
A PERFECT SOCIETAL HOST FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

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White blood cells that normally prevent foreign agents from entering a human being's internal system actually serve as hosts when the virus for AIDS and the bacteria that causes plague enter a person's body. The hosting white blood cells then carry the deadly agents throughout their human being's body, thus helping to infect the person they are intended to protect.

Barbara A. Goldrick
Bubonic Plague and HIV: The Delta 32 Connection

The current accountability movement appears to have arisen, at least partially, from an often publicly voiced complaint that schools are failing students or that the achievements of American students are falling behind those of youth in other countries.² The public seems to have lost faith in its schools and in the competence of its teachers to educate children and youth in the appropriate manner, especially to some perceived "world-class" standard. Public criticism and political policies imply that schools and their teachers will no longer effectively discharge their duties without an exorbitant amount of oversight by external bodies. These thoughts signal a failure of trust.¹

A failure of trust, as philosopher Onora O'Neill noted in her 2002 BBC Reith Lectures, creates a serious problem for those responsible for public institutions. O'Neill points to schools as but one of many public institutions deemed as being untrustworthy and in need of monitoring.³ As O'Neill puts it: "We live among highly complex institutions and practices whose effects we cannot control or understand, and supposedly see ourselves as subject to hidden and incomprehensible sources of risk."⁴ Negative attitudes toward schools and their teachers, therefore, may be a part of a ubiquitous societal climate of distrust of all public institutions.⁵ However, other factors are operative in the case of societal negativity toward schools perhaps.

Obviously, accountability measures do not arise out of a trusting atmosphere; the measures result from a climate of suspicion, and the sources that nurture the basic American distrust of its public schools need to be located in order to understand the public's enthusiasm for current accountability policies. Americans perhaps are suspicious of their schools, in particular, because they have a perceived lack of control in their everyday lives and in their ability to influence national events; thus, a general climate of fear exists.⁶ With fear as a basis, dichotomous thinking, a deserving/blaming mindset, and an over-valuing of a business model for interactions may all be a part of the cultural thinking that carries the impetus to impose accountability measures. The American cultural

myth of sin and redemption may further influence the context in which accountability measures flourish. In this essay, each of these possibilities will be examined, problems of the accountability system will be pointed out, and, then, the effects of accountability policies upon schooling will be noted.

SOCIETAL IMPULSES:
THE POTENTIAL DANGERS SEEK A HOST

Mass communication systems may contribute to the anxiety that Americans experience. Radio and television newscasts, along with newspaper headlines, in many ways indicate that the world and its citizens' lives are out of control. Newscasts, delivered in frenzied tones, accompanied by urgent-sounding music, constantly review negative or sensational items that dominate newscasts. Truly anxious viewers have access to several television channels broadcasting news events twenty-four hours daily, often with headlines scrolling across the bottom of the screen simultaneously. Coverage of an unfortunate event repeats frequently, making it appear that the same disaster is happening multiple times, with the senses recording it each time it is aired.

Such broadcasting patterns indicate that Americans are expecting a crisis per minute, and individuals are ever vigilant, wanting to be the first to know about each danger. Neil Postman, author of numerous books and essays describing current information systems and their effects upon individuals, argues that technologies have social, political, intellectual, and emotional biases. An argument can be made from Postman's work alone, that the form of current technologies and mass communication systems heavily influence the societal mindset, especially the mindset of fear.⁷

Politicians and religious leaders use the alarmist atmosphere of news broadcasting to denounce many occurring practices, decisions, and leaders as being flawed, dishonest, or "sinful". In order to be elected, political candidates must show reasons why the current leaders cannot be trusted to perform their duties competently; therefore, challengers impugn the character or policies of those in power. American citizens, then, witness a constant barrage of negative criticism directed toward their elected leaders and, by implication, the institutions in which they act. The negative commentaries are so prevalent that communication scholars have coined the phrase for the role of the media in the political process as "media-intrusion theory."⁸

In addition, in order to achieve political power, members of the Religious Right in the last two decades have been particularly vocal in their attacks upon the in-place reality in which Americans live. Historian James Fraser claims that religious fundamentalists who are premillennialist place an element of foreboding into the mix of social criticism by declaring current conditions to be the apocalypse or the end of the world.⁹ If the massive sale of books such as *The*

Remnant can be taken as an indication, many Americans certainly are interested in or worried about that idea.

