, children's interests should be one of the major criteria.
4. An activity approach is warranted, one in which children have opportunities to coordinate the data of experience with previously formed

concepts; activity includes overt action as well as mental stimulation. The primary object of the activity should be concept development.

5. Cognitive conflict related to holiday content and concepts should be part of the study as it promotes the development of new structures and leads to the operation of the process of equilibration.

The position presented in the second half of the chapter supports the school as an institution of moral education. Viewed as a social institution which makes choices for students, the school cannot avoid this role and, therefore, should carry out this function in a purposeful manner. A particular approach has been urged, therefore, one which seeks the development of moral reasoning at increasingly more refined levels of judgment. It denies the use of indoctrination as it supports the rational discovery or invention of moral reasons for action. Following Kohlberg's model, implications related to the classroom atmosphere, role of the teacher, children's reasoning levels, and the cognitive dissonance process for development were related to holiday celebrations. Although the process outlined by Kohlberg appears to be a necessary condition of development, it is not a sufficient one as viewed by this writer. Equally important is the content or product of the reasoning which will be tested in social action. The content of holiday celebrations--the self, others, their relationships, and the

core values of democracy--were suggested as subject-matter to fill this void. Holiday celebrations pursued as an important part of the curriculum can provide the content as well as the occasion to employ the process which contributes to the development of the child's moral reasoning.

Footnotes

¹Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer, "Development as the Aim of Education," Harvard Educational Review. 42 (November, 1972): 457.

²Jean Piaget, Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child. (Viking Press: New York, 1971), p. 153.

³Ibid., pp. 153-166.

⁴David Elkind, Children and Adolescents: Interpretative Essays on Jean Piaget. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1970), p. 84.

⁵The writer acknowledges the varying opinions of psychologists about Piaget's theories, particularly his research samples. The reader is referred to the following sources for examples of critical assessments: Robert S. Siegler, "The Origin of Scientific Reasoning," in Siegler, ed., Children's Thinking: What Develops? (Laurence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers: Hillsdale, New Jersey, 1978), pp. 109ff; and John H. Flavell, Cognitive Development. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1977), pp. 240-49.

⁶Kohlberg and Mayer, p. 457.

⁷Richard I. Evans, Jean Piaget: The Man and His Ideas. (E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.: New York, 1973), pp. xxvii-xxx.

⁸Elkind, Children and Adolescents, pp. 37-43.

⁹Jean Piaget, "Piaget's Theory," in Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology. Edited by P. H. Mussen. (John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1970), pp. 703-32.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 706-710; and Jean Piaget, The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic Psychology. (Grossman Publishers: New York, 1973), pp. 70-72, 82.

¹¹Flavell, p. 6-11.

¹²Jean Piaget, "The Genetic Approach to the Psychology of Thought," in The Development of Thought: Equilibrium of Cognitive Structures. (Viking Press: New York, 1977), pp. 468-77.

¹³Jerome Bruner, The Process of Education. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Ma., 1977), p. 54.

¹⁴This elaboration is based upon activities suggested by John U. Michaelis, Social Studies For Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments. 3rd edition. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: New Jersey, 1963), pp. 198-200. The concept emphases are not suggested in his presentation.

¹⁵Piaget, Science of Education, p. 68.

¹⁶Ruth M. Beard, An Outline of Piaget's Developmental Psychology for Students and Teachers. (Mentor Book: New American Library, Inc.: New York, 1972), pp. 95-100. For a detailed explication of the logical groupings, the reader is referred to John H. Flavell, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget. (D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.: Princeton, New Jersey, 1963), pp. 172-98.

¹⁷Irving E. Sigel, "Social Studies Strategies Derived from some Piagetian Theories," in Peter H. Martorella, Social Studies Strategies: Theory Into Practice. (Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.: New York, 1976), p. 75.

¹⁸Elkind, Children and Adolescents, p. 55.

¹⁹Jean Piaget, Judgement and Reasoning in the Child. (Littlefield, Adams, and Co.: Totowa, New Jersey, 1969), p. 133.

²⁰Jean Piaget and Barbel Inhelder, The Child's Conception of Space. (W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.: New York, 1967), pp. 209-10.

²¹Ibid., pp. 210-43.

²²Piaget, Psychology of the Child, p. 175.

²³Richard K. Jantz and Trudi A. Fulda, "The Role of Moral Education in the Public Elementary School," Social Education. 39 (January, 1975): 25.

²⁴Jean Piaget, Six Psychological Studies. (Vintage Books: New York, 1967), p. 57.

²⁵Ibid., p. 55.

²⁶Although Kohlberg's theory contains weakness and is incomplete, it is a more acceptable approach than that proposed by Simon and Rath's "Values Clarification." The latter is useful as a determiner of motivations for acting; but, because of its apparent total support of ethical relativity, it seems to promote gratification of desires and not a principled morality. For critical analyses of Simon's and Raths' approach, see John S. Stewart, "Problems and Contradictions of Values Clarification," pp. 136-151; and Alan L. Lockwood, "A Critical View of Values Clarification," pp. 152-170, in David Purpel and Kevin Ryan, Moral Education. . . It Comes With the Territory. (Phi Delta Kappa Publication, McCutchan Publishing Corporation: Berkeley, California, 1976).

²⁷James K. Rest, "Developmental Psychology as a Guide to Value Education," Review of Educational Research. 44 (Spring, 1974): 241.

²⁸Lawrence Kohlberg, "Education for Justice," in TheodoreSizer, ed., Moral Education: Five Lectures. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Ma., 1970), pp. 71-72.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 69-70. .

³⁰Lawrence Kohlberg, "From Is To Ought," in Theodore Mischel, ed., Cognitive Development and Epistemology. (Academic Press: New York, 1971), p. 187.

³¹Ibid., p. 190.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., p. 192.

³⁴R. Selman, "Social-Cognitive Understanding: A Guide to Educational and Clinical Practice," in T. Lickona, ed., Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 309; cited in John R. Meyer, Reflections on Values Education. (Wilfrid Laurier University Press: Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1976), p. 120.

³⁵Ibid., p. 166.

³⁶Lawrence Kohlberg, Moral Stage Scoring Manual, Part I, pp. 3-80 (mimeographed pages).

³⁷Richard S. Peters, "Concrete Principles and Rational Passions," in Sizer, ed., Moral Education, p. 45.

C H A P T E R V

A HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The preceding chapters have delineated the primary foundational data sources for decision-making related to a holiday celebration's curriculum. Each focused upon one of the three major components of a rationale: subject-matter, society, and the learner. Combined they provide the foundation upon which a conceptual framework can be built and outline the considerations which curriculum developers must address if holiday celebrations are to be observed/studied in a meaningful way.

This final chapter presents the conceptual framework in its entirety and will emphasize the roles of both conventional wisdom and funded knowledge upon curricular decisions. It will provide the starting points for curriculum development but will not prescribe the curriculum per se. The components of the framework will be identified and related to the levels of decision-making. An example of a holiday curriculum will be presented to demonstrate its utility and to bridge the "gap" between theory and practice. Recommendations for further study and research

will be offered along with a summary of the major conclusions of the investigation.

The Conceptual Framework

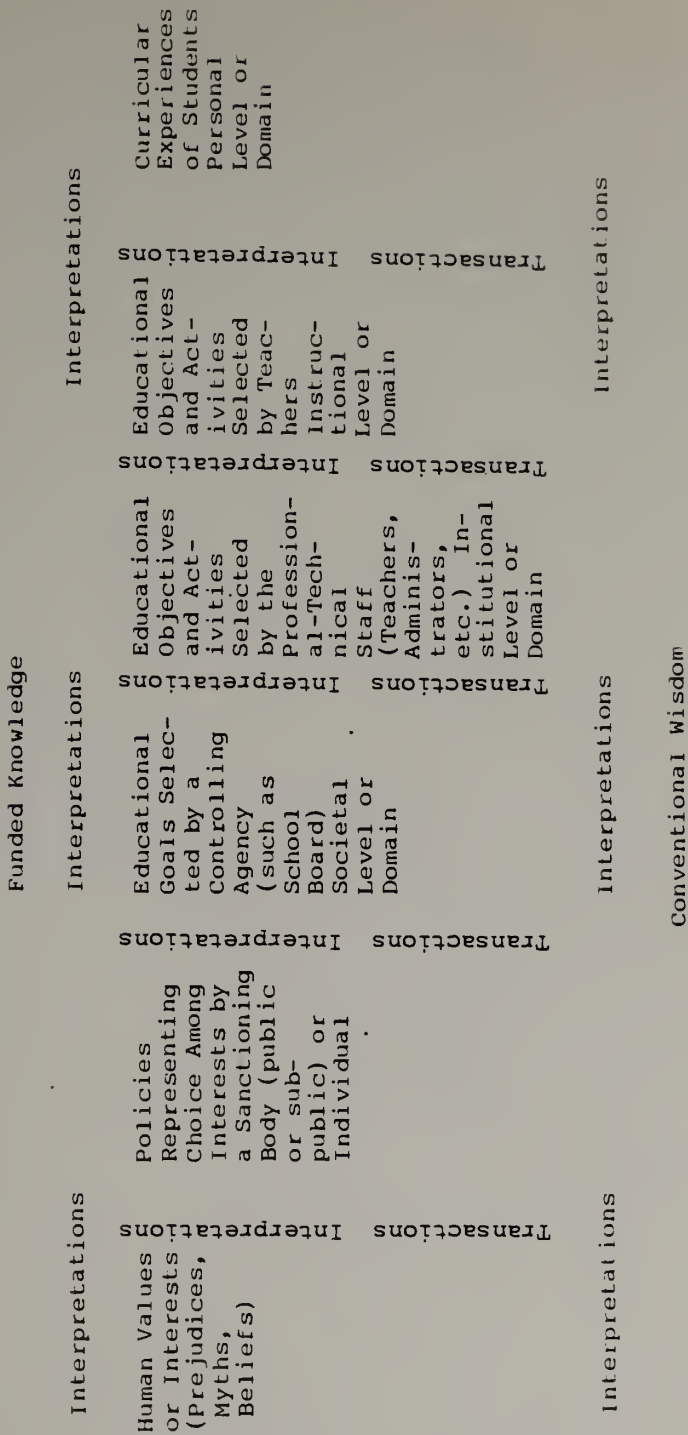
The conceptual framework to be identified is derived from John Goodlad's model designed in 1964 to deal with problems of curriculum and instruction and its revised version in 1979.¹ The framework as viewed by Goodlad can be used as either a descriptive or a prescriptive model but not both simultaneously. The revision of the earlier model reflects the increased emphasis of the socio-political and experiential (or personal) aspects of decision-making as reflected in curriculum practice of the sixties and seventies. He envisions a trend toward an increased emphasis upon the substantive elements of decision-making (Tyler's emphasis upon goals, learning experiences or activities, organization and evaluation). The conceptual framework as designed by Goodlad and his associates along with an analysis of the levels of decision-making will be presented prior to the identification of its use for holiday celebrations curricula. The analysis will focus upon those aspects of the framework which have particular import for holiday celebrations and, therefore, will not focus upon the broader ramifications of general curriculum development.²

Components and decision-making. Curriculum planning, according to Goodlad, occurs whenever and wherever people plan an educational program. In general, such planning has a broad scope and can include legislators, school boards, school staffs, individual teachers, and individual children.

For any group or class of students there are, clearly, several intended curricula: one built of legislative acts decreed by a state legislature; one approved by a local school board; one made up of the school's courses of studies and accompanying instructional materials; one presented by the teacher. The students respond to planned curricula and unplanned curricula, in ways both intended and unintended. There is then a personal curriculum, unique to each student.³

To make manageable the study of the complex elements which compose the field of curriculum, Goodlad divides them into three categories: the substantive, the political-social, and the technical-professional. The issues, problems, and processes of each provide the framework for study and reveal the levels and types of decision-making required for curriculum prescription and description. The diagram on the accompanying page outlines schematically the domains of decision-making and their inter-relationships along with their relationships to funded knowledge and conventional wisdom. What follows will be a description of the model as it relates to the three categories identified for curriculum inquiry.

Figure 3 GOODLAD'S CONCEPTUALIZATION FOR THE PRACTICE AND STUDY OF CURRICULUM



Substantive elements. The substantive elements are those commonly associated with goals, learning experiences, organizing centers and evaluational procedures. They deal primarily with what is to be learned and form the "common-places" of curriculum construction. Based upon Tyler's identification of these substantive elements, Goodlad notes that they affect decision-making on five levels. They include four represented on the diagram: societal, institutional, instructional, and personal. The fifth is the ideological or ideational domain of decision-making which is not included in the graphic representation as it is not affected by the socio-political aspects of curriculum development. They are, asserts Goodlad, strictly substantive because their formulation is divorced from socio-political forces which constantly modify the other four. They are considered ideal in the eyes of the developer although their implementation at the other levels will most likely find compromises and changes made.⁴ Goodlad also maintains that these substantive issues should not only be considered from the prescription perspective as is most often the result of the application of Tyler's design. He urges employing Tyler's questions to determine what is as well as what ought or should be. In other words, one must examine what the actual goals of a particular school district are and how the curriculum is organized to achieve these goals along with an analysis of the "fit" between

what it is and what it is perceived to be at each of the levels of decision-making. By so doing, the connection between theory and practice can be made.⁵

Socio-political elements. Decisions about the substantive elements or ideas derived from funded knowledge cannot avoid revision, modification, or elimination once in the marketplace of actual decision-making. They must compete for acceptance and commitment by the various groups which compose the socio-political arena. Goodlad maintains that there are three types of processes which occur: those internal to the domain, those between domains, and those between a domain and individuals or groups not included in any of the domains (e.g., parents, local citizens groups). These interactions most often occur in a transactional fashion, that is through negotiation. Transactions can occur at any of the four levels as noted in the diagram and generally involve bargaining for additions or changes in either the ends or means outlined. They are classified as socio-political in the conceptual framework because they involve the interactions between the domains and the milieu in which they operate, the surrounding culture or social system of the community. Goodlad cites Schwab's six forces which affect the curriculum as components of this milieu:

1. Civil interest (civitas) or the needs of the polity and the economy.
2. The common culture and subcultures (morals and manners, prevailing beliefs and

- loyalties, recreations widely enjoyed, etc.).
3. Client-perceived wants and needs (e.g., vocational training).
 4. Knowledge resources (conventionally recognized 'fields' of knowledge and organized bodies of experience and behavior).
 5. Communities of inquiry (research and scholarship).
 6. 'Professional' interests of teachers, administrators, etc. (both self-interests and in others' welfare).⁶

All but number five, in the writer's opinion, fit within the socio-political arena of negotiation and transactions; number five, and perhaps number four, are part of the funded knowledge of the ideational nature and are more often interpreted at the various levels of decision-making. The possible influences of the socio-political milieu are myriad and most likely influence all decisions made as they compose the totality of the sanctioning body, although the influences may be difficult to detect.⁷

Technical-professional elements. The elements in this category include specialized skills and knowledge which are available to each of the domains. It would include data gathered from empirical study as well as policy which arises from philosophical positions. It would most likely be the type of information which is categorized as funded knowledge. There is, according to Goodlad, a significant amount of "lore" of this type applied at the instructional level, particularly from the field of psychology. Less is evident at the institutional level

but, then, less decision-making occurs in this domain according to the research of Gary Griffin (at least as it is outlined by the Conceptual Framework).⁸ Although the societal domain consults technical-professional sources, they are most often motivated and influenced by conventional wisdom sources since they depend upon them to retain their decision-making positions. Conventional wisdom is an important source to consult but technical-professional information should also be employed particularly when normative decisions are being made.⁹

The conceptual system and practice. The rather neat categorization of the sources of decision-making occur primarily on a theoretical level. The three types described above are interwoven within each of the levels of decision-making in the course of the practice of curriculum design. The complexity of curriculum analysis is directly tied to its nature which is one of making decisions:

Normative decisions involving choices among values or interests, empirical decisions calling for data, personal ambitions, group loyalties, characteristic and entrenched ways of behaving, choices between what is preferred and what can be afforded, all of these and more are inextricably interwoven.¹⁰

The decision-making process generally occurs in a hierarchical fashion although transaction may occur between and among the levels. The societal level includes legislation by federal, state, and local agencies and occurs

within a political frame. Laws passed and funds distributed by federal and state officials help to determine what is taught. State legislatures mandate specific holidays to be observed by schools and local school boards plan the holiday vacation calendars. At times, state legislatures and school boards prescribe the actual time and amount of attention to be devoted to particular instructional areas. The decisions made at the societal level are interpreted by schools and school systems--the institutional level--into more specific curricular intent. As noted earlier, Goodlad and his associates have found the least decision-making activity at this level; they also note that textbook publishers often decide the ends and means of curriculum. It is at this level, however, where one often finds transactions occurring along with interpretation. Whereas transactions were once undertaken by superintendents and principals, teachers have now entered the process through their bargaining activities. Goodlad asserts that once the societal decisions are interpreted and transactions have occurred, the freedom and territory of instructional decision-making are identified. They are often autonomous and reflect the teacher's transactions with her students or the assumption that the teacher can make the decisions for students as their proxy.¹¹ The analysis of the hierarchy and the nature of decision-making at each of the levels is a descriptive one and is not intended to be

evaluative. It does outline the process of decision-making and indicates the levels for which data sources must be offered and hopefully sought after.

