

Genealogy of Play at Free Schools

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a genealogical study of the taken-for-granted ‘free’ or ‘self-governed’ play practice at the free schools. The study places play practice within a historical trajectory. The study compares and analyzes the current (1960s to present) discursive formations of play practice as they emerge in various archival texts such as on free schools, and juvenile delinquency and youth crime, to the discursive formations of the 1890s to 1929s as they emerge in various archival texts such as on physical education, public bath, city problems, playground, outdoor recreation legislation, and recreation areas and juvenile delinquency. The study demonstrates how various “subjugated knowledges” appeared during these time periods around play practice. Foucauldian genealogy is crafted for the study through Foucault’s lectures, interviews, essays, and how other scholars wrote about Foucauldian genealogy and conducted genealogical work themselves. The study is to challenge what it seems to be the grand narrative of this play practice in free schools. Instead of being the form of learning that allows students to seek their truest capacity and interest, learning, and eventually growth and happiness, this practice does so at a great cost, and therefore it is a dangerous practice, opens up various power/knowledge such as play is used as a systematic and accurate technology to shape, mold, and organize the schooled children body, a means to interrupt and intervene with the children growth, as the technology of school hygiene, and as a governing tool to help the state, nation, family, and school, produce ‘good’ citizens, who will not commit to idleness, delinquency, gang-spirit, and similar others.

For Henny, Budi, Gratia, Andi,
your life of pray, hard work, struggles, give thanks are my inspiration and strength

For Serge,
who walks alongside beautifully

In Loving Memory of
Soegito

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

From Curriculum Studies to the Study

Here, I would like to address how the study of free schools has been positioned or viewed within the realm of the curriculum studies field. I will visit briefly on how the field of curriculum studies has been ‘made’ or ‘narrated’ or ‘written’ and it is my understanding that the field is still continuously *in the making*. The way I see the field of curriculum studies is that it is ‘constructed’ through multiple networks of knowledge and discourses and also practices. These knowledge and discourses can be traced in multiple ways. For one is the way I am ‘educated’ to come to know the field through my course works in my doctoral study. The chosen reading lists, the related texts (books, both scholarly and non-scholarly articles), courses syllabus included in them particular kinds of questions asked, the methods and methodology to ask the questions and to answer them also to think through, within or around them, the ways in which classes are organized or made to ‘happen’, each student and professor contributions, the particular class practices, ways of ‘discussing’, certain ways of reading the texts and responding them, choices of themes and order, assignment practices, and what a ‘meaningful’ final projects are for the classes which are expected to fit to the realm of curriculum studies practices, and how the class and the students might go about them, are among some of the spaces in which the field is talked about, introduced, and practiced. Thus these are some of the so many technologies that are ‘making up’ the field.

The courses within my curriculum studies concentration where I am ‘educated’ to come to know the field, include Critical Social Theory and Curriculum, Contemporary Educational Theory, Curricula: Inside, Outside, Hidden, Cultural Studies and Education, Perspectives on Curriculum, and Public Pedagogy. In addition to these concentration courses, there is a course within the curriculum and instruction core requirement and interdisciplinary studies that is related to these concentration courses, such as Curriculum Theory and Practice course. So, I will draw the perspectives on how the free school is positioned and viewed from the scholarly archives of these courses. In addition to these, there are other discourses that make up the field along the side, such as the annual curriculum studies conferences such as AAACS (American Association of the Advancement of Curriculum Studies), and annual AERA (American Educational Research Association) specifically sessions organized by Division B Curriculum Studies, which I attend regularly and thus influence the way I view the field, as well as experience and practice the field. The perspectives of free school from texts, discussions, presentations, and publications associated with these curriculum studies related sessions within these conferences would be also visited. It is not my intention to try to limit the scope of curriculum studies and what it might mean, but I make a choice to talk about the curriculum studies from a specific ‘position’, which I briefly mention above.