In relation to schooling, politicians find it politically expedient negatively to criticize teachers and schools, mainly because schools are “easy” and visible targets funded by tax dollars. As to attacking the ability of teachers to teach, Parker Palmer claims “...teacher-bashing has become a popular sport. Panic-stricken by the demands of our day, we need scapegoats for the problems we cannot solve and the sins we cannot bear.”¹⁰ School and teacher bashing, though, is not entirely new: in reviewing the history of schooling, one finds an equally long history of schooling criticism, especially from the media and politicians. However, education researcher David Sachs, among others, reports that the current campaign to discredit public schools is the result of at least a twenty-year intensive crusade.¹¹ W. James Popham dates the current attack on schools from the early 1970’s.¹² Both researchers concur that the current negative criticism differs from earlier criticism in a significant way: now the general public accepts the notion that schools are failing as dogma. Researchers David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle, speaking of the recent twenty-year crusade against schools claim that the current campaign directed against schools has come from prestigious sources and has been aggressive, and they further claim that no other attempt to criticize schools has been completed with such energy and with so many false claims passing as evidence.¹³ Gerald Bracey’s research supports Sachs’, Berliner’s, and Biddle’s claims as he straightforwardly argues that current negative criticism is being used to dismantle public schools.¹⁴

Whatever the purpose, schooling critics use claims such as falling test scores and perceived general “lack” of academic rigor in schools as evidence that schools are failing.¹⁵ Such an acceptance of negative criticism as being the reality of schooling, then, perhaps contributes to the societal culture of mistrust, fear, and the individual feeling of being unable to control the course of everyday events, even schooling, that appears to dominate the psyche of American citizens.

In addition, many Americans perhaps experience a generalized feeling of their lives being out of control because they hold a “quick-fix” mentality. Once again, the media, through its commercials, indicates, and popular opinion seems to concur, that if one has a problem, an immediate solution exists and is available from a product or process. Some sort of scientific solution, commercial product, or self-help book is often thought to be the answer.¹⁶ Advertisements for quick-fix products appear not only in the media but also on the sides of taxicabs, buses, and billboards. Radio and television talk shows thrive by having experts dispense instant advice. In reality, for most serious problems, there are no easy solutions, or, for that matter, often no one answer is available for any complex problem, and certainly the correction is not an immediate one. Thus

the difference between reality and “media reality” generates a cognitive dissonance problem for individuals, exacerbating their anxieties.

Dichotomous thinking contributes to the quick-fix notion. Much current thinking divides the world into opposites: good/bad; right/wrong; moral/immoral; winners/losers; love/hate and so forth.¹⁷ Either something is right, or it is wrong. If it is wrong, then fix it! Such dichotomous thinking constrains thought because it does not allow for paradox, ambiguity, or gradations of definitions and is simply simplistic thinking. For example, is a child who misbehaves several times during the day a “trouble-maker,” or is he/she just a “good” child having a few episodes of misbehavior? Once the label of “trouble-maker” attaches to the child, however, the child’s life changes because of the ways in which adults and other children perceive and interact with him/her based upon the label.

As can be seen from the preceding example, dichotomous thinking not only divides the world, it also leads to the attachment of labels that have potential for harm and, at times, undue praise. In the area of accountability, other than perpetuating the idea of quick fixes, dichotomous thinking encourages the notion that schools are either failing or are successful, but more than that, it leads to the search for measures that will validate success or failure—hence tests and comparisons. The need to rank seems to be inherent when categories are formed, especially for the purpose of rewards, the goal of the accountability movement.

Perhaps the need to reward and punish comes from a blame-seeking society. Accidents appear to be *passé*. No matter how an event occurs, immediately, individuals and investigative teams set out to locate the cause and/or guilty party. According to this type of thinking, the “wrong-doer,” even in accidents, “deserves” to pay. Conceptualizing “deserving” in this manner results from a society constantly measuring and evaluating all aspects of its life, both public and private. The positives or negatives of this type of thinking are not under consideration here, but the reality of the blame-finding and reward-giving thinking that prevails in American culture provides an element for receptivity of accountability measures.