When one combines the types of decisions--substantive, socio-political, and professional-technical--with the levels of decision-making, it becomes apparent that a variety of different sources can be consulted for curriculum development. Goodlad suggests some of the following:

Societal conditions/trends--economists, sociologists, political scientists, futurists
 Popular opinion--survey researchers, pollsters
 Child development/nature of learning/youth problems--behavioral scientists, psychologists
 Knowledge of subject matter fields--specialists in the particular discipline
 Efficiency matters--economists, systems analysts, planners
 Nature of truth, good life, society--philosophers

Goodlad adds that philosophical analysis is not often sought despite appeal to it as a source; value issues are most often derived from individual or group opinion rather than the "heritage of our logical thought." Also noted is the lack of information about the personal domain, that of the student.¹² The data derived from the different sources generally falls into two categories: funded knowledge and conventional wisdom. The former is that knowledge about which there is a high level of agreement among specialists while the latter includes the interests, beliefs, and understandings of those who sanction the system or consume education.¹³ Although urging the use of funded knowledge--

particularly by professional educators--in curriculum planning, Goodlad concludes that conventional wisdom is often the source. The strong appeal to conventional wisdom yields a conservative institution which preserves the majority view and may negate rational curriculum planning. Goodlad does see room for both conserving and moving in more radical directions in curriculum planning:

Curriculum planning takes place continuously as a society envisions possibilities for improving present conditions, translates its perceptions of the gap between present realities and envisioned possibilities into goals, and assigns responsibility for achieving these goals to educational institutions. Sometimes these goals involve only improvement upon functions already being performed....Sometimes, however, goals are radical, calling for new ways of behaving and the utmost in personal effort and sacrifice. A major goal in curriculum planning is to choose funded knowledge over conventional wisdom in all of these decision-making processes.¹⁴

What has been called for in this paper is a radical departure from the general practice related to holiday celebrations. A renewed look at their place in our lives and a commitment to fostering an understanding of their importance to social progress on the part of educational institutions has been urged. The data sources explored in the preceding chapters will help to achieve this end if applied and employed at the various levels of decision-making. The next section will relate the data sources--both funded knowledge and conventional wisdom--to the

conceptual framework as a means of achieving the reconstruction of curricula for holiday celebrations.

Holiday Celebrations and Decision-Making

It is perhaps the lack of decision-making which is currently most characteristic of holiday celebrations observed/studied in schools. Decisions appear to be made at the societal level--particularly by state legislatures--about which holidays must be given "time" in schools. Purpose seems lacking, other than tradition and perhaps developing feelings of loyalty, and teachers at the instructional level are left perplexed about how to interpret the societal mandate. This writer suspects that little translation of societal decision-making occurs on the institutional level except to pass on the legal prescription relative to which holidays are to be given recognition in the schools. Transactions may occur because teachers are sensitive to children's needs and the nature of the school community; but, they are most likely informal and result from the individual teacher's values or the strength of particular interest groups. The result is a "happenstance" holiday celebrations curriculum rather than a rational one which has been thoughtfully designed to achieve articulated ends through specific means. If this condition is to change, as this writer maintains it should, then

purposeful decisions must be made at the various levels outlined in the conceptual framework, decisions which are substantive, socio-political and technical-professional. Data from funded knowledge and conventional wisdom can provide the sources for informed decision-making of all three types. The three data sources explored in this study offer the basis of decision-making at each of the levels and contain elements of both funded knowledge and conventional wisdom. What will follow is prescriptive of the data sources to be consulted by those who make decisions. It will not, however, mandate a particular curriculum but it will indicate the directions in which curriculum might go. It is assumed from the start that holiday celebrations in all schools will contain some of the same elements--those primarily derived from funded knowledge. At the same time, it is assumed that socio-political factors will and should influence decisions in particular schools or districts which will make their respective curricula unique and characteristic of their schools' particular communities and the needs of their children.

Societal level. The societal level of decision-making is generally the most remote from the individual learner in both time and place. It includes such agencies as boards of education (state and local), state departments of education, legislators and federal organizations which are

involved with educational policies or procedures. Because of the number of possible agencies involved in decision-making along with the variations among the particular states for degrees of involvement or autonomy, it is difficult to suggest sources of information which will satisfy all situations. What is possible, however, is to suggest the types of decisions which should be made about holiday celebrations at the societal level and the resources which can be consulted to make those decisions knowledgeable ones.

Perhaps the foremost question to be addressed is what, if any, are the central purposes of the school as a social agency which makes a distinct contribution to education in general. And, what content and means will most effectively satisfy that purpose or those purposes? Related to these questions are other general curricular decisions about a common core of basic content for all students, construction of curriculum to meet individual needs and abilities, positions relative to the structure and nature of knowledge, evaluational procedures, attitudes about controversial issues--all contribute to the making of curriculum policy at the state or county level and are largely determined by lay personnel as the structure now exists. (Implied in all of this are policy statements about who will make what kinds of decisions which will not be discussed here.)

Information drawn from the data sources in the category of funded knowledge can provide some of the essential answers to these questions. If general education--as opposed to special education in specific skills and knowledge--is presumed to be the overall purpose, then the foundational components of curriculum would serve as the starting points. The overall purpose of such a curriculum would be "to educate for community participation and human development."¹⁵ Data from the specialists in philosophy and psychology would be the primary sources of information relative to holiday celebrations employed in policy-making at the societal level. Both sources should provide data which can be used in the formulation of educational aims at whatever level it is deemed appropriate for their design. Aims reflective of a central value pattern are obviously derived from philosophical analysis about the nature of the good life which most often includes a delineation of a preferred social organization, social roles, and life styles. This study has been predicated upon the philosophical assumption that democracy with an emphasis upon individual rights is the chosen social organization and therefore functions to inform such decision-making about the aims of education. The question thus becomes, what elements of the "good life" in a democracy can be promoted through general education in the schools. Or, what purposes should guide the development of

curriculum in order to produce citizens who can participate effectively and positively in a democracy? The aims might range from the more amorphous types such as "civic responsibility" and "ethical behavior" to more specific statements isolating the dispositions conducive to democratic living outlined in Chapter II: commitment to and behavior consistent with the core values of equality, justice, human dignity, and freedom; respect for the sanctity of the individual; the development of rational loyalty; the pursuit of knowledge to inform decision-making; commitment to social progress; appreciation for diversity as major factor in a rich cultural heritage. The aim statements and their organization may take various forms and be much more elaborate than the ones cited. Those mentioned above hold particular relevance to decisions about holiday celebrations as indicated earlier.

A second course of funded knowledge which serves as data at the societal level is derived from psychology, specifically the nature of childhood and learning theory. Although most helpful at the institutional and instructional levels, they are also helpful in the articulation of aims. Of primary importance is the view of childhood espoused by the developmental psychologists: childhood is a unique period of development; it is a constructive phase during which the child is building cognitive structures as

well as establishing his identity. Aims of education designed to be consistent with this psychological view would recognize that education of children is more than a preparation for adulthood and that the process is a life-long one begun in early childhood. Education or schooling should recognize individual differences and abilities as well as promote the development, refinement, and invention of cognitive structures. Closely associated with this development, since the two are inter-related, is the promotion of self-realization or identity.

As noted earlier, conventional wisdom is often the most influential at the societal level. Some of the data may be derived from empirical studies such as those conducted by sociologists, economists, and scientists (e.g., the documentation of the search for ethnic identity or the intra-generational gap, the effect of unemployment or inflation upon educational funding, or the effectiveness of specific energy alternatives as substitute fuel sources). Information of this type can and certainly does influence the goals of education set at the societal level. Guidelines suggested and supported by social studies organizations may prove particularly helpful in the determination of goals (e.g., exposure to the realities of the social world--NCSS, 1971).

Popular beliefs and contemporary conditions of life should also be considered as sources of information.

Interest in ethnicity and concerns about the rapid pace of technological advancement and their meaning for society must be accounted for in the formulation of aims. The present lack of communal feeling, emphasis upon presentism, widespread subjectivism as the major value position, and uneasiness with the image of our country as expressed in the distrust for elected officials are all conditions of life which can have bearing upon the identification of aims. Also to be considered are the cultural, social, and economic compositions of the particular areas for which the goals are to be identified. The magnitude and complexity of these aspects of conventional wisdom may make the identification of aims a forbidding task. Although this writer believes that they should be influencing factors, it may be better to employ much of the information from the conventional wisdom category to refine educational goals or to evaluate their appropriateness once established.

The formulation of goals and aims is, then, primarily derived from two of the data sources: society and the learner. The place of the subject matter as a data source for holiday celebrations curriculum assumes its importance once the goals have been identified. (A good case, however, could probably be made for including celebrating as a goal of education given the functions it can serve. For the purposes of articulating the conceptual framework and

the levels of decision-making, it would prove to be too specific a behavior and is perhaps more appropriately subsumed under a more general goal statement.)

It is difficult to move to the next level of decision-making without concrete goal statements. Because the articulation of goals would indicate a specific curriculum, general areas in which goal statements may be made will be presented to help establish the bridge between theory and practice which the conceptual framework purports to do. The goal areas to be identified grow out of the philosophical and psychological data as well as the conventional wisdom cited above. The goals are suggested and not mandated ones for the purpose of continuing this analysis; they are not intended to be a complete list but to indicate those which most influence decisions related to holiday celebrations. Employing Michaelis' categories, six general areas of goal statements may be identified and broken down into more specific objectives:

1. Thinking Ability: development and use of modes, methods, and processes of inquiry, reasoning ability, critical thinking, problem solving, use of concepts as tools of thinking, and values and attitudes such as open-mindedness, thoughtful skepticism, and objectivity in the use of evidence.
2. Self-realization: development of "basic" skills, understanding of the social and physical environment, self-respect and wholesome self-concept, use of leisure time, ethical values, aesthetic interests and values, regard for one's ethnic and cultural background, ability to meet

and cope with change, ability to clarify values, and personal enrichment through grounding in the humanities, sciences, and arts.

3. Human Relationships: (at home, in school and larger community, on national and international levels); respect for humanity, intergroup relations, concern for general welfare and human dignity, minority pride and respect, regard for other groups and cultures, development of cooperative relationships, competence in clarifying values in group decision-making and using ethical means of group persuasion, and ability to live by democratic ideals, beliefs, and processes.

4. Economic Competence: (not elaborated because relationship to holiday celebrations is an oblique one).

5. Civic Responsibility: civic rights and responsibilities, democratic ideals, ideas, and processes, social understanding, justice and activity, respect for law and property, ways to change the laws, ways of extending opportunity and justice to all individuals and groups, ways to improve the effectiveness of government, and participation in decision-making and social action.

6. Learning How to Learn: development of independent study skills, learning to use methods of science, competence in self-instruction, discovery of ways of knowing through the arts,...learning how to examine and use information, positive attitudes of intellectual curiosity, and eagerness toward independent and life-long learning.¹⁶

These broad categories provide the basis for the articulation of specific goals suited to and sanctioned by those making decisions at the societal level. Which goals are emphasized and how they will be identified will vary according to place and time and the ways in which the data sources are employed.

The analysis of goal statements and the data sources from which they arise has been purposely extensive because it is generally at this level that decisions about which holidays are to be celebrated or observed in schools and which will be occasions for vacation days are generally made. This writer raises questions about which data are employed to make these decisions and suspects that they are infrequently made in conjunction with the stated goals of the districts except incidentally as they relate to an understanding and appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities inherent in the American way of life. If state departments of education, legislators, and local school boards are to continue to mandate which holidays are to be observed both as in school observances and days when the schools close, it is appropriate that they ask questions about the match between those selected and the educational goals for particular populations as well as pursue the issue of which holiday celebrations may best be observed in the school and which by the broader community. State and federal holiday decisions should relate to those which reflect the unity of the shared culture while those decided by the local school boards should reflect the interests and needs of the specific communities they serve. "Needs" must be emphasized here as it is possible to develop a rather narrow celebrations curriculum, one which is parochial in nature; if tied directly to the goal categories

outlined, however, the chances of such a curriculum being designed are minimized.

One other element of conventional wisdom must be addressed before moving to the institutional level of decision-making. It is at the societal level that policies about religious holidays must be made and communicated. The data sources to be consulted are Social Studies goals and guidelines and Supreme Court decisions. The legality of studying about and not celebrating religious holidays as well as their contributions to education have been established earlier.¹⁷ The data sources are considered to be a part of conventional wisdom because the decisions remain controversial and will perhaps continue to be so until school boards and curriculum developers have truly grappled with religious holidays and designed studies which are demonstrated to be consistent with constitutional requirements. In order for this goal to be achieved, efforts must be undertaken at the societal level to re-educate the general public, school officials, and teachers about the appropriate place of religion in the curriculum. Appeals to the data sources cited along with an understanding of the relationship of religious holidays to the goals is called for. In this way, decision-makers can help to eliminate the confusion faced by teachers who recognize the importance of religious holidays to children and yet are at a loss about whether and how to treat them.

Institutional level. The institutional level of decision-making, as designated by Griffin, includes "school faculties, central office persons, curriculum committees, and others in the school system working together within the framework provided by societal decisions to provide more concrete guidance to teachers and students."¹⁸ Primary data sources at this level include elements of all three elaborated in the bulk of this study: the society, the learner, and the subject matter. The last becomes important at this level as the curriculum developer addresses the question of how the subject matter contributes to the general education of the citizenry. The nature of the discipline must be identified: method of inquiry, the structure or major concepts, and generalizations which can serve as organizing elements. These three aspects together should offer the ideas and processes which create the skeletal frame for the articulation of the curriculum. The subject matter in this case will be classified as funded knowledge while the learner and society as data sources encompass both funded knowledge and conventional wisdom. The results of the decisions made at the institutional level will help interpret the goals or aims set at the societal level and formulate more specific goals and objectives ("school outcomes") along with the selection of learning opportunities to satisfy them. Specialized knowledge is required to inform such decisions and it may be

at this level, therefore, where the greatest changes can be initiated if it functions effectively.