Furthermore, curriculum studies as a field is interdisciplinary (Malewski, 2010). It is so wide even somehow almost includes everything, yet it is also very specific. The field is fed by so many other fields and by different clusters and network of theorizing and practices as Malewski said, “Those who work in autobiography might see one thing in curriculum while those who work in phenomenology or poststructuralism, or at the

crossroads of two or more clusters, might see another” (Malewski, 2010, p. 6). However, there is also a certain tradition within the curriculum studies, such as Pinarian tradition (Malewski, 2010).

The discourses surrounding free school are discussed as part of the larger historical and contemporary curriculum discourses, through the work of Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman (2008) titled, *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourses*. Specifically, free school discourse is viewed within the curriculum crisis and transformation between 1928-1969. During the tumultuous 1920s, there was a battle between two ideas within the American school curriculum. These two ideas are called *social efficiency movement* and *the progressive dissent* (Pinar et al., 2008). Social efficiency movement was supported by long standing of “public enthusiasm for American business” (p. 124). Social efficiency movement focuses on creating task and activity analysis as the methods of curriculum construction (Bobbitt cited in Pinar, 2008). While the progressive dissent was voicing “democracy, social reform, and child-centeredness as the fundamental ideas of curriculum construction” (Dewey as cited in Pinar et al., 2008, p. 124).

There are multiple voices of what constitute child-centeredness within this large umbrella of progressive education movement. One debate is about the need of schools to address socially relevant problems, which was at that time lean to more on Deweyan progressive education version. So, the child-centeredness within this Deweyan progressive education is constructed through the discourses surrounding the making of a whole child who is able to read the world including reading the problems exist and the injustices happened in the world around them, and act responsibly. Other child centered

educators argued that there should not be the responsibility of providing educational direction, such as the agenda of addressing socially relevant problems in schooling experiences, as then it makes teaching a form of imposition. This form of imposition is blamed to be indoctrination. This is one of the moments when curriculum is seen as a political text. The need to elaborate theories of social welfare within the progressive education movement and that to become truly progressive, Progressivism must have a social vision (Counts, 1932). It then produces the politicization of progressivism (Pinar et. al, 2008). Schools are viewed to be the solution for (nation) social problem(s) and thus it functions to change the society. This reminds me of the *educationalization* of social problems (Smeyers & Depaepe, 2008) and the educationalization of the modern world (Tröhler, 2008), in which the ‘social’ responsibility is transferred to the school, “where special attention was paid to one or other social problem that was clearly only touched upon by the traditional curriculum” (Smeyers & Depaepe, 2008, p. 1). This is a familiar phenomenon in the history of education and this is usually how the story is being told about what the schools are for.

As I mentioned a bit earlier, the debates create the space for the division of progressivism: the child-centered movement and the social wings of Progressive movement or Deweyan progressive movement, which is also referred as social reconstructionist. The scholars included in the child-centered movement are Margareth Naumburg, who was using the notion of therapy into the pupil’s inner life. The therapeutic notion of education later reemerge in the alternative schools movements around 1960s, including in it is through the practices within free schools (Mercogliano, 1998). Another child-centered scholars committed to child development, emphasizing

freedom, the child's interests as the center of education. Rugg and Shumaker (1928) celebrated child-centered education as it developed tolerance, creativity, and supported the development of the child.

Bode (1938) tried to mediate these two streams of progressivism by arguing that progressive movement is unique in that "it places the individual at the center of the stage; yet it perpetually criticizes the competitive character of the present social order, which indicates that it rejects the philosophy of individualism" (p. 10). So, Bode recognizes that child-centeredness within progressive movement is inseparable from the cause of democracy.