The concept of success and the place of honor it holds in all aspects of life also relates to the deserving concept. Americans currently find their markers of success in the accumulation of material goods, whether these are in the form of grand houses or large bank accounts. Heroes of American culture, those individuals who appear successful or to be “winners,” tend to exhibit a show of opulence or some type of winner’s trophy. Money as a reward illustrates the power of the idol of American culture—riches: that which is most valued is bestowed upon those who are most valued.¹⁸

It takes but a small leap to see the connection between accountability measures and the success model Americans appear to treasure. The person who achieves in a field is rewarded for that achievement with money and trophies. Although schools barely register on the value scale in American's scheme of prestige (and here an argument can be made that the non-valuing of schools can be illustrated in the meager funding they receive), they are, none-the-less, caught in the same societal prestige mentality by the accountability movement. Specifically, the movement seeks to evaluate all schools and students on some standardized measurement so that each can be ranked in order for the "best" ones to be located and rewarded with praise and money. By the same token, the low-ranked ones can be "punished" by withholding reward funds or by labeling them as failing or "non-performing" schools.¹⁹

In order to reward, accountability experts need an "unbiased" yardstick. Numbers are perceived as being objective; therefore, if numerical values (i.e. test scores) can be assigned, the public thinks it has valid data with which to measure the success of schools. Alfie Kohn writes that Americans have a "cultural penchant for attaching numbers to things."²⁰ Kohn attributes the love of numbers to the belief that numbers equate to being scientific. If schools, students, and teachers can be assigned to rankings based on numbers, then they are being evaluated "fairly" or "scientifically." However, many researchers have noted the prevalence of test bias and the difficulty of generalizing from test scores. For example, W. James Popham explores the meanings behind test scores and finds their current use to be wrong-minded. Popham notes that the general public mistakenly equates good test scores to good education, and he shows through his work that such an assumption is not accurate.²¹

This reward and punishment mentality may also gather extra strength from the redemptive myth that grounds much American thought.²² The myth of human beings having flawed natures that require redemption strongly influences American thought and attitudes. A strong link exists between the flawed/redeemed idea and schooling criticism. The flawed nature concept can be transferred to institutions: the idea that many schools are non-performing fits the flawed nature concept. Recent calls for holding schooling officials accountable for their pupils' success establishes an us-them mentality inferring that those who administer and teach in schools are "fallen," that is, not truly interested in making sure every child learns. However, with oversight committees demanding that standards be met, redemption for those failing schools and their leaders is possible. The argument appears to be that once the problem is called to the attention of schooling officials and teachers are taught how to teach more effectively, with the help of an academic expert, then test scores will improve. Once again the "fallen" (failing) schools will be made "whole," that is, evaluated as being successful based upon improved test scores. Accountability measures

and those who monitor them thus work within the redemptive myth as the enforcing agents who offer “salvation” for perceived “sinning” schools.

Therefore, in a society with a voiced mistrust of public institutions, especially of schools and individuals in positions of power, that also has a judgmental notion of deserving or not deserving and an ardent faith in the validity of numbers to measure and describe, conditions are perfectly set for a reverence of an accountability system for schools based upon test scores. Such a system theoretically provides a way to standardize and “improve schools” through a system of rewards and punishments, making sure that all students and teachers are held to the same “high” standards.

All of these ideas form the “white cells” that host accountability measures and carry them throughout the societal and schooling bodies of the United States. What sickness results?

PROBLEMS: THE SYMPTOMS APPEAR

Current accountability systems, especially the Leave No Child Behind Act, rest on reductionist ideology based on a faulty philosophical purpose that views learners as products upon which a teaching vitamin pill can be administered, fixing all. Searching for “quick fixes” for the problems of schooling, current reformers have fallen into the technique trap, reducing the purpose of schools to attaining high test scores. Reformers bolster their demands with vague yet powerful rhetoric. Using test scores as the measure of schooling success severely truncates the purpose of schooling and provides a simplistic notion of fairness.²³

To their credit, many of those who advocate and work toward implementing standards and rankings should be commended for attempting to make schooling “fair” for all children. However, the methods current crusaders have selected do not achieve that goal. Attempting to make everything the same for all learners does not achieve equality, and using test scores to validate teacher performance is, according to James Popham and many other testing experts, a mistaken notion.²⁴ In addition, as theorist Elliot Eisner, among others, claims, standardizing prevents schools from becoming positive, joyful learning climates and thwarts the efforts to help students to become intellectuals and active problem solvers in the world community.²⁵