Society: funded knowledge. Funded knowledge from society as a data source is the value position supported by the generalized aims established by the sanctioning body. Because of the relationship between over-arching democratic values and ideals and holiday celebrations, the former assume critical importance for curriculum development at the institutional level and can be employed in many ways:

They serve as guidelines for the maintenance of human relations in the school and the classroom. They serve as focal points for the study and analysis of our American heritage in selected portions of units of instruction. They serve as standards for the assessment of individual and group actions and proposals, in situations ranging from the community to the national and international level, both in the past and present. They are also useful in appraising social and cultural change and related problems which may be serious deviations from the ideals we profess to cherish.¹⁹

Examples of using these standards to guide curriculum planning for holiday celebrations have been cited throughout this study, e.g., the assessment of the status of values which motivate certain holiday celebrations, the validation of individual identity as expressed in the recognition of specific holiday celebrations, the cooperative classroom or school venture to plan and carry out a

celebration. If holiday celebrations are to be viewed as a valid component of the curriculum, then some specific goal statements would be designed to support basic democratic values and experiences necessary for civic participation. The following examples will serve to illustrate:

1. The child will engage in joint-planning ventures which require understanding other points of view and cooperatively contributing to problem-solving efforts.
2. The child will develop an appreciation for present privileges in light of their historical origins.
3. The child will develop a rational loyalty to democracy based upon core values.
4. The child will clarify and identify his values and beliefs.
5. The child will develop respect for people whose values and beliefs differ from his own.
6. The child will appreciate the uniqueness of cultures and subcultures and appreciate their contributions to the total cultural heritage.
7. The child will gain an understanding of the commonalities shared by the human species.
8. The child will gain an understanding of the world's great ideas or themes, including religion, and their place in motivating behavior in the past and present.
9. The child will develop the knowledge and skills to make decisions derived from alternatives and based upon criteria.
10. The child will appreciate the aesthetic tradition to which he is heir and gain an understanding of the variety of modes of self-expression contained therein.

The illustrations cited are derived from the text of this study but could easily be designed based upon goals for the social studies which can generally be categorized on three levels: the intellectual, the social, and the personal. Within each of these categories, goals of the conceptual, skill, affective and inquiry varieties can be identified. Although these objectives can be generally applied to holiday celebrations, they would perhaps most logically be employed when holidays are conceived within the social studies unit. Examples of goal statements in the categories cited above are included in the following list prepared by Michaelis:

Conceptual Objectives: To develop understanding of information, concepts, and main ideas so that students are able to identify and describe the following:

Functions of social institutions and roles of individuals and groups in diverse cultural settings at home and abroad in both the past and present.

Influences of values, traditions, technological developments, education, and other aspects of culture on individual and group behavior.

Social, economic, political, geographical, and historical aspects of topics and events under study.

Inquiry Objectives: To develop skill in using processes, methods, and modes of inquiry so that students are able to do the following:

Demonstrate through actual use such processes as comparing, classifying, generalizing, inferring, analyzing, synthesizing, evaluating.

Make plans for investigating topics and problems, collecting data, organizing and processing data, deriving conclusions, and assessing outcomes and procedures of inquiry.

State generalizations based on studies in the analytic mode, describe particular events and places based on studies in the integrative mode, and state consequences of alternatives based on studies in the decision-making mode.

Skill Objectives: To develop new skills and refine basic skills, including the ability to perform the following:

Locate, gather, appraise, summarize, and report information.

Interpret and make maps, graphs, tables, time lines, and other graphic materials as needed in both individual and group activities.

Demonstrate how a variety of data sources, ranging from printed and audio-visual materials to community resources, may be used to further inquiry.

Work as a member of groups, participating in decision making, carrying out plans, adhering to group standards, and evaluating individual and group efforts.

Affective Objectives: To demonstrate in individual and group work the values and attitudes of individuals who do the following:

Are openminded, responsible, cooperative, curious, creative, and show concern for others and respect for duly constituted authority.

Value democratic beliefs such as civil rights, human dignity, general welfare, cooperative action, use of intelligence to solve problems, human freedom, contributions of others, diversity among ethnic groups, and recognize the place of moral and spiritual values in human affairs.

Use valuing strategies to clarify value-laden topics in social studies units and in individual and group problems of personal or local concern.

Have self-respect, and show respect for others without regard to race, creed, sex, social and economic status, and national origin.²⁰

Society: conventional wisdom. The society provides a large amount of data which may be characterized as conventional wisdom to inform decisions made by officials at the institutional level. Of particular importance to holiday celebrations are those which relate to the social composition and popular beliefs of the community for which the curriculum is being designed. Ethnic and religious associations of the children in the school(s) should be considered seriously to insure their validation and to avoid exclusion. Communities which reflect a monolithic tradition might seek to expose children to holiday customs and beliefs of non-community members for the purpose of expanding awareness of the reality of the broader social world. Study about religious holidays reflective of community celebrants might be undertaken to isolate both their unique and common characteristics in an attempt to modify popular beliefs. Curriculum planning at this level should also consider popular beliefs of the community to determine if a plan for informing and educating the general public is necessary prior to implementation. Such a program may be necessary if religious holidays are to assume their appropriate importance within the school's overall program. This responsibility should not be left to the teachers in

their respective classrooms but should be assumed by a curriculum committee or members of the technical-professional staff. It is expected that the latter would be sufficiently familiar with relevant legislation, court decisions, and social studies guidelines to carry out this responsibility.

It is at this level of decision-making that the "pluralistic-assimilationist" ideology can be promoted.²¹ While institutional policymakers seek to establish a curriculum which respects the ethnicity of the child and to use it in positive ways, they must also make provisions for the child to appreciate and function within the common culture. By establishing goals which promote understandings about the shared cultural traits, behavior styles, and values of both minority and majority groups, the negative potential of the extreme ethnic and assimilationist points of view may be minimized. Not only must a balance of types of holidays be assured--and this may require transactions between the institutional and societal levels--but the emphasis of particular holidays must be designed to highlight the common elements of celebrations, the unique contribution of particular groups, and the shared common cultural heritage and traditions.

The learner: funded knowledge. Funded knowledge based upon the developmental psychologists' views of the

nature of childhood and the learning process should offer some of the necessary data for decisions at this level. It proves particularly important in the design of a scope and sequence and the organization of concepts, generalizations, and mental operations. The overall goal is to locate the optimal match between the curricular content and the child which is consistent with the conception of the learning process as an interaction between the learner and his environment.

Objectives identified may relate to views of the world, identity of self and others, development of mental operations, and identification of values and behavior which promote a "morality of cooperation." Specific objectives identified would employ the data from research in psychology about cognitive, moral, and social development. Examples of objectives in each of these areas might include the following:

- Cognitive: (1) The child will develop a socio-centric view of the world, one which distinguishes between appearance and reality.
(2) The child will develop the ability to add and multiply classes.
- Moral: (1) The child will develop an understanding of the equality of the rights of all individuals (reciprocal relationships).
(2) The child will be able to make value judgments and give reasons for them.

- Social:
- (1) The child will develop the skill to work in a collaborative arrangement.
 - (2) The child will be able to assume the perspective of others to understand their purposes, intentions, and actions.

Distinguishing the goals in each of the areas may create an inaccurate categorization scheme as the three are integrally related as this writer views them. Curriculum designers at the institutional level might choose to emphasize objectives from one of the sources more than the others. It seems unlikely, however, that one of the categories would not imply the necessity of considering the importance of the others.

Further implications of the utilization of the learner as a data source relate to the organization of the curriculum. Concepts associated with either specific holidays or understandings about holiday celebrations must be arranged in a spiral fashion in order for the process of integration and substitution to occur. Repeated encounters at increasing levels of complexity and abstraction must be built into the curriculum. This requires establishing a sequence of concept development and the design of learning opportunities based upon that sequence. It might also be possible to identify specific mental operations related to the concept sequence and build toward both simultaneously--more research in this area is perhaps necessary before an adequate sequence can be developed. The learning

opportunities designed should provide for experiences which broaden conceptual understandings as well as those which challenge it. The latter refers to cognitive conflict or dissonance which promotes the invention of new structures. Finally, the cognitive demands of particular kinds of holidays will necessitate either approaching them in a specific way or assigning them to ages where understanding is possible. Using the stages of development outlined by Piaget and Kohlberg should inform decisions of this type.

The learner: conventional wisdom: The two major components of conventional wisdom useful for decision-making at the institutional level are children's interests and their experiences. In fact, these factors may provide the best starting point for a holiday celebrations curriculum. Holidays celebrated out of school provide this information; it is derived from knowing what appeals to children as well as the holiday traditions of the population served. The former may be considered as funded knowledge as it relates to knowledge about the characteristics of particular ages. It is categorized as conventional wisdom because interests are influenced by so many variables, particularly time and place, that generalizations must always be qualified. The child's interest, however, is not used as the framework of the curriculum. It should be used in the Deweyan sense to guide children beyond

immediate interest to create new interests. The experiences children bring to holiday celebrations should give direction to the nature of the curriculum. If the population is sufficiently diverse, it may establish the school system's holiday calendar; care would have to be taken to examine it for the goals it promoted to insure support of democratic principles. If the population is a majority one or is reflective of a monolithic tradition, decisions about which holidays to celebrate--as well as their emphasis--would be determined in light of guidelines of the social studies cited earlier.

One other issue related to experience and background must be addressed at the institutional level. Policies regarding those who do not celebrate, or even acknowledge holiday celebrations, must be made. It seems clear, based upon legal decisions, that principled positions derived from religious beliefs or beliefs of conscience must be honored by public institutions. It is also evident that a minority opinion cannot be imposed so that it denies the rights and freedoms of those who do not hold that opinion. Therefore, the recommended policy about holiday celebrations for non-believers in celebrating is the option to attend or not and alternative study at times when it is appropriate.

Subject matter: funded knowledge. It is difficult to separate subject matter from the learner in the articulation of the curriculum, particularly as each relates to the scope and sequence. The meeting points of the two lead to the identification of the organizing centers at particular age levels. For purposes of this study an attempt is being made to separate the two data sources in order to examine the contributions of each.

The subject matter is generally considered funded knowledge as it relates to the structure of knowledge of specific disciplines. As presented in this paper, the subject matter has two aspects: one which relates to the disciplines of the social studies, (particularly history, sociology, and anthropology); the other relates to holiday celebrations per se which has been extrapolated from research about ritual. There is an obvious relationship between the two; but, the argument presented here is that holiday celebrations can be considered a valid subject matter in its own right, one which borrows methodology from other disciplines and has a very limited body of research to support its legitimacy.

When identifying objectives at the institutional level, holiday celebrations can be related to the structures of the particular disciplines cited. Specific factual information may be required which contributes to the development of concepts (culture, values, role, family, society,

change, freedom, the past, etc.) and ultimately to the formation of generalizations from the disciplines. For example, all holiday celebrations may be tied to two specific generalizations from anthropology:

Every society at whatever level of development has formed its own system of beliefs, knowledge, values, traditions and skills that can be called its culture.

Culture is socially learned and serves as a potential guide for human behavior in a given society.

In order to attain these generalizations and concepts, repeated opportunities for encountering them must be provided within the scope and sequence. Modes of inquiry and techniques for processing data should be determined based upon the concepts and generalizations as well as the developmental levels of children. Choices must be made about both in light of data derived from funded knowledge.

The second source of subject matter data is taken from the nature of celebrations. The concept map provided in Chapter II becomes the primary piece of data; it elaborates the development of concepts and generalizations in a curriculum which is designed to satisfy specific objectives related to holidays in their generic form. Since it is the contention of this paper that holidays have--or can have--significant meaning for our lives as we cope with the "real" world, there are specific learnings about them which can enhance the quality of life. And the identifica-

tion of those objectives can serve as the framework for curriculum development.

Objectives are generally conceived to have a behavioral component and a substantive element. Using the "Goodlad Grid"²²--a modification of the matrix identified by Tyler²³--both elements can be identified for holiday celebrations in their generic sense. The intersection of the two indicates the general objectives to be achieved by the total curriculum; also indicated is the need for a learning opportunity to be identified for each one which will develop the behavior and substance. (The appropriateness of the objective must be determined employing other elements: readiness, prior experiences, transfer ability, community attitude, consistency with values.) This would provide part of the skeletal framework for the identification of more specific objectives, teaching strategies, and materials at the instructional level.

The second major part of the skeletal framework is the scope and sequence of the curriculum. They refer to the basic dimensions of organization: scope or integration is the horizontal organization; sequence of continuity is the vertical organization. "Scope...refers to the extent and arrangement of curriculum elements that occur at the same time, while sequence describes their progressive level-to-level organization."²⁴ The common elements, or organizing elements, suggested to integrate the holiday

FIGURE 4
OBJECTIVES MATRIX
"GOODLAD GRID"

	SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS						Celebrants
	Types	Modes	Themes	Func- tions	Origins		
Express positive attitudes and values toward self, others, and their inter-relationships.			x		x		x
Understands, and demonstrates understanding of important facts, concepts, and generalizations.	x	x	x	x	x		x
Able to collect, classify, interpret, and report data in meaningful ways.	x	x	x	x	x		x
Able to make judgments based upon criteria and to identify and assess motives and intentions of others.			x	x			x
Able to identify reasons for celebrating and to select appropriate way to celebrate.	x	x	x	x			
Able to view the world from an objective or socio-centric vantage point.	x		x	x			x

BEHAVIORS

celebrations curriculum are two major themes: the nature of holiday celebrations and Man as a celebratory creature. Each of these general themes can be broken down to indicate the elements emphasized at particular levels including those reduced and dropped as well as others added and expanded. Elements included in "the nature of holiday celebrations" are actions and behaviors, emotional climate, symbolic objects, and the social quality; those included in "Man as a celebratory creature" are themes and ideals, rhythms of life, cultural transmission, aesthetic expression, energy release, and group solidarity. The first theme and its elements would be generally emphasized during the primary years and the second during the middle and upper elementary years. The sequence suggested is the types of holidays celebrated or studied in schools and, within those larger categories, specific holidays. Both are derived from the subject matter data source although the sequence relates directly to cognitive requirements of the holidays as described in Chapter IV. Beginning with festive holidays, including birthdays at the younger ages, the progression would move to patriotic and religious holiday celebrations for older children. The scope and sequence bring the logical and psychological data sources into balance and unite them.

The combination of the objectives grid with its significance for learning opportunities and the scope and

sequence provide data for instructional decision-making. The elaboration of both presented here is a tentative and flexible one subject to field testing and revision. Its use in instructional designs should indicate its validity or need for revision.

Instructional level. According to Goodlad's model, decisions are made at the instructional level by individual teachers or teams of teachers who are responsible for particular and identifiable students. They make decisions alone or with students about what shall occur in specific educative settings.²⁵ The two major responsibilities of this level in curriculum development are the refinement and specification of objectives and the selection of organizing centers to guide day-to-day activities. The possible influences upon such decisions which directly affect the students are many: curricular prescriptions, availability of resources, published texts, competency tests, community groups or pressures, professional interests of teachers, needs of individual students, the school budget, etc. In light of these potential influences which do not generally reflect the foundational elements of a curriculum, it is essential that teachers be sufficiently informed about, and committed to the data sources cited in this study to maximize the learning potential of a holidays celebration curriculum. It is at this level only that celebrations

can be made meaningful. And it is at this level where the major evaluation of what has been learned occurs along with suggestions for curriculum revision.