Following that, there was a progressive experimentation, called The Eight-Year Study, in which the Progressive Education Association conducted a study with secondary school curriculum during 1930s. Thirty schools participated. This study raised the main question on how secondary schools in the states "might better serve all our young people" (Aikin, 1942, p. 1). The phrase "serve all our young people" marks the principle of child-centeredness that the child is meant to be the axis of the experimentation. The commission on the Relation of School to College chaired by Wilford M. Aikin studied the secondary schools and problematized the following:

- 1) the relevancy of the traditional high school curriculum. The commission noted that the student centeredness was absent in the traditional school curriculum.
- 2) the isolated school subjects in the school curriculum. There are no continuity within the subject fields and among the grade levels, and
- 3) the meaningless and irrelevant schoolwork.

One of the biggest contributions of this Eight-Year Study is freeing the teachers and administrators to identify their own objectives and means of improvement (Aikin, 1942). The sense of adventure and experimentation seem to be the lasting significance of the study (Kridel in Pinar, 2008). The study is said to make a significant gains, “the fuller and happier living of oncoming generations of American boys and girls” (p. 12).

Michener (1987), one of the teachers teaching in the participated schools, attested his experiences teaching at the school under the condition of the study as “one of the greatest successes” (p. 10) as he learnt more about his students and various point of views himself as a teacher and had a meaningful teaching experience. Unfortunately, the World War II broke and the triumph of the Study couldn’t be responded further at the time. However, this Eight-Year Study marks an important turn of events for child-centeredness movement, which further long creates the space for different schooling paradigms that share the same spirit of the study to emerge, one of them I think is into the making of child-centeredness principle in the education movement after the study, to name a few the child-centered education movement in 1960s and 1970s, including in them the free schools movement.

In early 1960s, during which the free school movement is sporadic, the curriculum discourses was dominated by “the psychological language of cognition, development, and behavior” (Marshall, Sears, Allen, Roberts, & Schubert, 2007, p. 54). Psychology had become “the basic educational science” (Tanner & Tanner, 1990, p. 300). During these moments of curriculum point, Bruner cited in Marshall, Sears, Allen, Roberts, & Schubert (2007) brought “attention to the structure of knowledge, the importance of the disciplines, and the kind of inquiry that produces discipline-specific

knowledge, yet he also emphasized intuition and different ways of knowing through inquiry” (p. 55). Deweyan progressive child-centeredness was still recognizable during these moments as well as the language of human development within the movement of free school in this era. The conception of child, learning, schooling, educating, meaning and objectives within free schools are overwhelmed by the language of psychology, social behaviorism, and human development, the curriculum discourses surrounding the movement I mentioned earlier.

Within the discussion in both my *Curricula: Inside, Outside, Hidden* and *Curriculum Theory and Practice* courses, the same threat of narration on the view of free school occurs. These two courses locate free schools in one of the four curriculum ideologies: 1) Western Traditionalist or The Scholar Academic Ideology; 2) The Social Efficiency or Social Adaptionist Ideology; 3) Personal Growth or The Learner Centered Ideology; and 4) The Social Reconstruction Ideology. Free school is categorized within the realm of the Learner Centered Ideology (Schiro, 2008; Ellis, 2004) or it is also referred as Personal Growth ideology. Ellis (2004) discussed specifically the education philosophy of A.S. Neill and Summerhill in his chapter of Learner Centered Ideology, and brought the example of learner centered practices from the Sudbury schools, in which many free schools in the US and the world are modeled after. One of the popular belief within learner centered school in Neill creation as mentioned by Ellis (2004) is that the child is innately good and wise, and thus is capable of making the right choices. Ellis further argues that

[given] Neill’s deep-seated belief in the fundamental goodness of human nature, the perception is that the choices individuals make are more typically good than

not, and even in those instances where someone makes a mistake, the process of making decisions and reflecting on them is inevitably part of one's personal growth. (p. 44)

However, the discussion of Summerhill or further about free school is very brief. In Eliis (2004), it is literally only three paragraphs and is very general. This seems to be the pattern in other curriculum theory and curriculum studies books I have encountered. There is not really much about free schools or its movement within the discussion in the field.