The conditions in American society that not only allow but also embrace the current accountability measures actually signal the triumph of the consumer, product metaphor for formal schooling. Behaviorists, who stress observable behavior, and product-centered advocates, have obtained dominance. The wide use of “standards” intended to improve learning by providing visible markers of achievement and thus leveling the learning field point to such thinking. Such dominance obscures the real socio-economic conditions that exist in society,

placing the burden of “fixing” severe societal systemic inequalities on the school systems. And, placing the burden on the schools averts attention away from the major source of inequalities (society itself), giving the public a “sinning body” to blame for its own failures.²⁶

Claiming current accountability measures will force an excellent and equitable schooling situation for all children is a rhetorical way of absolving governmental and economic policymakers from having to make the difficult choices required to enable many citizens to improve their own lives. The choice of the word “excellence” as a part of accountability rhetoric is an outstanding maneuver in that it means all things to all people and in actuality is a vacuous term through which policy makers can attach whatever meaning that proves convenient for their own purpose. The use of the term “world class” standards also signals even further the dominance of a consumer model gone global.

Therefore, an accountability system that reduces learners and their schools to statistics, the importance of which narrows instruction to technique and basically rests upon the content and form of tests, seriously damages many aspects of schooling, not the least of which is the type of community that forms to carry out the purposes driving instruction.

EFFECTS UPON COMMUNITY: THE ILLNESS

Contrary to criticisms of accountability that claim community is being destroyed by current measures, I would argue that community is not being destroyed. What is occurring, though, is the development of a community that many responsible educators and parents would evaluate as being seriously flawed and negative in action and tone.

The learning community reacts to pressures levied upon it from outside forces; these forces affect the quality of life and results achieved. Members of American society, out of their fears that fuel mistrust, are applying wrong demands upon the teaching and learning community, and education community members are suffering. Current measures are forming overly competitive, prize-seeking schooling communities, conducive to cheating, that perpetuate fearful, homogenized, anti-intellectual, and joyless learning climates.²⁷ Instead of enriching and encouraging learning, current accountability measures have a deadening effect upon the lives of those in schools. Nel Noddings claims that all students will not achieve at the same levels no matter what procedures are used and that using standards and test scores to “level the playing field” actually exacerbates the feelings of failure that many students already experience.²⁸

Current measures focus on “how” to teach as if there were one right way and neglect the “why” and its importance. Compelling teachers to use methods that they may not approve of in order to prepare students to do well on tests precludes the agency of each teacher and obscures individual teacher integrity.

As Stephen Barnes noted in his critique of George Herbert Mead's social psychology and pedagogy, current testing and accountability measures "serve to bifurcate the selves involved," of both the students and the teachers.²⁹

Such a bifurcation impairs the development of effective learning climates as many recent theorists note. For example, Deborah Meir, among others, writes about the importance of learners and teachers forming communities for social and inquiry reasons.³⁰ Philosopher Maxine Greene has long advocated the establishment of learning climates that have a commitment to encouraging students to engage in critical reflection, aesthetic awareness, open-ended growth, or intercultural understanding.³¹ Linda Darling-Hammond, using John Dewey's and current researchers' ideas as a basis, speaks of the importance of establishing classrooms where aspects of students' social and emotional lives are attended to as carefully as "academics." Hammond claims that these human qualities require nurture within a democratic community, which most classrooms under the authority of current external requirements cannot form. She states: "That the only social institution (school) charged with teaching children for democracy does not teach democratically should be a matter of grave concern for us all."³² However, democratic communities cannot exist in an atmosphere of constant test preparation and narrowed purpose. Current accountability measures assure that such communities will not be formed because they take time and long-term effort to establish in order to function well, and they require longitudinal measures to check their efficacy.