In a holiday celebrations curriculum, the data sources cited at the institutional level are basically the same for the instructional level. Goals and objectives are interpreted and translated into more specific learning outcomes to match the needs and abilities of the specific group(s) of children. In this process, the decisions of the two other levels may be perceived as funded knowledge which is combined with the nature and background of experience of the children, or conventional wisdom. Transactions can also occur if the match between the two is inappropriate.

The learner. Perhaps the two most immediate data sources for instructional decisions are the learner and the subject matter. Knowledge of developmental theory in the cognitive, moral, and social areas will influence decisions about the classroom environment and atmosphere, perceptions of the child, and the activities designed. Teachers can employ this source to "diagnose" the reasoning and view(s) of the world expressed by the children which will affect their conceptions of their own holidays and those quite foreign to their frames of reference. A scope and sequence should be particularly helpful in designing next steps. Establishing an atmosphere in

which the free exchange of ideas is possible--one of mutual trust and respect--will promote discussions and analysis of traditions as well as the conditions required for cooperative projects. Understanding of the developmentalists' use of the term "activity" will allow the teacher to design experiences for and with the children which will capture their interests, encourage cognitive stimulation and conflict, and provide opportunities for conceptual development. Conventional wisdom about the learner will prove particularly useful in assessing "where children are coming from" and what their interests may be. The latter may be built into the holiday celebrations curriculum when choices about activities and content investigations are offered for individuals and as teachers offer learning opportunities related to those holidays generally enjoyed by children.

Subject matter. Subject matter data sources range from specific individuals to published materials. Two objectives for teachers before they plan any instructional activities should be an understanding of the characteristics and functions of the generic category of holiday celebrations and the specific content related to the holiday celebration to be observed. The primary resource for the former is the information included in Chapter II of this paper while the latter may be obtained from a variety of published materials and/or from those who celebrate the

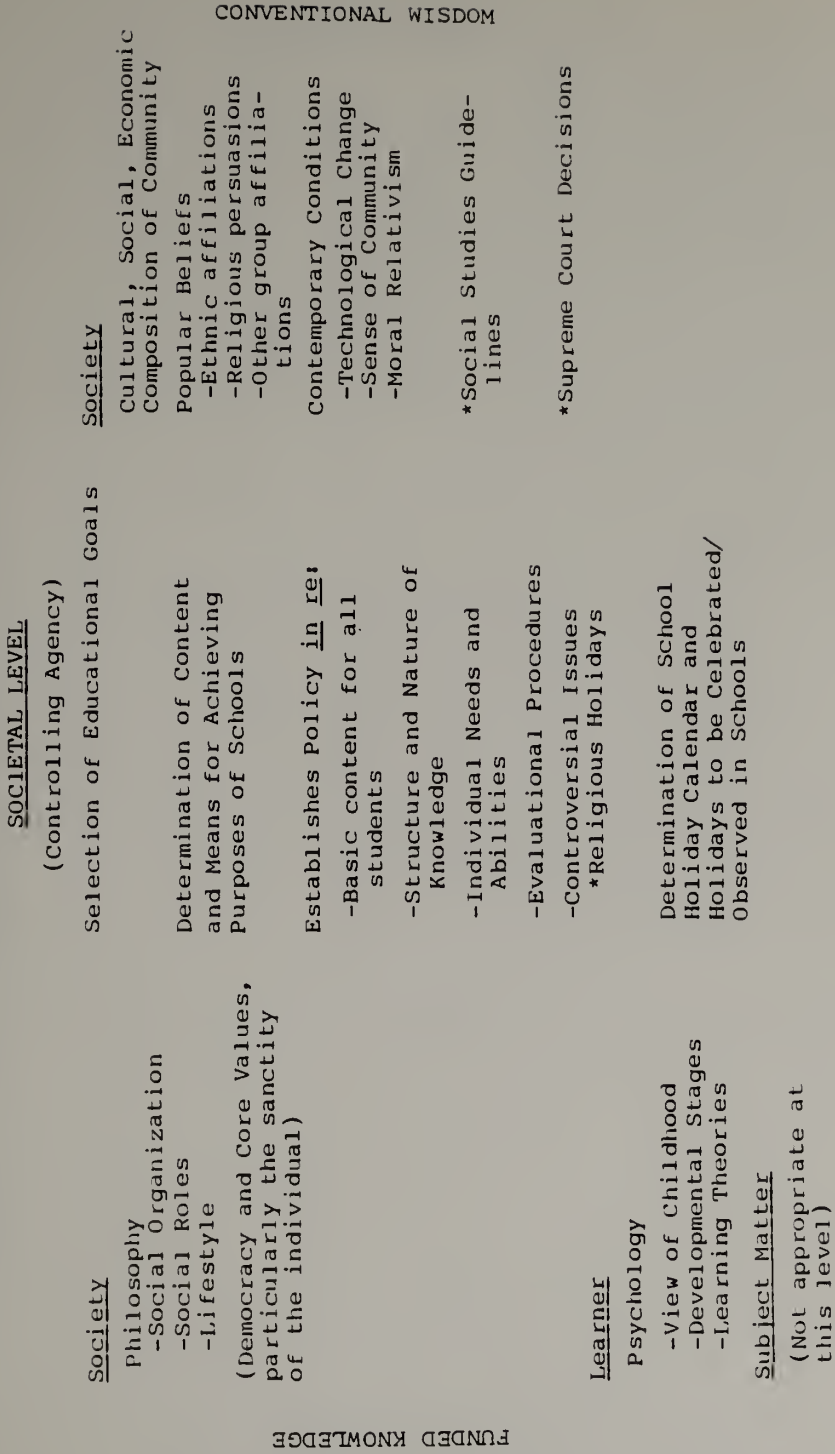
particular day or specialists of the academic type.

Conceptual Framework Summary

The first part of this chapter has delineated the conceptual framework for decision-making about a holiday celebrations curriculum. It has specifically identified the levels of decision-making, types of decisions at each level, and the data sources which can be employed to make those decisions. Specific reference has been made to the fundamental components of "rational" curriculum development as identified by Tyler: the society, the learner, and the subject matter. Added to the input offered by funded knowledge have been the socio-political influences categorized as conventional wisdom. Although no attempt was made to prescribe a particular curriculum, the writer has identified the resources which should be consulted by the curriculum developers. This approach was taken to support the idea that holiday celebrations curricula will, and probably should, look different depending upon the populations for whom they are designed. A graphic representation of the framework as it applies to holiday celebrations is provided on the following pages in figures 5, 5.1, and 5.2.

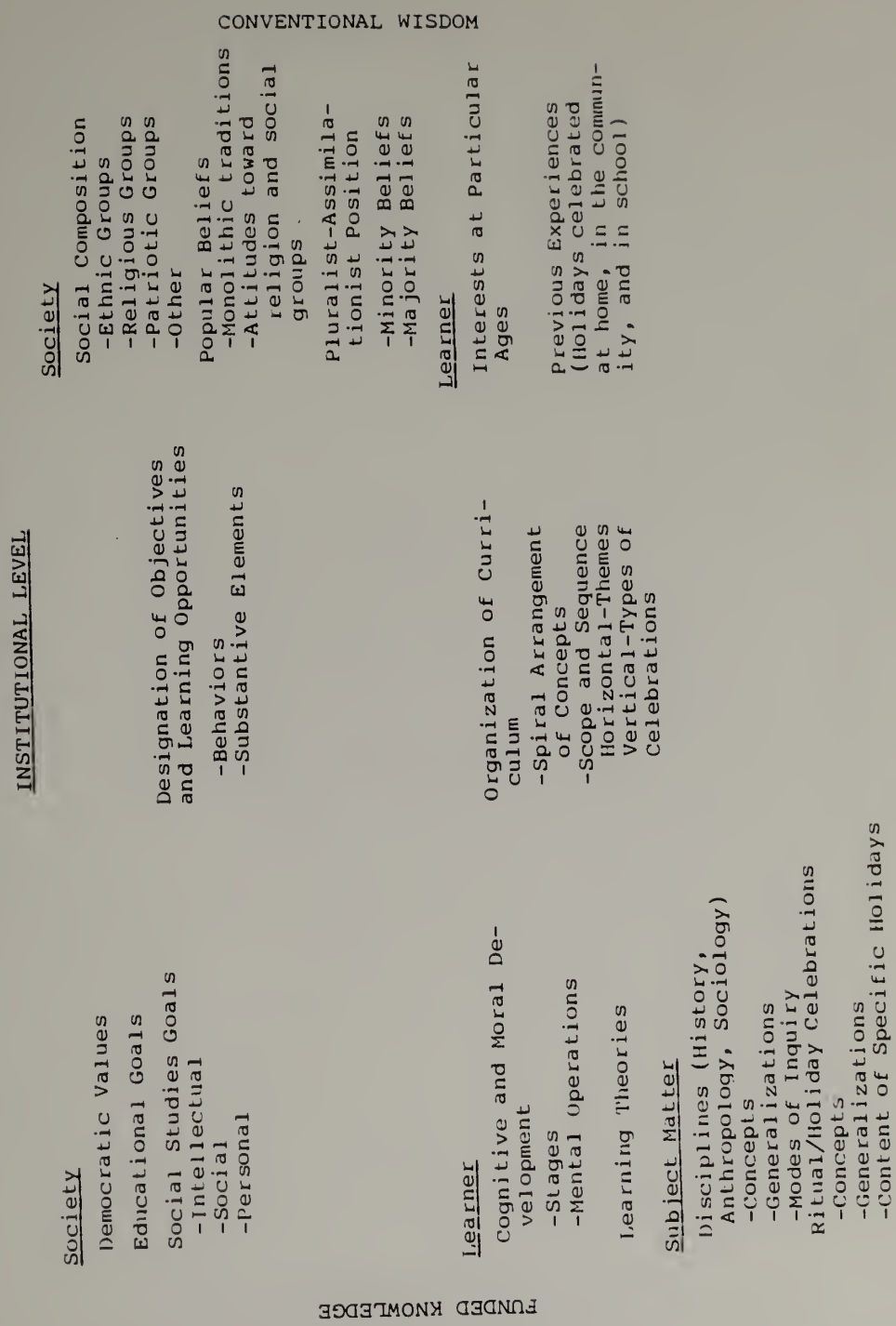
The prescriptive aspect of the conceptual framework for decision-making about holiday celebrations is admittedly an ideal one. It argues strongly for rational curriculum planning employing a complex scheme of

Figure 5 HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: THE SOCIETAL LEVEL



FUNDED KNOWLEDGE

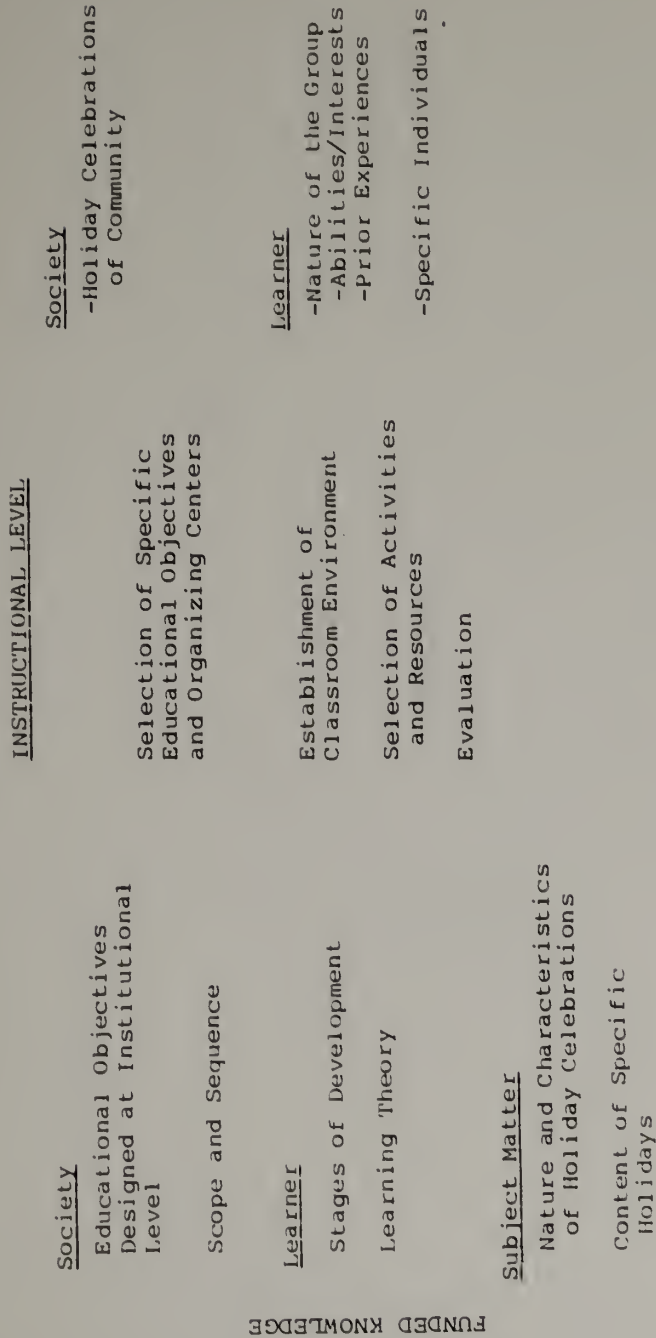
Figure 5.1 THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL



FUNDED KNOWLEDGE

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Figure 5.2 THE INSTRUCTIONAL LEVEL



information from the three primary data sources. This position was taken because decisions about holiday celebrations are currently made at each of the levels elaborated and the writer contends that communication among the three is insufficient and that the data sources employed are most likely inadequate for purposeful decision-making. The framework is designed, therefore, to address these concerns and to support the belief that holiday celebrations contain the potential for significant learning if conceived in particular ways.

The complexity of the model coupled with time and budgetary constraints may inhibit its application and thus fail to meet one of its primary objectives, a bridge between theory and practice. This need not occur if curriculum developers focus on the elements of funded knowledge as the starting points, recognizing that this effort will yield an ideational product. Emphasis should be initially placed on the "big ideas" and their importance for children and society and the varied and numerous other sources consulted either to modify the original design or to evaluate its effectiveness.

The institutional level of decision-making, as presented in this framework, assumes a significant responsibility for articulating the framework which is to be employed at the instructional level. In order to assure that the theoretical design prepared is meaningful at the

instructional level, two conditions should exist: first, teachers along with curriculum specialists should be involved at the institutional level; and second, experimentation with concrete units developed for the classroom should occur concurrently with the framework articulation. These two factors will contribute to desirable theory-practice interplay as the teachers become knowledgeable about the foundational elements in their planning and the curriculum consultants' decisions are informed by the results of teaching-learning units.²⁶

The process of unit development at the instructional level may not be sufficiently clear from the conceptual framework. The following process is the approach which may prove helpful:²⁷

<u>Steps</u>	<u>Considerations</u>
1. Develop the content and select organizing center	--factual information --type and mode(s) of celebration --significance of celebration --history of celebration
2. Identify learnings	
a. General possibilities	--the celebration itself --celebrations in general --social studies --consistency with organizing center
b. Select specific intended learning outcomes (understandings, skills, attitudes)	--characteristics of group of children (interests, cognitive/moral development, and previous experience) --resources available --community attitudes'

c. Plan instructional activities and develop resources

--relationships to general curriculum goals and scope and sequence

--relationship to organizing center

--relationship to specific learning outcomes

In order to make the process a more formal curriculum exercise, one should add a rationale and an evaluational component. Although the sequence designed is arranged in a logical fashion, entry may actually be made at any one of the steps. This approach ostensibly employs funded knowledge as primary data and only considers two elements of conventional wisdom, children's interests and backgrounds along with community attitudes. The purpose is to minimize the number of variables and to focus the unit development on the foundational components which, hopefully, would serve as the substance of the dialogue between the institutional and instructional levels of decision-making.