In 2011 American Association of the Advancement of the Curriculum Studies conference in New Orleans, there was one presentation about free school and its practices as well as its contemporary movement in the US. In the following year, 2012, there was also one presentation about unschooling and learner centeredness, free school was mentioned briefly. And in 2013, there is no presentation specifically about free school, but other alternative school named Brockwood Park School, which is inspired by the teaching of J. Krishnamurti. As the scholar articulated and described his experiences at the school, audiences in the presentation immediately label the school within the spirit of progressivism, specifically the personal growth version of progressive movement. The school was even categorized same as Summerhill school, one model of free schools.

The Relevance of Foucault in Free Schooling and Play Practice

In my early years of starting to get to know the idea of free school through my journey of learning about *unschooling*, deschooling, and homeschooling, I found myself to be able to ask different questions and think differently about schooling and education in particular. I began to see different continuum in education landscape and see what at

that time has had happened in the traditional system of schooling such things as class and age based education, institution-based schooling, discrete subjects and studying times, certain kinds of learning experience and what it entails, the conceptions of a student and a teacher and its relations, and many other related conceptions. I was critical of the traditional system of schooling and the ideas by scholars wrote on free school, *unschooling*, deschooling, and homeschooling helped me imagine different kind of educated subject, and relearn so many taken for granted beliefs, assumptions, and conceptions about my own schooling experiences and others as schooled subject, what it means for me to be an educator and to work and to write in education field, and what it means to be an educated subject myself. Then I began to come across the works of Michel Foucault and those who conversed and are still conversing with his works. My engagement with the works of scholars on free school, deschooling, homeschooling, *unschooling*, and other (non-traditional) schooling initiatives, somehow provides some space for me to be drawn and interested even more with Foucault's works and other critical thinkers' (especially within the fields of curriculum studies and curriculum theory and history) who share complicated conversation (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995) space.

If the works of scholars on free schools, deschooling, *unschooling*, homeschooling, and other (non-traditional) schooling initiatives allow me to be critical about the traditional schooling practices and beliefs and assumptions, Foucault's works on the other hand, allow me to be critical of the perspectives offered by those scholars working on free schools, deschooling, *unschooling*, homeschooling, and other (non-traditional) schooling initiatives and in particular to ask critical questions about the notion

of free schools (along with other related notions of deschooling, homeschooling, *unschooling*, and other alternative schooling initiatives – however, here, I will focus only on free school), which otherwise is impossible to ask or to think about.

Agreeing with Fendler (2005), “one of the biggest contributions of Foucault’s critical theory is to historicize things that have been naturalized” (p.1). His works historicize contemporary epistemology, and so many truths and its networks. His works disrupt the taken-for-granted notions or concepts by questioning the conditions that make the practices happen, and their mechanism of rationalization. Foucault writing provides theoretical tools that are useful and applicable for understanding free schools and their mechanism of rationalization and also the consequences of the practices within them and thus is significance for scholars or those who work in the area of free schools including myself. As Fendler (2005) emphasizes as well that these (Foucaultian) theoretical tools are “different from those of structuralism and useful for different kinds of projects” (p. 3). I will explain further how Foucault’s works are useful and applicable especially to scholars working on free school in the following section.

Foucault’s work “has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects” (Foucault, 1982, p. 208). This Foucaultian project of subjectivity suggests that we “refuse what we are” (Foucault, 1982, p. 216). Therefore, in contributing to the scholarly work of those who work in the area of free schools, Foucault’s works problematize the taken for granted notions of free school and free school subject that have been defended, naturalized, and preserved by the accumulation and continued works of scholars work on free school, and related fields such as democratic education, liberal and progressive education.

Many advocates of free school had been portraying free school as a “utopian” school. The school is seen as one of the “solution” for the misery and the crisis of existing public schools in America (Greenberg, 1996). It has been said as an ideal model of schooling and thus the model has been spread out around the world through the active works of activists of democratic education. One of them is through the works of Alternative Educational Resource Organization. One of the trainings and workshops available through this organization is how to initiate and open new alternative schools that are learners centered, in which one of the models is free school. Outside this attempt, the existing free schools, more than 50 of them, are also active themselves in opening new school and growing their students.