Therefore, reducing the purpose of the learning community to skills and test scores reduces the intellectual lives of the participants. The numerals in accountability reports represent real, human beings, each with a history and way of being in the world. Reducing learners to numerals dehumanizes them, resulting in unfortunate educational practices and irresponsible political rhetoric. Slogans driving the accountability movement such as, "the pursuit of excellence" and "leave no child behind," actually propel an accountability system that ensures children and young people will be doomed to a schooling experience of mediocrity and boredom, that does not encourage learners to become problem-solvers, thinkers, or creative individuals. In fact, as Onoria O'Neill implies, the pursuit of excellence in education, as is defined in the accountability movement, leads to an abandonment of the good.³³

The abandonment of the good occurs in many ways. Funds would be available for worthwhile school projects if there were no testing. Money saved from not purchasing tests alone, not even calculating the other expenses which accompany the movement, could be used to hire more teachers in order to decrease class size and to purchase much needed supplies for classrooms.³⁴ Unkempt school buildings could be renovated. How will knowing where each student and school ranks on standardized tests truly enhance the educational

lives of children and young people? Perhaps the statistics and the accompanying accountability rhetoric actually increase fear rather than assuage it. If, as has been posited in this essay, one of the impulses to mandate accountability measures arises from a societal grasp for control in life, the grasping for control is making the lives of school-aged children and young adults miserable.³⁵

*The plague did not infect or kill infected persons in over half of the population of a small English village that barricaded itself once it recognized the village's first case of plague. The reason for such a survival rate for the village inhabitants, according to current researchers, can be attributed to the survivors having mutated white blood cells that would not accept the plague bacteria and thus carry it throughout individuals' bodies. Today, the same "deformed" white blood cells refuse to carry the aids virus throughout the lucky people's bodies that currently have that genetic abnormality.*³⁶

THE RESISTANCE: MUTATED WHITE CELLS

So where is the education community in this situation (supposing that I can refer to educators and students as a collective)? The community is not blameless; perhaps it is a microcosm of the societal macrocosm. The fear and search for control that dominates the larger society rules smaller educational communities as well. Teachers, administrators, and students, for the most part, have refused to "live the examined life," constantly accepting and implementing schooling policies that many know are wrong-minded and playing into the consumer-driven model of education. Relying upon technique, few schooling officials have bothered to examine philosophically and morally the practices and policies of schooling. It appears that few education community members feel they have or can use their own agency to criticize, examine, and refuse to implement wrong-minded policies that discourage meaningful learning and disable positive learning climates. Few educators take the time to reflect upon their compromised integrity or upon the beliefs they hold that perhaps have encouraged current measures. Refusing to acknowledge individual fears, educators find refuge in accepting policies arriving from "the top." Therefore, fear immobilizes teachers who then facilitate the policies that discourage thinking, creativity and student agency. Writing on this matter, Hargreaves argues that the underfunded standards movement will produce teachers who "become the drones and clones of policymakers' anemic ambitions for what underfunded systems can achieve."³⁷

To put the matter closer to home, why have educational philosophers allowed the discipline that speaks to these matters, to be eliminated from or lessened in education school curriculums or in public forums related to accountability? Educational philosophers' voices should be a part of the public conversation related to accountability, but few are there. Education professionals

need to locate their voices and ask that they be allowed to exercise their own professionalism. No real teacher ever sets out to prevent her students from learning. True accountability lies with individual teachers and in educational communities as members collaborate and reflect upon their actions. Educators need the freedom to practice the vocation to which they have been called. Developing measures that push students toward sameness and world class standards only assures mediocrity and miserable lives for teachers and learners. Most legislated schooling policy damages the possibility of establishing democratic learning climates and is disconnected from the real needs of learners and their teachers. In society's quest for control, because of fear, critics have positioned the educational community on the cusp of danger and ultimately despair.

Therefore, identifying societal factors that support current accountability pressures and noting their effects upon the educational community seems to be an imperative first step toward dismantling the current accountability system, or, to return to the metaphor, to preventing the white cells from accepting the disease. The resistance can perhaps commence with acts of disobedience such as not administering the tests, but it needs to go further than that by addressing each of the societal factors that support current accountability measures, seeing them for what they are, and then finding ways to overcome them. If accountability has achieved the complicated state in which we now find it through nourishment from these societal factors and from basic mistrust, then educators must find a way to restore at least a small amount of societal trust toward their schools so that the energy now being expended to raise test scores can be applied toward finding solutions for schooling's real problems and the rethinking of the purpose of schools.³⁸