Conclusions

The primary purpose of this study was to create a conceptual framework for curriculum development related to holiday celebrations observed or studied in elementary schools. In order to realize that purpose, the role of holiday celebrations for man in general and elementary aged children in particular had to be established. The

elements required to fulfill that role for children in the elementary school were elaborated. They were identified as the data sources for the levels of decision-making incorporated in the conceptual framework.

Conclusions reached about the significance of holiday celebrations for the general human condition are derived from an investigation of the nature and functions of ritual. Based upon the premise that there are properties which ritual and holiday celebrations share, the potential functions of holiday celebrations can be determined: to provide opportunities to release energies, to transmit history, to inspire aesthetic expression, to establish group solidarity, to mark the rhythm of life (individual and natural), to highlight the commonality of the human spirit (conditions, themes, ideals). It is also concluded that there is a need for holiday celebrations to fulfill these functions in contemporary society in light of basic psychological needs created by the rapid pace of technology, the growing de-personalization of society, the expanding world community, and the generalized need for ways to deal with crises. In order for holiday celebrations to fulfill these needs, they must be re-examined and perhaps re-defined to locate their meaning for individuals in a complex industrialized society.

The potential role of holiday celebrations in the school life of elementary aged children is a significant

one. It can facilitate the child's development of self-awareness, contribute to the construction of a world view, and promote the acquisition of democratic dispositions based upon the core values (justice, equality, individual dignity, freedom). Not only can the child learn about the nature and modes of celebration, but he can also develop understandings and appreciations for the values, beliefs, and ideals which motivate behavior. To achieve such understandings and appreciations, two strands must be included in the curriculum: the first develops concepts and generalizations derived from content of specific holidays while the second arises from the content of the general category of all holidays.

Because of the nature of the school as a social institution and the value inherent in holiday celebrations, it is an appropriate place for celebrating and studying about holidays. The school is generally the setting in which children have their first direct contact with individuals whose customs and value positions are different from their own. Holiday study and celebration can provide a means for coping positively with this condition. The school must also be willing to accept the nature of children and their interests and incorporate both within its program. Holiday celebrations offer opportunities to capitalize upon the fanciful and festive aspects of that nature and to legitimize the excitement which grows out of

interest in holidays. Of particular importance in a holiday celebrations curriculum is locating the appropriate place of religious holiday celebrations. Religious holidays may not be celebrated in school. They can, however, be placed within the context of secular subject matter and be studied about. This approach is consistent with the Supreme Court's position regarding the separation of church and state and one strongly urged in this study. The writer concludes that to avoid religious holidays or to concentrate upon their secular aspects is to reject the Court's position relative to the necessity of educating children about the place of religion in this country and the world.

This study began with an historical survey of the role of holiday celebrations in the elementary schools and an assessment of their current status. That survey yielded the conclusion that holiday celebrations observed in schools had not kept pace with the changes in the social studies and had become little more than habitual exercises emphasizing craft activities. The general effect of this situation is that holiday celebrations hold little meaning for children as presently observed in schools. A review of the literature indicates that only limited guidance is available to develop curriculum about holidays. Given that holidays are generally prescribed elements of school programs, that teachers appear confused and unclear about how

to approach them, and that children are generally very motivated and interested in them, a need was apparent for designing a framework for curriculum development which would make them meaningful to children. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter has been designed to meet that need. It is, in effect, a summary of the salient points of the foundational components of a rational curriculum as they relate to holiday celebrations. The framework demonstrates how data derived from the subject matter, the society, and the learner can be utilized in decision-making about which holidays to observe, how to organize the celebrations curriculum, and how to design instructional programs to make them meaningful to children. Because of the influence of conventional wisdom upon decisions, no specific holiday celebrations curriculum can be designed--nor should one be. At the same time, conventional wisdom can not be the sole source of information. Decisions must be made essentially on the basis of funded knowledge and the socio-political influences used as a screen or method to determine the appropriateness of the curriculum designed for the target population.

The final conclusion to be drawn relates to the theory-practice issue. This writer accepts the Deweyan position that the dichotomy between theory and practice is an artificial one. And yet, one must recognize that the acceptance of the separation is a popular belief which,

in effect, makes it a reality. To dispel the mistaken notion, the so-called "theoreticians" and the "practitioners" must engage in curriculum development together so that they may explore the relationship between what is done and why it is done. Such an opportunity can be provided in the development of holiday celebrations curricula if the procedures suggested in this study are followed: first, the skeletal framework for the generic category of holiday celebrations is used to guide general planning; second, teachers and curriculum specialists work together to make decisions on the institutional level; and third, teaching-learning units are designed at the instructional level concurrently with the more global curriculum design at the institutional level.

Recommendations for Further Study

Possible areas for research and further study fall into two categories: those which relate to holiday celebrations in the general culture and those with specific reference to the school setting. The former would most likely be addressed by anthropologists and sociologists although their results might prove grist for philosophers, futurists, and theologians. The latter, although the province of the educator, might ultimately have meaning for the general public.

Empirical data is needed to determine the place of holiday celebrations and ritual in complex industrial societies. This study has operated upon the premise that holiday celebrations can serve specific purposes relative to the quality of life; but, there is little "hard data" to support this position. Research about the holidays currently observed and their meaning, or lack thereof, might provide the starting point. It will then be necessary to analyze this data in relation to the needs of society and individuals to ascertain how well they are satisfying the functions identified. As noted in this study, it appears that the potential of holiday celebrations to help the human species to cope with the realities of existence is not being realized. If the data bears this out, then a re-examination of the holiday celebration tradition may be in order.

Although the conceptual framework as a descriptive and prescriptive device has been applied in other areas, it has not been utilized in a holiday celebrations curriculum.²⁸ As a first piece of research in the school setting, researchers might use the framework to describe the holiday celebrations curricula in specific school systems to determine if the conclusions about the heavy influence of conventional wisdom and the activity orientation are valid. The questions raised by the framework should prove useful in giving direction to future curriculum

development. Additional research into children's cognitive structures and the formation of concepts would clarify the development of concepts related to holidays. Such data would make it possible to identify a sequence of the development of mental operations about holidays.

Two areas of further study arising from school concerns may eventually affect the category of "human values and interests" as well as that of "policies representing choices among interests of the sanctioning body" outlined in Goodlad's total framework. The first is an investigation into the extension of the scope and sequence for holiday celebrations to the secondary levels as a separate subject of study or as a central ingredient of social studies courses. Such a study might indicate that the content and concepts appropriate at the junior and senior high school levels could make a particularly important contribution to moral development. The second study suggested relates to the community and its involvement in holiday celebrations in the schools. Exploring methods of gathering data about group affiliations and their celebrations would be the first step. Once the information is collected, ways would have to be designed to involve appropriate community groups in the school and to take the children out into the community to participate/observe holiday celebrations. Such arrangements would give children direct experience with celebrants. It might also

promote greater understanding among community members.

Next Steps

Ideally the procedure outlined in the conceptual framework should be tried out in a variety of settings to assess its utility and to modify its organization. Beginning efforts can be made by employing the suggested unit design in conjunction with the objectives grid as well as the scope and sequence and relating these results to the educational objectives of the school or school system. In this way, the framework will become operationalized.

Materials and curriculum guides will need to be developed to support the curricular emphasis. The former would include specific references (for teachers and children), realia, audio-visual materials (picture packets, filmstrips, movies, tapes, etc.), and celebrants from the community when possible. (Many of these materials are available separately and searches of well-supplied libraries will provide them). More references for children about specific holidays representing the broader world community need to be written and prepared in such a way that they are meaningful to children and preserve the integrity of holidays.²⁹ Open-ended curriculum guides which are not teacher-proof are needed to facilitate planning and to de-emphasize the numbers of holiday crafts

books designed for classroom use.³⁰ Resource units about specific holidays or groups of holiday celebrations which focus on generalizations related to major themes and concepts would provide sufficient guidance to teachers but also allow them the freedom to develop units to meet the needs identified. Finally, efforts to combine all of these elements into kits for general consumption and adaptation--but not prescription--would enhance the possibility that teachers who already feel burdened by the demands of their profession might be motivated to pursue holiday celebrations as a serious and purposeful curriculum component.

Footnotes

¹John I. Goodlad and Maurice N. Richter, Jr., The Development of a Conceptual System For Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction. Cooperative Research Program, USOE Project No. 454. (University of California: Los Angeles, 1966); and, John I. Goodlad and Associates, Curriculum Inquiry: The Study of Curriculum Practice. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979), Chapters 1, 2, and 4.

²The reader is referred to Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 56-75 for an analysis of the components and levels of decision-making which compose the domains to be considered in curriculum analysis.

³Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 28.

⁴The ideological level as denoted by Goodlad is "a data source composed of the ideas, concepts, or the products of scholars which can be used in making curricular decisions. The use of such a data source should make curriculum processes more thoughtful and thus increase the cumulative impact of the curriculum upon student learning." Bloom and Krathwohl's Taxonomies are offered as examples. See M. Francis Klein, "Instructional Decisions in Curriculum," in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 178 ff.

⁵Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 28-30, 58-65, 353-55.

⁶Joseph J. Schwab, "What 'Drives' the Schools?" paper prepared for the Curriculum Task Force, National Institute of Education, 1976 (10 pp. mimeo), cited in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 351.

⁷Ibid., pp. 30-32, 355-59.

⁸See Gary Griffin, "Levels of Curricular Decision Making," in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 83-87.

⁹Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 32-33, 359-60.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 33-35.

¹²Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹³Goodlad and Richter, The Development of Conceptual Systems, p. 64.

¹⁴Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 37.

¹⁵Robert S. Zais, Curriculum Principles And Foundations (Thomas Y. Crowell Company: New York, 1976), p. 437.

¹⁶John U. Michaelis, Ruth H. Grossman, Lloyd F. Scott, New Designs For Elementary Curriculum And Instruction. 2nd ed. (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1965, '75), pp. 75-76.

¹⁷See Chapter II for an elaboration of the legal restrictions and prescriptions and an identification of the relationship between religious holidays and the goals of education.

¹⁸Griffin in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 78.

¹⁹Michaelis, et. al., New Designs, p. 36.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 323-24.

²¹The pluralist-assimilationist ideology is included as conventional wisdom as it has not yet been widely accepted by specialists, the condition for inclusion within the category of funded knowledge.

²²Goodlad and Richter, The Development of Conceptual Systems, p. 53.

²³Ralph W. Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1949; paperback edition, 1975), p. 50.

²⁴Zais, Curriculum Principles, p. 439.

²⁵Griffin in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 78.

²⁶Although Hilda Taba urges starting with teaching-learning units as the best way to achieve the proper theory-practice relationship, the connection can be an even closer one if the general design and the specific units are happening concurrently. The dialogue promoted between the two levels of decision-making would establish the connection. See Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice. (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1962), pp. 439-44.

²⁷The process outlined is a revision of one developed by the writer and colleagues at the Smith College Campus School for a workshop presented at the Northeast Regional Social Studies Conference in 1978. It proved to be a useful model to motivate teachers to consider the substantive elements of holiday celebrations.

²⁸See Edith A. Buchanan, "From Institutional to Instructional Decisions," and Elizabeth C. Wilson, "Designing Institutional Curricula: A Case Study," in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, pp. 151-76 and pp. 209-39.

²⁹Edna Barth's books published by Houghton Mifflin/Clarion Books are the best references for children in the middle and upper elementary grades to this writer's knowledge. They are accurate, well-written, and informative. She has written mostly about holidays of the common culture but traces their origins and transformations over time.

³⁰Two recent publications of this type are Mary Paris Colvin, ed., Instructor's Big Holiday Book. (The Instructor Publications, Inc.: Dansville, New York, 1979); and Carl E. Frankson and Kenneth R. Benson, Crafts Activities Featuring 65 Holiday Ideas. (Parker Publishing Company, Inc.: West Nyack, New York, 1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almy, Millie. Young Children's Thinking: Studies of Some Aspects of Piaget's Theory. New York: Teachers College Press, 1976.
- Ambrose, Edna and Miel, Alice. Children's School Learnings: Implications of Research and Expert Study. Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1958.
- Anderson, Edna A. et. al. Holidays and Special Occasions: Silver Burdett Primary Social Studies. New Jersey: Silver Burdett, 1966. (8 teacher's manuals)
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development 1978 Yearbook Committee. Improving The Human Condition: A Curricular Response to Critical Realities. Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1978.
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development 1979 Yearbook Committee. Lifelong Learning: A Human Agenda. Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1979.
- Athey, Irene J. and Rubadeau, Duane O., eds. Educational Implications of Piaget's Theory. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970.
- Banks, James A. "Cultural Pluralism and the Schools." Educational Leadership 32 (December, 1974): 163-66.
- _____. Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975.
- _____. "The Implications of Ethnicity for Curriculum Reform." Educational Leadership 33 (December, 1975): 168-72.
- Beard, Ruth M. An Outline of Piaget's Developmental Psychology for Students and Teachers. New York: Mentor Book, New American Library, 1969.

- Beck, Clive. "The Case for Value Education in the School." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 108-17. Edited by Peter H. Martorella. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Beggs, David W. III and McQuigg, R. Bruce, eds. America's Schools and Churches: Partners in Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Bernard, Solomon S. "Hannukah is not Christmas." Grade Teacher 88 (December, 1970): 26, 35.
- Blanshard, Paul. Religion and the Schools: The Great Controversy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.
- Bocock, Robert. Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974.
- Bracher, Peter; Panoch, James V.; Piediscalsi, Nicholas; and Uphoff, James K., eds. Religion Studies in the Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 1963-1983. Dayton, Ohio: Public Education Religion Studies, Wright State University, 1974.
- Brogdan, R. "Religious Freedom and School Holidays." Phi Delta Kappan 58 (May, 1977): 70.
- Brown, Leslie M., ed. Aims of Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 1970.
- Bruner, Jerome. The Process of Education. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- _____. Toward A Theory of Instruction. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968.
- Bull, Norman. Moral Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Butts, R. Freeman; Peckenpaugh, Donald H.; Kirschenbaum, Howard. The Schools Role as Moral Authority. Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1977.
- Burns, Paul C. "A Checklist for Teaching About Holidays." Instructor 71 (February, 1962): 89, 99.
- Byrnes, Lawrence. Religion and Public Education. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975.

- Calla, F. "Holidays in Anticipation of Spring." Social Studies 67 (January, 1976): 35.
- Cass, Julia. "No Holy Night: Public Schools Ban Carols." The Philadelphia Inquirer, December 21, 1978, pp. 1, 19.
- Chazan, Barry. "'Indoctrination' And Religious Education." Religious Education 67 (July-August, 1972): 243-52.
- Chittenden, Edward A. "Piaget and Elementary Science." Science And Children 8 (December, 1970): 9-15.
- Cockerville, C. E. "Holidays are Personal Days." Childhood Education 38 (November, 1954): 108-10.
- Committee of Eight, American Historical Association. The Study of History in the Elementary Schools: A Report to the American Historical Association. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1910.
- Cox, Harvey. The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Crystal, Frances H. "Holidays Dilemma: Celebrating the Holidays in Pre-school and Kindergarten" Young Children 23 (November, 1967): 66-73.
- Damon, William. "Some Thoughts On The Nature Of Children's Social Development." In Reflections on Values Education, pp. 131-48. Edited by John Meyer. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976.
- Dewey, John. Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. New York: The Free Press, 1944, 1916.
- _____. Moral Principles in Education. New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1959.
- Dobler, Lavinia. Customs And Holidays Around The World. New York: Fleet Publishing Company, 1962.
- Dunn, Harold. "Christmas Grows on Many Trees." National Education Association Journal 56 (December, 1967): 20-21.