Free school subject is often referred as the happy child or whole child (Harrison, 2002). She/he is a healthy child, healthier than other children growing up in different environments (especially refers to non-free schooling environment). As Neill (2006) emphasizes that the Summerhill’s merits would be the merits of “healthy, free children” (p. 5). The child is believed to be “a good, not an evil, being” (Neill, 2006, p. 6) and thus a child is “innately wise and realistic” (p. 6). In addition to these views of children, free school’s pedagogical practices have been said as the most natural way of learning. The word organic is also often used to describe free schools’ practices and learning. These are just a few of so many other naturalized, preserved, and defended truths about free school that haven’t been unpacked or historicized or problematized. So, here Foucault’s works will be important to unpack, historicize, or problematize those naturalized, preserved, and defended truths to contribute to the body of free school literature.

There had been scholarly historical works on free school, not many though, such as the work of Miller (2002), *Free Schools, Free People: Education and Democracy After the 1960s*, and Graubard (1972), *Free The Children: Radical Reform and the Free School Movement* and one of the attempts of these historical works seem to make is to search for and explain the origin of the free school through its movement (especially in the US) and its ideological, theoretical networks. By knowing the origin of these free schools, the scholars whose works are about free school hoped to understand better what the free school is. Here, Foucault works will contribute uniquely, because Foucault argues that the search for an origin is fruitless since it is “an attempt to capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities; because this search assumes the existence of immobile forms that precede the external world of accident and succession” (Foucault, 1984, p. 78). The existing historical accounts on free schools traced the relationships of free schools and such things as youth movement and radical movements in 1960 and 1970, standardization movement of schooling, consumerism, Vietnam war, homeschooling movement, and the critics of established public schooling and traditional view of education along with the theory of radical school reform. In Graubard’s (1972) classification of new school (or is referred as free school) literature, there are four basic genres in the discussion of this free school movement. First is critical analyses of the function and structure of the public school system. This includes the works of Paul Goodman, Jules Henry, John Holt, Edgar Friedenber, Miriam Wasserman, Ivan Illich, and Paul Lauter and Florence Howe, to name a few. Second is personal accounts of experiences of teaching in public schools and of trying out free education ideas. This includes the works of Herbert Kohl, Jonathan

Kozol, James Herndon, and Nat Hentoff. Third is personal accounts on doing the new school or free school, such as the work of A. S. Neill of Summerhill, Peter Marin, Sylvia Ashton-Warner, and George Dennison. Fourth is the making of the theory of free education and how to apply it in free school and to translate it to the public school classrooms. The works of Neil Postman, John Holt, Jonathan Kozol are among many in this group. These genres or categories map out the landscape of free school and it seems that the relationships of free schools to these elements and discussions and only to these elements and discussions may explain what free school project really is and the kind of the subject created out of these discourses surrounding these elements and discussions. However, this attempt fails to guarantee that there are no mobile forms of other knowledge or power that play into the creation of free school and its subjects. Foucault's work provides spaces for other mobile forms of knowledge and power to be discussed and contemplated outside what have been done within these existing historical works on free school. For example, Chris Mercogliano (1998) refers free school as "therapeutic school". The term "therapeutic school", he explains, does not imply that free school is some sort of institution for problem children. Under the therapeutic concept, he had in mind the school acts as if it is a therapist. The school is "a place where the profound healing of mind and sometimes even body frequently occurs" (p. 57-58). The idea of school as therapeutic institution and that it acts as if it is a therapist are not just a coincidence. These ideas bring with them certain networks of knowledge and power. These certain knowledge and power provide the conditions that make certain therapeutic practices to happen and provide its mechanism of rationalization. The perspectives on therapeutic practices or the history of therapeutics have not been connected to the