NOTES

1. Epigraph from Barbara A. Goldrick, "Bubonic Plague and HIV: The delta 32 Connection," *American Journal of Nursing* 103, No.12 (December 2003): 26.
 2. Timothy A. Hasci, *Children As Pawns: The Politics of Educational Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 1.
 3. Onora O'Neill, *A Question of Trust* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002).
 4. *Ibid.*, 15.
 5. Andy Hargreaves, *Teaching in the Knowledge Society* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2003), 1.
 6. Lexington Herald-Leader, Sunday, March 14, 2004, carries a long article on page D1 about the stress and fear factor in ordinary people's lives.
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7. Neil Postman, *The End of Education* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 192.
 8. Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis, *Mass Communication Theory* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2000), 327.
 9. James W. Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and public Education in a Multicultural America* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999), 191.
 10. Parker Palmer, *The Courage to Teach* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 3.
 11. David Sachs, *Standardized Minds: The High Price of America's Testing Culture and What We Can Do to Change It* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Persus, 1999), 81.
 12. W. James Popham, *The Truth About Testing* (Alexandria, Virginia: ASCD, 2001), 4.
 13. David C. Berliner and Bruce C. Biddle, *The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on Public Schools* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 17. Also quoted in Sachs, *Standardized Minds*.
 14. Gerald W. Bracey *On the Death of Childhood and the Destruction of Public Schools* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2003), see especially Chapter One.
 15. Much of the current criticism can be traced back to the report *A Nation at Risk* which is now cited as flawed by many educational researchers such as John Goodlad. (See Goodlad's essay, "Kudzu, Rabbits, and School Reform," *Phi Delta Kappan*, (2002): 83, 17-23.
 16. Neil Postman, *Teaching as a Conserving Activity* (New York: Dell, 1979). This idea is offered throughout this text.
 17. Allan G. Johnson, *The Gender Knot: Unraveling Our Patriarchal Legacy* (Philadelphia: Temple, 1997), see especially Chapter Four.
 18. See Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy: A Political History of the American Rich* (New York: Random House, 2002) for an argument of the link between money and influence.
 19. See works such as Henry A. Giroux, *Stealing Innocence: Corporate Culture's War on Children* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).
 20. Alfie Kohn, *Punished by Rewards* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1993), 75.
 21. Popham, *The Truth*, 16.
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23. For a discussion of this criticism, see Gerald W. Bracey, “*On the Death*” especially Chapter 1.
 24. Ibid., 42.
 25. Elliot W. Eisner, *The Kind of Schools We Need: Personal Essays* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 1998).
 26. Bracey, 47.
 27. Kohn, *Punished*.
 28. Nel Noddings, *The Challenge to Care in Schools: An Alternative Approach to Education* (Columbia University: The University Press, 1992), 29.
 29. Stephen Barnes, “The Contemporary Relevance of George Herbert Mead’s Social Psychology and Pedagogy,” *Philosophical Studies in Education*, Volume 100, 2002, 62.
 30. Deborah Meir, *The Power of Their Ideas* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
 31. Maxine Greene, *Landscapes of Learning* (Columbia University: Teachers College Press, 1978), 160-166.
 32. Linda Darling-Hammond, *The Right to Learn* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979), 141.
 33. O’Neill, *A Question*.
 34. Timothy A. Hacsí, *Children As Pawns*, see his research about class size in Chapter 3.
 35. By miserable, I am referring to the constant drill for test preparation, the shortened or lack of recess time so that more time can be spent on test preparation, the methodical worksheet driven instruction that most students endure, the lack of attention given to the interests of the students when standardized curriculums are implemented, the attention given to implementation of harsh discipline measures, and the anxiety that both teachers and students experience from the demand to raise test scores. *Education Leadership (ASCD)* devoted its entire November 2003 edition to issues of accountability. From that volume, Frederick M. Hess summarizes his article’s main focus as “to force change, we must accept incentives and sanctions.” The piece is entitled “The Case for Being Mean!”
 36. For a discussion of this white blood cell phenomenon, see the PBS website “Secrets of the Dead”, producer Margi Kerns or visit www.eyammuseum.demon.co.uk/eyam, for information about the Eyam, Derbyshire museum.
 37. Hargreaves, 2.
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38. Please observe educational journals and books; very few authors currently or even in the last few years have written about the purpose of schools; most are writing about techniques, methods, or ways to hold teachers accountable. Where have the thinkers gone?