Durkheim, Emile. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Translated by Joseph Ward Swain. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1915.

Education For Unity in the Schools of New York State. Albany, New York: New York State University, 1947.

Educational Policies Commission. Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1951.

_____. Policies for Education in American Democracy. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1946.

Elkind, David. A Sympathetic Understanding of the Child: Birth to Sixteen. 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978.

_____. Children and Adolescents: Interpretive Essays on Jean Piaget. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

_____. The Child's Reality: Three Developmental Themes. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1978.

Ellis, Arthur K. Teaching and Learning Elementary Social Studies. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977.

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. 7 S.V. "Holidays," by Hutton Webster.

Engle, Shirley H. "Exploring the Meaning of the Social Studies." Social Education 35 (March, 1971): 280-88, 344.

_____. "Objectives of the Social Studies." In New Challenges In The Social Studies: Implications of Research for Teaching, pp. 1-17. Edited by Byron G. Massialas and Frederick R. Smith. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1965.

Erikson, Erik. Childhood And Society. 2nd ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1963.

Erwin, Elizabeth. "When the School Celebrates." Child Study 15 (December, 1937): 72-3.

- Evans, Richard I. Jean Piaget: The Man and His Ideas. Translated by Eleanor Duckworth. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1973.
- "Feast of Lights." Early Years 8 (December, 1977): 36.
- Flavell, John H. Cognitive Development. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.
- _____. The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963.
- Forman, Bernard I. "Are Jewish Children Left Out?" School Arts 57 (December, 1957): 25-8.
- Foy, Rena. The World of Education: An Introductory Text. New York: Macmillan Company, 1968.
- Frankena, William K. Three Historical Philosophies of Education: Aristotle, Kant, Dewey. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965.
- Fraser, Dorothy. "Current Affairs, Special Events, and Civic Participation." In Social Studies in Elementary Schools: 32nd Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, pp. 131-49. Edited by John U. Michaelis. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1962.
- Furth, Hans G. Piaget for Teachers. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
- Gaer, Joseph. Holidays Around the World. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953.
- Gibbs, John; Kohlberg, Lawrence; Colby, Anne; and Speicher-Dubin, Betsy. "The Domain And Development of Moral Judgement: A Theory Method of Assessment." In Reflections on Values Education, pp. 19-45. Edited by John Meyer. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976.
- "Goodbye, Good Friday: Dade County, Florida Schools." The Nation's Schools and Colleges 1 (December, 1974): 20.
- Goodlad, John I. and Maurice Richter, Jr. The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction. Cooperative Research Program USOE, Project No. 454. Los Angeles: University of California, 1966.

- Goodlad, John I. and Associates. Curriculum Inquiry: The Study of Curriculum Practice. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979.
- Grant, Gloria. "Criteria for Cultural Pluralism in the Classroom." Educational Leadership 32 (December, 1974): 190-92.
- Greene, Maxine. "An Approach to the Constitution of Democracy." Theory Into Practice 15 (February, 1976): 15-22.
- Hall, Robert T. and Davis, John U. Moral Education in Theory and Practice. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1975.
- Hallam, Roy. "Piaget and the Teaching of History." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 86-99. Edited by Peter H. Martorella. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Hanna, Lavonne; Potter, Gladys L.; and Reynolds, Robert. Dynamic Elementary Social Studies: Unit Teaching. 3rd. ed. New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1973.
- Harris, Marvin. Culture, Man, and Nature: An Introduction to General Anthropology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971.
- Heckscher, August. "A Sense of Celebration." (Newspaper Article, source unknown).
- Helfman, Elizabeth. Celebrating Nature: Rites and Ceremonies Around the World. New York: The Seabury Press, 1969.
- Henke, Frederick Goodrich. A Study of the Psychology of Ritualism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910.
- Hines, Vynce A. "A Summary on Democracy." Theory Into Practice 15 (February, 1976): 2-7.
- Hoffman, Allan J. and Ryan, Thomas F. Social Studies And The Child's Expanding Self: Teaching with a Psycho-Social Approach. New York: Intext Educational Publishers, 1973.
- "Holidays." National Education Association Journal 49 (December, 1960): 32-3.

"Holidays and Celebrations." School Arts 51 (October, 1951): 73-104.

Hollander, Elaine K. and Saypol, Judith R. "Teaching About Religious Holidays in Public Schools: A Workshop to Increase Awareness." Education 97 (Fall, 1976): 63-72.

Hollins, T. H. B. "The Problem of Values and John Dewey." In Aims in Education: The Philosophical Approach, pp. 91-108. Edited by T. H. B. Hollins. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1964.

Hook, Sidney. Education for Modern Man. New York: Dial Press, 1940.

"How Should the Public Schools Observe Holidays?" The Nation's Schools 59 (February, 1957): 92.

Huxley, Sir Julian. "A Discussion of Ritualization of Behaviors in Animals and Man." In Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B. 251. Biological Sciences. Picadilly, London W. 1: Royal Society Burlington House, 1966.

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 13. S.v. "Ritual," by David L. Sills.

James, E. O. Seasonal Feasts And Festivals. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1961.

Jantz, Richard K. and Fulda, Trudi A. "The Role of Moral Education in the Public Elementary School." Social Education 39 (January, 1975): 24-8.

Jarolimek, John. "Conceptual Approaches in the Social Studies." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 65-70. Edited by Peter H. Martorella. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.

_____. Social Studies Competencies and Skills: Learning to Teach as an Intern. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977.

_____. Social Studies in Elementary Education. 5th ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977.

_____, and Walsh, Huber M., eds. Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education. 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974.

- Joyce, Bruce R. New Strategies For Social Education. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1972.
- _____. "The Primary Grades: A Review of Textbooks." In Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, pp. 15-35. Edited by Benjamin C. Cox and Bryan G. Massialas. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.
- Kallen, Horace M. Cultural Pluralism and The American Idea: An Essay in Social Philosophy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956.
- Kendall, Calvin Noyes and Stryker, Florence Elizabeth. History in the Elementary School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.
- Kliebard, Herbert, ed. Religion And Education in America: A Documentary History. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1969.
- Kluckhohn, Richard, ed. Culture and Behavior: Collected Essays of Clyde Kluckhohn. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence. "Education For Justice: A Modern Statement of the Platonic View." In Moral Education: Five Lectures, pp. 71ff. Edited by Theodore Sizer and Nancy Sizer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- _____. "From Is to Ought: How to Commit the Naturalistic Fallacy and Get Away With It." In Cognitive Development and Epistemology, pp. 151-235. Edited by Theodore Mischel. New York: Academic Press, 1971.
- _____. Moral Stage Scoring Manual, pp. 3-80. (Mimeographed). (Not listed in Books In Print).
- _____. "The Cognitive Developmental Approach to Moral Education." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 127-42. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- _____, and Mayer, Rochelle. "Development as the Aim of Education." Harvard Educational Review 42 (November, 1972): 449-96.
- Krug, Mark A. The Melting of The Ethnics: Education of the Immigrants, 1880-1914. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.

- Krythe, Maymie. All About American Holidays. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962.
- Lambert, Wallace E. Children's Views of Foreign Peoples: A Cross National Study. New York: Appleton, Century-Crofts, 1967.
- Lee, Robert. Religion and Leisure in America. New York: Abingdon Press, 1964.
- Letters to the Editor. Northampton, Massachusetts. Daily Hampshire Gazette. January 19, 1978.
- Levanson, Dorothy and Spillane, Robert. "Malpractice Insurance: Who Needs It?" Teacher 95 (September, 1977): 96-7.
- Lindberg, Lucille and Swedlow, Rita. Early Childhood Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970.
- Linton, Robert and Linton, Adeline. Halloween Through Twenty Centuries. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950.
- _____. We Gather Together. New York: Henry Schuman, 1949.
- Loder, James E. Religion and the Public Schools. New York: Association Press, 1965.
- McCartney, Lauren. "Fourth of . . . What?" Northampton, Massachusetts. Daily Hampshire Gazette. July 3, 1978, p. 3.
- Marshall, Sybil. Adventures in Creative Education. Oxford, England: Pergammon Press, 1968.
- Martorella, Peter H. Elementary Social Studies as a Learning System. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976.
- Massachusetts Board of Education. Education Goals for Massachusetts. Boston: Department of Education, 1971.
- May, Rollo, ed. Symbolism in Religion and Literature. New York: George Braziller, 1960.
- Mead, Margaret. Culture And Commitment: A Study of The Generation Gap. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press/ Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970.

- Michaelis, John U. Social Studies For Children In A Democracy: Recent Trends And Developments. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- _____; Grossman, Ruth H.; and Scott, Lloyd. New Designs for Elementary Curriculum and Instruction. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975.
- Michaelson, Robert. Piety In The Public School: Trends and Issues in the Relationship Between Religion and the Public School in the U.S. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970.
- Michener, James A., ed. The Future of the Social Studies: Proposals for an Experimental Social Studies Curriculum. Cambridge, Mass.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1939.
- Miller, William C. "Fostering a Commitment to Cultural Pluralism." Educational Leadership 34 (December, 1976): 221-26.
- Mitchell, J. J. "Two Objectives, one goal." School Activities 33 (October, 1961): 41-2.
- Moore, Sally F. and Myerhoff, Barbara G., eds. Secular Ritual. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Van Gorrum, Assen, 1977.
- Moore, Shirley G. "Social Cognition: Knowing About Others." Young Children 34 (March, 1979): 54-61.
- Morgan, Richard E. The Supreme Court and Religion. New York: The Free Press, 1972.
- Morris, Van Cleve. "The Philosophical Premises Underlying Public Education." In Intellectual Foundations of American Education, pp. 22-32. New York: Pitman Publishing Company, 1965.
- Moulton, Stanley. "Rabbi Laments Hoopla of Yule." Northampton, Massachusetts. Daily Hampshire Gazette. December 21, 1977, p. 1.
- Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, and Applications. Edited by Carl A. Grant. Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1977.

- Myers, Robert J. with editors of Hallmark Cards. Celebrations: The Complete Book of American Holidays. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972.
- National Council for the Social Studies. "The Role of the Social Studies." In Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education. 3rd ed., pp. 31-40. Edited by John Jarolimek and Huber M. Walsh. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974.
- National Council for the Social Studies Task Force on Curriculum Guidelines. "Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines, 1971." In Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education. 3rd ed., pp. 9-13. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974.
- National Education Association Bicentennial Committee. "The Seven Cardinal Principles Revisited." Today's Education 65 (September-October, 1976): 57-72.
- National Education Association Department of Superintendence. Fourteenth Yearbook. Chapter 5. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1963.
- Oliver, Pearl M. Teaching Elementary Social Studies: A Rational and Humanistic Approach. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javanovich, Inc., 1976.
- O'Neill, J. M. Religion and Education Under the Constitution. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.
- Paolitto, Diane Pritchard and Hersh, Richard H. "Pedagogical Implications For Stimulating Moral Development in The Classroom." In Reflections on Values Education, pp. 113-29. Edited by John Meyer. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976.
- Payne, Rebecca. "Focus on Nursery School, Kindergarten, Primary, Intermediate, Holiday Observances." Childhood Education 42 (January, 1966): 301.
- Penix, Findley C. "Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools." In New Challenges in the Social Studies: Implications of Research For Teaching, pp. 63-86. Edited by Byron G. Massialas and Frederick R. Smith. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965.
- Peters, R. S. Ethics And Education. Oakland, New Jersey: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967.

- _____. "Moral Development: A Plea for Pluralism." In Cognitive Development and Epistemology, pp. 237-66. Edited by Theodore Mischel. New York: Academic Press, 1971.
- _____. , ed. Psychology and Ethical Development. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974.
- _____. "'Mental Health' As An Educational Aim." In Aims in Education: A Philosophic Approach, pp. 71-90. Edited by T. H. B. Hollins. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1964.
- _____. "Must An Educator Have An Aim?" In Philosophy of Education, pp. 44-51. Edited by William Frankena. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1965.
- _____. "Reason and Habit: The Paradox of Moral Education." In Philosophy of Education, pp. 102-114. Edited by William Frankena. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1965.
- Pfeffer, Leo. "Uneasy Trinity: Church, State, and Constitution." The Civil Liberties Review (Winter, 1975): 138-61.
- Piaget, Jean. Judgement and Reasoning in the Child. Translated by Marjorie Warden. Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1969.
- _____. "Piaget's Theory." In Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, pp. 703-32. Edited by P. H. Mussen. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970.
- _____. Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child. Translated by Derek Coltman. New York: Viking Press, 1971.
- _____. Six Psychological Studies. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
- _____. The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic Psychology. Translated by Arnold Rosin. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973.
- _____. "The Genetic Approach to the Psychology of Thought." In The Development of Thought: Equilibrium of Cognitive Structures, pp. 468-77. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

- _____. The Moral Judgement of the Child. Translated by Marjorie Gabain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1932.
- _____. The Origins of Intelligence. New York: The Norton Library, 1952. (Mimeographed excerpt, pp. 189-99).
- _____. To Understand Is To Invent: The Future of Education. New York: Penguin Books, 1976.
- _____. The Child's Conception of Space. Translated by F. J. Langdon and J. L. Lunzer. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1967.
- Pieper, Josef. In Tune With the World: A Theory of Festivity. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965.
- Pilpel, Cecile. "Making the Most of Our National Holidays." Child Study 15 (December, 1937): 70-1.
- Popolizio, Vincent J. "For the Elementary Teacher: Holiday Stereotypes." School Arts 71 (September, 1971): 8-9.
- Posner, George J. and Rudnitsky, Alan N. Course Design: A Guide to Curriculum Development for Teachers. New York: Longman, 1978.
- Preston, Ralph C. Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School. rev. ed. New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1958.
- Price, Christine. Happy Days: A UNICEF Book of Birthdays, Name Days and Growing Days. New York: United States Committee for UNICEF, United Nations, 1969.
- Price, P. "Educational Use of Special Days." International Journal of Religious Education 37 (November, 1960): 15.
- Price, Roy A. "Goals for the Social Studies." In Social Studies Curriculum Development: Prospects and Problems. 39th Yearbook, pp. 33-62. Edited by Dorothy McClure Fraser. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1969.

- Purpel, David and Ryan, Kevin, eds. Moral Education . . . It Comes With the Territory. Berkeley, California: Phi Delta Kappa Publication/ McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976.
- Religion in the public schools. Washington, D. C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1964.
- Rest, James. "Developmental Psychology as a Guide to Value Education: A Review of 'Kohlbergian' Programs." Review of Educational Research 44 (Spring, 1974): 241-59.
- Rice, Arthur H. "Where Christmas Fits in the Public Schools." The Nation's Schools 74 (December, 1964): 24.
- Rice, Charles E. The Supreme Court and Public Prayer: The Need for Restraint. New York: Fordham University Press, 1964.
- St. Mary, Maurice E. and Kohre, Lea. "Sound Off: Christmas and Chanukah Should Be Recognized in the Public Schools." Instructor 69 (December, 1959): 8.
- Schamess, Stephanie. "Ceremony, Celebration, and Culture: Some Considerations of the 'Three C's' and our Schools." The Elementary School Journal 79 (September, 1978): 1-5.
- Scriven, Michael. "Cognitive Moral Education." In Social Studies Strategies Theory into Practice, pp. 143-54. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Shaughnessy, James E., ed. The Roots of Ritual. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973.
- Shaver, James B., ed. Building Rationales for Citizenship Education. Bulletin No. 52. Virginia: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977.
- Siegler, Robert S., ed. Children's Thinking: What Develops? Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1978.
- Sigel, Irving. "Social Studies Strategies Derived from Some Piagetian Theories." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 71-85. Edited by Peter H. Martorella. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.