discussion of free school practices or the making of the free school subject before by the existing scholars working on free schools, but with Foucault's tools, the relevance and the networks of perspectives of therapeutic practices or the history of therapeutics might illuminate something worthwhile to the making of free school and its subjects. This kind of analysis is possible because Foucault views power differently, that it is not possessed by people but it is being exercised within relationships. In this case, Foucault speaks of power relations. Therefore, Foucault works will be able to reveal the unrealized networks of power relations of the making of free school and its subject. These power relations are constituted by language. As Butler cited in Pierre (2004), "to be constituted by language is to be produced within a given network of power/discourse which is open to resignification, redeployment, subversive citation from within, and interruption and inadvertent convergences with other such networks" (p. 329) and that "[t]he freedom of the subject, then lies in these propitious junctures of language and practice that enable new mappings for crossing over limit we once thought foundational and necessary" (p. 329) – with these in mind, I see that Foucault's work contributes to open up the space of resignification of free school, its subjectivity, and its network of power/discourse. This resignification will "enable new mappings for crossing over limit we once thought foundational and necessary" (p. 329) within free school language and practice.

Furthermore, Foucault's works provide tools to see the perspectives on what free school is trying to do and is able to do, and what these perspectives after all tell us about human, schooling experiences, educating our children and ourselves, what the free school project does or allows and creates, what its consequences are, and importantly what subjects have been produced based on these discussions that haven't been recognized or

realized by the scholars work on free schools before. Many of the free school scholarships try to reveal what the subjects are supposed to be doing or performing within the structure of the free school, but never in those scholarships have ever been mentioned that the subjects are also in the making within the practices. Studying a subject constituted within practice becomes available through Foucault's work.

The scholars wrote on free school treat the free school subject as if it's something finished or made subject and that those subjects are stable, they are free subject. But what they don't realize is that these subjects are continuously made and constituted in all of the practices within free school as well. Foucault's analyses make us able to talk about the free school everyday practices and of the things they do that make them who they are as a subject. Reading Foucault put a stop on the idea that free school 'identity' is one that is stable and unproblematic.

Therefore, Foucault works open up to the space of the unthought and thus contributes to different kind of historical work of free school. Also, in the spirit of Foucault's work, history is not as continuous progress, which makes it possible for us to see the evolution of free school in general more critically.

Pierre (2004) highlighted three domains of Foucault's genealogy: 1) historical ontology of ourselves in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge; 2) historical ontology of ourselves in relation to a field of power through which we constitute ourselves as subjects acting on others; and 3) historical ontology in relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents. These domains of Foucault's genealogy become very useful to deconstruct the free school subjects in relation to the many network of truth as free school subject of

knowledge, free school subjects among themselves and other subjects within the same belief systems or not, and also free school subject as a moral agent; how they eventually conduct their lives.

In addition, Foucault works also allow us to critically question what these free school scholars protect us from thinking about free schools. As he reminds that “everything is dangerous” (Foucault, 1984, p. 343). This includes the conception of free school. The conception of free school has been long celebrated by those who works and wrote about free school and related fields such as democratic education, even some in liberal and progressive education. As I mentioned in the earlier part of this essay, this school has even been seen as the utopian school model.

As displayed by the work of Hunter (1994), Foucault’s thought enables him to ‘rethink’ the modern institution of school. And as Neill called it, free school, in this case is Summerhill, is “a modern school” (Neill, 1968; 2006, p. 5). So, it is relevant to say that Foucault works, as it is displayed by the work of Hunter, will enable the free school scholar to also ‘rethink’ free school as a modern institution of school, in which the power/knowledge of modernity play along. Using Foucault’s genealogical tools, Hunter examines the school space; one of them is playground. He argues that regardless of their economic and political interest, both classes he observed, had “the same image of the playground as a space of “supervised freedom”” (p. xiii). He also observes the overall learning environment and the role of teachers in those schools. He mentions that the learning environment is overseen by its pastoral teacher. This pastoral teacher “incites and observes, and guides by a moral rather than a physical influence” (p. xiii). Hunter’s

work can be also useful to the study of free school as a modern institution of school especially in problematizing free school space, learning environment, and the role of staff in free school.