- Sigel, Irving E. and Hooper, Frank H. Logical Thinking in Children: Research Based on Piaget's Theory. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.
- Sizer, Theodore R. Religion And Public Education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967.
- Skorupski, John. Symbol And Theory: A philosophical study of theories of religion and social anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Sorenson, Laurel. "How Columbus Discovered N. New York." Northampton, Massachusetts. Daily Hampshire Gazette. October 8, 1977.
- "Sound Off: Christmas is a religious holiday; it should be eliminated in every form from school observance." Instructor 72 (December, 1962): 89.
- "Special Days Around the World." Childhood Education 31 (November, 1954): 123-7.
- Spillane, Robert R. "I Wish the Grinch Stole All the Holidays." Teacher 92 (October, 1974): 10-12.
- Stein, Howard F. and Hill, Robert F. "The Limits of Ethnicity." The American Scholar 46 (Spring, 1977): 181-89.
- Stewart, George R. American Ways of Life. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954.
- Stokes, Anson Phelps and Pfeffer, Leo. Church and State in the United States. rev. ed. chapter 15. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964.
- Storm, Grace E. The Social Studies in the Primary Grades. Chicago: Lyons and Carmahan, 1931.
- Superka, Douglas. "Approaches to Values Education." In Social Studies Strategies: Theory into Practice, pp. 118-26. Edited by Peter H. Martorella. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Swomley, John M., Jr. Religion, The State and the Schools. New York: Pegasus, 1968.
- Taba, Hilda. Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962.

- _____. Teaching Strategies and Cognitive Functioning In Elementary School Children. Cooperative Research Project No. 2404. California: San Francisco State College, February, 1966.
- _____, and van Til, William, eds. Democratic Human Relations. 16th Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1945.
- The Indians Who Met the Pilgrims. EDC Match Kit. Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Development Center, 19.
- The World's Great Religions. Editorial Staff of Life. New York: Golden Press, 1955.
- Thomas, Janice. "We Celebrate Patriot Day." School Activities 34 (November, 1962): 72-4.
- Timberlake, Pat. "Classroom Holiday." Childhood Education 54 (January, 1978): 128-32.
- "Traditional Holidays Vanish as Schools Accelerate Programs." School And College Management 13 (September, 1943): 28.
- Tryon, Rolla M. The Social Sciences as School Subjects: American Historical Association Report of the Commission on Social Studies. Part xi. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.
- Turner, Charles S. "Changing Content in Elementary Social Studies." Social Education 5 (December, 1941): 6000-03.
- Turner, Victor W. The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969.
- Tyler, Ralph W. Basic Principles of Curriculum And Instruction. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- _____. "What Is Affective Education and How Do We Bring It About." 1979 (unpublished address).
- Wagner, Guy. "What Schools are doing: Teaching About Special Days." Education 86 (January, 1966): 314-16.
- Warner, W. Lloyd. American Life: Dream and Reality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. (Part of Yankee City Series)

- _____. The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959 (Part of the Yankee City Series).
- Washburn, J. "Research a Holiday." Instructor 79 (May, 1970): 41.
- Wesley, Edgar B. Teaching the Social Studies: Theory and Practice. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1937.
- _____ and Adams, Mary C. Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1946.
- Whitehead, Alfred North. The Aims of Education and Other Essays. New York: Macmillan Company, 1929.
- "Who Should Decide About Holiday Observances?" Teacher Opinion Poll. Instructor 80 (November, 1970): 29.
- Wilcox, H. "Celebrate Birthdays." Instructor 79 (January, 1970): 44.
- Williams, Norman and Williams, Sheila. The Moral Development of Children. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1970.
- Wilson, John. The Assessment of Morality. Great Britain: NFER Publishing Company Ltd., 1973.
- Wright, Betty Atwell. Educating For Diversity. New York: The John Day Company, 1965.
- Zais, Robert. Curriculum: Principles And Foundations. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Inc., 1976.

APPENDIX A

The Study of History in the Elementary Schools

Introduction

The object of a course in history for the first two grades is to give the child an impression of primitive life and an appreciation of the public holidays. Indian life affords the best example of primitive customs. There is an abundance of material available, and it should be so ordered that the child's interest may be maintained. There are two holidays that all classes of people in America should celebrate--Thanksgiving Day and Washington's Birthday. In addition to these, each state or locality has its public days, and the first and second grade children should be taught to enter into the spirit of the occasion and grow to respect the historical background that has made these public days possible. So much is expected of every school. The outline is divided into groups, each group covering a period of indefinite length.

Group B: In Connection with Thanksgiving Day. (This group should be begun in the month of November. Stories of the "Mayflower" and of Plymouth Rock could lead up to the first Thanksgiving Day. The subjects contained in this group, however, could extend over the months of December and January. Indian life appears in its relation to the first settlers. The severe winter experienced by the Pilgrim Fathers affords background for stories during the winter months.)

1. Historical background
 - (a) Landing of the Pilgrims
 - (b) Thanksgiving Day
2. Stories of
 - (a) The Mayflower
 - (b) Plymouth Rock
 - (c) The first Thanksgiving Day
 - (d) Miles Standish
 - (e) Samoset and Squanto
 - (f) The first winter
3. Pictures
 - (a) Pilgrim settlers
 - (b) Landing of the Pilgrims
 - (c) Thanksgiving scene
4. Construction; paper cutting; clay modelling of animals, fruits incident to Thanksgiving.

Teachers' List: Earle: Customs and Fashions of Old New England
 Fiske: Beginnings of New England
 Bradford: Journal
 Lodge: A short history of the American colonies

Children's List: Tiffany: Pilgrims and Puritans
 Pratt: Colonial children
 Hart: Colonial children
 Lane & Hill: American history in literature
 Drake: The making of New England
 Poulsson: The children's world
 Bailey and Lewis: For the children's hour

Group C: In connection with the celebration of Washington's Birthday

1. History--celebration of Washington's Birthday
2. Stories of
 - (a) Washington's boyhood
 - (b) His home, parents, brothers and sisters
 - (c) His playmates, dogs and horses
 - (d) Flower bed
 - (e) His mother's love for him; his love for her

3. Pictures
 - (a) Washington
 - (b) Dress, costume of colonial times
4. Construction; paper cutting
 - (a) Continental soldier's hat
 - (b) Gun
 - (c) Tent

Teachers' List: Scudder: Life of Washington
 Lodge: Life of Washington
 Hapgood: Life of Washington

Children's List: Pratt: American stories for American Children
 Poulsson: In the child's world
 Eggleston: A first book in American history
 Hart: Camps and firesides of the revolution

Group D: In Connection with Local Events. (Each state has one or more events commemorating some local, state, or even national history. The children should derive impressions of their importance. Different states have different days. It is the purpose of this group to emphasize the importance of bringing these events into the school life of the children.)

1. Historical background
 Celebration of important state, city or town events.
2. Stories of
 Incidents and characters pertaining to such events.
3. Pictures of
 Characters or events illustrative of this group.
4. The flag.

Teachers' List: Local history of the place, county, state.

Second Grade

Group B: In Connection with Thanksgiving Day

1. Historical background
Celebration of Thanksgiving Day
2. Stories from the first school readers
 - (a) Life in England at the time of the Pilgrim emigration
 - (b) Voyage of Mayflower
 - (c) Conditions of life in new country
 - (d) Friendly attitude of Indians
 - (e) Planting corn
 - (f) Thanksgiving feast
3. Pictures, dress, manners and customs of Pilgrims
4. Construction, paper cutting, clay modelling of animals, and fruits incident to Thanksgiving

Group C: In Connection with Washington's Birthday

1. Historical background
Celebration of Washington's Birthday
2. Story of little George Washington--story hour
 - (a) His home; plantation life
 - (b) Modes of travel; horseback; boats
 - (c) His friend, Richard Henry Lee
 - (d) Story of the colt
 - (e) His school life
3. Pictures--Washington, Mt. Vernon
4. America (to be memorized).
5. Story of the flag

Teachers' List: See Grade I. Also, Bancroft: History of the United States

Children's List: See Grade I. Half a hundred stories: told by nearly half a hundred persons.
Austin: Collection of kindergarten stories.

Group D: In Connection with Local Events (See Grade I, Group D)

Local History of the place

Group E: Memorial Day

1. Historical background - observing Memorial Day
2. Stories - selected stories of Civil War heroes
3. Pictures of Civil War heroes
4. The flag

Teachers' List: Rhodes: History of the United States
 Ropes: Story of the Civil War
 Hart: Source book of American History
 Manly: Southern Literature

Children's List: Scribner: Civil War stories Retold from
 St. Nicholas
 Hart: Romance of the Civil War
 Page: Two Little Confederates
 -- Among the Camps

Third Grade

Pictures of Historical Scenes and Persons in Different Ages

Introduction

In the first and second grades the centre of interest is in primitive life and public holidays. An historical background is given that supplies the teacher with an abundance of material for making these vital points permanent in the child's life. In the third grade the child is able to read understandingly. The outline is here changed in order to supply the child of this age with stories that will tend to develop an historical sense, and the teacher with subject-

matter to supplement reading. The heroism of the world is drawn upon. Public holidays should, however, receive the greatest consideration from the teacher. The entire outline of the second grade should be reproduced, not only in the third grade, but in every subsequent grade; for the spirit that prompts the city, the state or the nation to set aside a day of remembrance should find expression in each grade.

Group A: Heroes of Other Times (The characters designated in this group are selected as much for their interest as for their historical merit. In treating them the teacher should always distinguish between the legendary and the historic.)

Group B: Columbus

1. Boyhood and early training
2. Marco Polo's influence, stories of his travels
3. Knowledge of the geography of the world
4. Struggle to gain aid
5. (a) Voyage
(b) Pictures of Columbus; his three ships

Group C: The Indians

1. The warrior, hunting and fishing
2. The home, occupation of women
3. Animal life that surrounded the home

Teachers' List:	Irving:	Life of Columbus
	Fiske:	Discovery of America
	Hart:	Source Book of American History
	Manly:	Southern Literature

Children's List: Pratt: American History for American
Children
Hart: Colonial Children
Eggleston: First Book of American
History
Johonnot: Ten Great Events in History
Lane and Hill: American History in
Literature

Group D: In Connection with Independence (Although Fourth of July comes when few schools are in session, children should derive some impression of its importance.)

1. Historical background - July 4th
2. Stories of the flag
 - (a) The first flag and Betsy Ross
 - (b) Number and color of stripes
 - (c) Color of field
 - (d) Number of stripes
 - (e) Meaning of colors
3. Star-Spangled Banner (to be memorized)

Teachers' List: Fiske: The American Revolution
Hill: Liberty Documents
Lodge: The American Revolution

Children's List: Hart: Camps and Firesides of the
Revolution
Pratt: American History for American
Children
Tiffany: From Colony to Commonwealth

APPENDIX B

Moslem Holidays: Application of the Framework

Although the focus of this study has been on all three levels of decision-making, the example to be presented will focus upon the decisions made at the institutional level. This level is chosen because it is the one assumed to be most likely to initiate change and, in light of the example to be presented, would prove to be the most appropriate place for decision-making. The example will include both descriptive and prescriptive processes and indicate a broad outline for use of the framework. It will be assumed that the school system has identified educational purposes or goals, school objectives, and a list of holidays to be studied or observed. They will provide the descriptive elements.

Goals of Education for the System: (selected for relationship to holiday celebrations)

Recognition of and respect for the worth of each individual.

Understanding and evaluations of the cultures and contributions of other peoples;

Appreciation for and gaining power in logical, critical, and creative thinking;

Understanding and acceptance of the responsibilities and appreciation of the privileges inherent in the American way of life;

Effective human relationships for democratic living as they apply to the individual in the family, in the school and community, in the country, and in the world;

Wise use of human, natural, and material resources;

Values in aesthetic appreciation and creative expression;

Ethical behavior based on moral values.

(Adapted from Elizabeth C. Wilson, "Designing Institutional Curricula: A Case Study of Curriculum Practice," in Goodlad, Curriculum Inquiry, p. 220).

Social Studies Goals: (selected sample)

Child will develop respect for people whose values and beliefs differ from his own.

Child will gain an understanding of the commonalities shared by the human species.

Child will gain an understanding of the world's great ideas or themes, including religions, and their place in motivating behavior in the past and present.

The child will use value strategies to clarify value-laden topics in social studies units.

Holiday Celebrations Goals/Objectives: (selected from scope and sequence)

The child will express positive attitudes and values toward himself, others, and their interrelationships by focusing on particular celebrants and the themes and origins of their holiday celebrations.

The child will understand and demonstrate understanding of important ideas, facts, concepts, and generalizations appropriate to the holidays observed, studied, and celebrated.

The child will develop the ability to view the world from an objective vantage point as he classifies types of holidays, compares themes and functions of holidays, and relates the celebrants to the value positions implied in their celebrations.

HOLIDAYS OBSERVED IN SCHOOL SYSTEM:

Kindergarten, Grade 1: Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Valentine's Day, Mother's Day, Father's Day, Flag Day.

Grades 2 and 3: continue those above and add Columbus Day, Veteran's Day, Fire Prevention Day, Arbor and Conservation Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day, and day of community's founding.

Grades 4 - 6: continue above on higher levels and add United Nations Day, Constitution Week, Bill of Rights Day, Susan B. Anthony's Birthday, Chanukah, Pan-American Day, International Goodwill Day, and other special days of significance to community or state.

(No assessment will be provided about the appropriateness of the days as listed here; it is assumed that they reflect the nature of the community served by the school system).

Questions could be raised about the types of holidays represented--particularly their scope and sequence--and the relative absence of religious holidays reflective of non-Christian persuasions. Applying the guidelines from the Social Studies (conventional wisdom), one might conclude that this portion of the social studies failed to provide a broad spectrum of holidays celebrated throughout the world although it does include United Nation's Day, Pan-American Day, International Goodwill Day. These holidays do not reflect particular beliefs and are perhaps too global to promote the goals cited. What changes should be made?

The first step is to re-examine the guidelines from the Social Studies which may be appropriate:

- 2.0 The Social Studies Program should deal with the real social world.
 - 2.4 It should provide for intensive and recurrent study of cultural, racial, religious, ethnic groups, those to which students belong and those to which they do not.
- 3.0 The Social Studies Program should draw from currently valid knowledge representative of man's experiences, cultures, and beliefs.
 - 3.6 It should represent some balance between the immediate social environment of students and the larger social world; between small group and public issues; among local, national, and world affairs; among past, present, and future directions; and among Western and non-Western cultures.

Although the social studies program may provide for the satisfaction of these guidelines, the holiday curriculum should also. It may be that holidays are studied as part of social studies units in which case they may not need to be given separate attention. But, they should be recognized as part of that curriculum and the overlap of objectives may be noted. This school system has decided that it wishes to find a better match between its curriculum and the realities of the "larger social world," particularly world affairs and non-Western cultures. As it examines the contemporary scene, the specialist at the institutional level of decision-making along with teachers determine that the Arab world is one which has an ever-increasing effect

upon international politics, particularly as they relate to emerging nations, fuel supply and costs, and tensions which may result in world crisis. As a starting point, they choose to focus their efforts upon Moslems and leave the Jewish and Christian traditions of the Middle East until another time. The question they investigate is: What does the holiday celebration tradition tell us about the Moslems and can it become part of the curriculum? (obviously this may not be a first question, but as it is elaborated below it will become clear why it was chosen.)

Step 1: Content of Moslem Holidays

The Moslem holiday calendar is primarily a religious one which binds the many and diverse nations which observe them. They are, of course, most widely observed in Arabic countries, but the religious beliefs extend from Morocco to the Malacca strait and believers number close to one-seventh of the world's population. The religion traces its origin to the seventh century and professes the belief in one God whose prophet is Mohammed. Moslems also honor the Christian and Jewish prophets but believe that Mohammed was the last. The religion rests upon five principal acts of faith or "pillars": Faith in Allah; Prayers five times a day; Almsgiving; Keeping the Fast of Ramadan; Pilgrimage to Mecca. All are revealed in the Koran as are other prescriptions for attaining salvation after death. The

holiday year for Moslems, as with other religions, is a combination of local and national days highlighted by the major religious holidays.

Because Moslems follow a lunar calendar (twenty-nine and one-half days per month and 354 days per year), their holidays shift eleven days each year and a holiday may come in almost any season. The Moslem tradition arose in a non-agricultural setting so that it does not generally combine religious and seasonal holidays as do Judaism and Christianity. The Moslem years are calibrated from the time of Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina today) in 622 A.D. which became the year one, A.H. (Anno Hegira).

MAJOR RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS OF MOSLEMS: (those generally celebrated by all sects and nationalities although customs may vary)

Muharram: New Year's Day--focus on themes of death and resurrection.

Ashura: Tenth day of first month--focus on remembrance of Noah landing his Ark and viewed as God's kindness by saving mankind.

Maulid an-Nabi: Prophet's birthday--emphasis upon miracles surrounding birth and infancy of Mohammed.

Ramadan: Month-long fast to commemorate Mohammed's revelations as the written word of the Koran; time of good will and culmination is three-day festival of Little Beiram, a holiday of rejoicing during which new clothes are worn, gifts are given and family parties are held.

Id al-Adha: Commemorative holiday of "near sacrifice of Ishamel (founder of Arabic nation) by his father Abraham in compliance with God's command. Day is celebrated by retelling stories of Ishmael's childhood and general remembrance of all those who have died ("Memorial Day").

Ileyeh: Greater Beiram, tenth day of twelfth month--marks the end of pilgrimage to Mecca; although the holiday is celebrated each year the pilgrimage is generally made only once in a life-time and considered the most important event in a Moslem's life.

Step 2: Generate possible goals/objectives: (The objectives to be elaborated at this level can be of a variety of types: conceptual, skill, affective, inquiry. A few possibilities directly related to the content will be offered as illustrations.)

Child will understand that the Moslem religious holiday tradition contains both unique aspects and similarities to Judaism and Christianity.

Child will gain an appreciation for the influence of religion upon the lives of Moslem believers.

Child will understand that holidays celebrated by Moslems are based upon a lunar calendar and, therefore, do not follow a seasonal pattern.

The child will gain an appreciation of the figure of Mohammed as the central prophet to the Moslems.

The child will appreciate the place of the Moslem community in the world of today.

Many more objectives as possibilities could be identified; these examples are meant to provide a sample of the types one could derive based upon the school's goals, the objectives drawn from the scope and sequence, and those based upon the content--all are funded knowledge.

Step 3: Determination of how to incorporate the Moslem holidays into the curriculum and what the emphasis should be. Decisions have to be made about whether or not to keep the holidays as separate areas of study or to incorporate them into social studies units. Decisions about cognitive requirements of the concepts and mental operations required by such holidays to maximize understanding must be made and, thus, at what ages they would most appropriately be placed. Based upon the scope and sequence designation of holiday celebrations, it is likely that upper elementary age children would be most able to effectively deal with the religious content of the Moslem celebrations. Not only are fairly sophisticated mental operations called for (multiple classification, viewing from the intentional perspective of others, etc.), but children would need some understanding of more familiar religious traditions to employ as a frame of reference for examining the similar but different religion of the Moslems.

Step 4: Possible Directions (listed below will be the generated possibilities for inclusion of Moslem holidays)

1. Social Studies Unit about the Middle East: a unit of this type might include the holidays as examples of the values and traditions followed by the Moslems with particular emphasis given to the Ramadan Fast and the Pilgrimage to indicate the commitment to the beliefs and to the city of Mecca. The central

questions might relate to the ascendancy of the Arab world on the international political scene and its affect upon their children's own particular region.

2. A second approach might be a holiday focus which highlighted a theme shared by other peoples and their holiday traditions:
 - a. New Year's Celebrations (Christian, Jewish, Oriental, Moslem). The focus of such a study would be placed upon concepts and generalizations drawn from sociology as well as the nature and functions of holiday celebrations.
 - b. Birthday Celebrations of Founders (Christian, Moslem, Buddhist). The focus of such a study might be on the common "miracle" stories associated with births and infancy periods of the founders with particular attention given to the contemporary rituals associated with their celebrations.
3. A study of Moslem holidays alone to isolate the beliefs which motivate their behaviors as expressed in their yearly celebrations. Particular emphasis might be placed upon the variation of customs and traditions of the countries which observe Moslem beliefs as well as the central celebrations which bind all Moslems.
4. The last alternative would require a fair degree of sophistication and background of experience as it focuses upon comparative religion studies through holidays with particular emphasis given to the relationships among Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Funded knowledge from the disciplines as well as research about the development of religious concepts would be needed (the work of David Elkind would be a good source.)

Step 5: Planning units, field-testing, and evaluating their success in relation to the identified goals of the school and the social studies as well as the holiday celebrations curriculum.

The procedure identified above is presented as a model of how one might employ the framework at the institutional level of decision-making related to a particular content and a perceived need. It is meant to be an overview of how it might work and to demonstrate how the sources of knowledge might be employed. Of crucial importance in this process, is the on-going examination of the elements of the framework and their modification or revision as indicated by the data sources.

APPENDIX C

Michaelis' Calendar of Selected Days and Weeks

September

Labor Day - first Monday
 Citizenship Day - 17
 Constitution Week -
 includes 17

October

Junior Red Cross Enrollment - dates announced
 Fire Prevention Day - 9
 Columbus Day - 12
 United Nations Day - 24
 Halloween - 31

November

Veteran's Day - 11
 Book Week - dates announced
 American Education Week - dates announced
 General Election Day - first Tuesday after first Monday
 Thanksgiving - fourth Thursday

December

United Nations Human
 Rights Day - 10
 Bill of Rights Day - 15
 Christmas - 25

January

New Year's Day - 1
 Franklin's Birthday - 17
 Inauguration Day - 20
 Franklin D. Roosevelt's
 Birthday, March of
 Dimes - 30

February

Lincoln's Birthday - 12
 Valentine's Day - 14
 Susan B. Anthony's
 Birthday - 15
 Washington's Birthday - 22
 Brotherhood Week - includes February 22

March

Luther Burbank's Birthday - 7
 Conservation Week - includes March 7
 Arbor Day - includes March 7
 Easter Week - in March or April

April

Pan-American Day - 14
 Kindness to Animals Week - dates announced
 National Youth Week - dates announced

May

May Day - 1
 Child Health Day - 1
 International Goodwill Day - 18
 Memorial Day - 30
 Mother's Day - third Sunday
 Armed Forces Day - third Saturday

June

Flag Day - 14
 Father's Day - third Sunday

July

Independence Day - 4

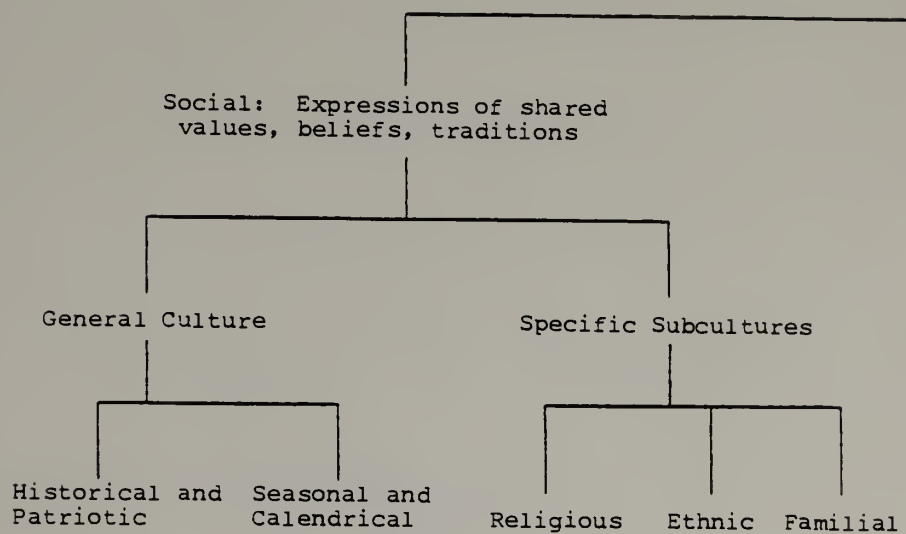
August

National Aviation Day - 19

APPENDIX D

Elaboration of Concept Map

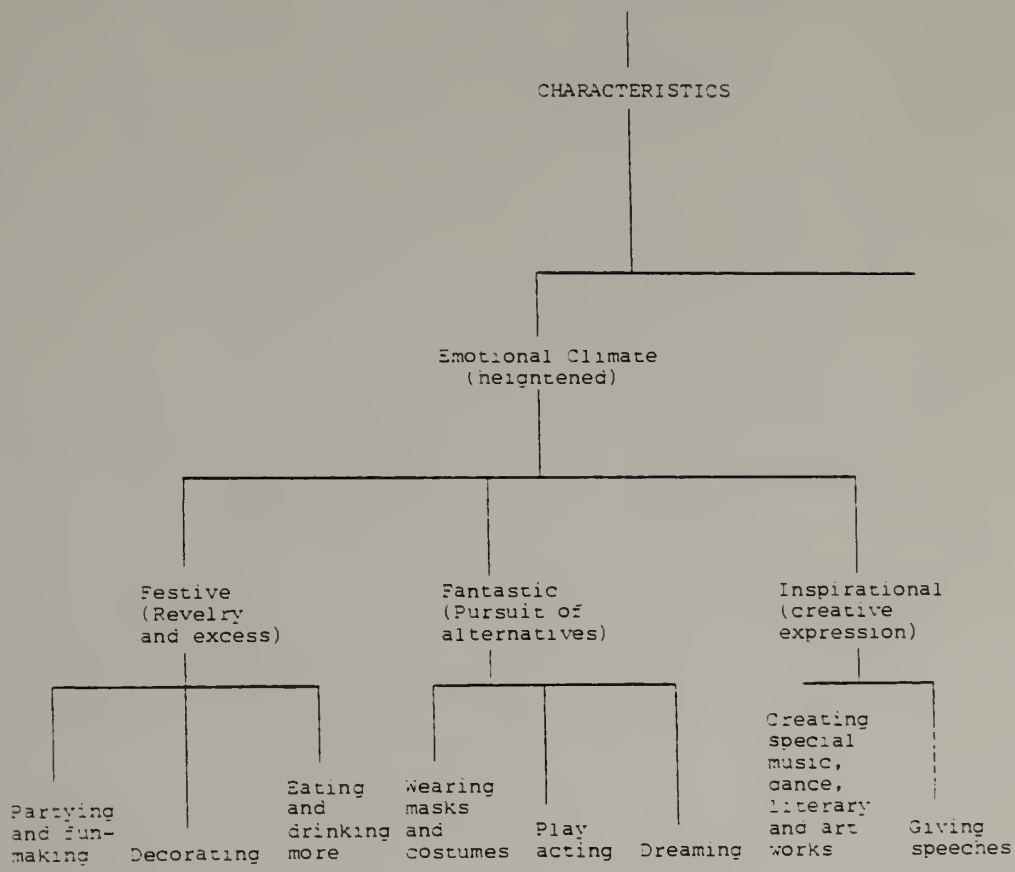
HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS: Times set aside to mark or honor specific people, events, or occasions which have meaning to a group or groups of people



Types of Celebrations

Elaboration of Concept Map

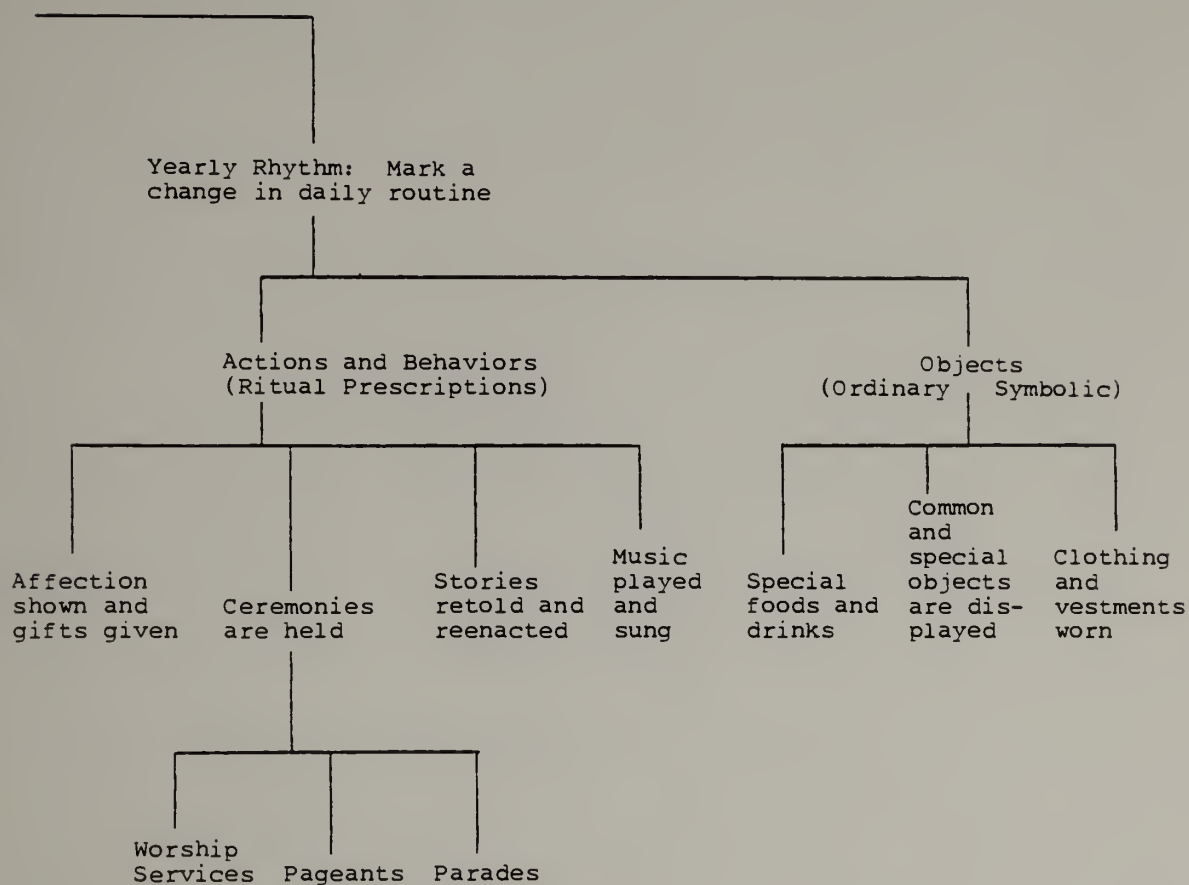
HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS: Times set aside to mark or honor specific people, events, or occasions which have meaning to a group or groups of people



Modes of Celebrating

Elaboration of Concept Map

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS: Times set aside to mark or honor specific people, events, or occasions which have meaning to a group or groups of people



Elaboration of Concept Map

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS: Times set aside to mark or honor specific people, events, or occasions which have meaning to a group or groups of people