Overall, Foucault particular ethics of intellectual work as a practice of self in which he tries not to be “ a something”, as Ball (2013) said, tells a meaningful point of what it means to do a research in free school and the ethical responsibility of conducting those works. Many scholars work on free school try to explain free school, categorize it, manage it, and define it, within the traditional discourses and positions. On the other hand, Ball (2013) argues “Foucault’s intellectual project rested on seeking to find a space beyond traditional disciplinary or theoretical positions, from which he could subject those positions to analysis and critique, and trouble the “inscription of progress” in modern politics and scholarship” (p. 3). Similar to Ball (2013), Popkewitz and Brennan (1998) also argue that Foucault’s works offer “the possibility of a different kind of theoretical and political project” (p.). And thus my hope, Foucault’s work provides so many possibilities in talking about education differently.

The Intention of the Genealogical Project

The history of play lacks of a description of the conditions or forces that allowed specific practice of free play to emerge at particular moments in the history of free schooling. So, from this perspective, the available recent histories are unsatisfactory. Therefore, in this study, I put the free play practice in a broader socio-historical context and identify it as a problematic government.

Some guiding questions for this study are: how did play become a viable solution to the problem of truth (subject production) in free schooling? and how did play help the state, nation, family, and school, produce “healthy” “good” citizens?

This study is not to argue the value of free play instead I want to problematize the relationship between free play and free schools and free play and children and to challenge the link between these two, toward actually putting their relationship in abeyance.

In answering these research questions, I want to begin by teasing out the relationship between the play practice and the rationalities that established play as a form of learning? free schooling? then historicize this relationship in a specific way. Instead of using history to simply list the various methods previously known as play, I’m writing a genealogical history or a “history of the present,” inspired by the work of Michel Foucault.

I choose the “free” play or “self-governed” play for six reasons: 1) in free school, play is seen as natural to children and therefore learning through play is the most natural practice for children; 2) the “free” or “self governed” play is believed as democratic by allowing the children to take control on their own learning choices; 3) Free school cannot be imagined without the concept of “free” play or “self governed” play; 4) play can take the children to their inner desire and real interest or passion; 5) this free play practice is said to be a more “humane” practice than any other learning practices in public schools or other types of schools which rely on the roles of predetermined or structured or planned curriculum, a companioned materials, and teachers or adult supervision with specific outcomes and regular type of assessment to measure the ‘learning’ that has been

‘produced’; and 6) ultimately, play is one of the most important aspects of children growth and happiness. Through this study I intend to challenge what it seems to be the grand narrative of this “free” or “self-governed” play practice. Instead of being the forms of learning that allows students to seek their truest capacity and interest, learning, and eventually growth, this practice does so at a great cost, and therefore it is a dangerous practice.

Organization

This dissertation consists of seven main chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction. This chapter discusses the background of the study, the intention of the genealogical project, and the organization of the dissertation. The background of the study includes situating the free school study in Curriculum Studies field, specifically how the study of free schools has been positioned or viewed within the realm of the curriculum studies field, and the relevance of Foucault in free schooling and play practice. Chapter 2 is the literature review on the works of Foucault, free schools, free subjects, play practice, and the history of play in the US. Chapter 3 provides details on the methodology on how to do the Foucauldian genealogy study and collect the archives and texts for the study. Chapter 4 describes various discourses that emerged at the crucial moment of the period of 1890-1929 in the American education history and then put these discourses into play regarding governing student/children populations within the play practice and describe their relationships in order to find how it is that we are governing the present. Chapter 5 describes various discourses that emerged at the crucial moment of the 1960 to present on Free School and play practice from numerous free school archives. Chapter 6 is the genealogy part where I organized, analyzed, and compared chapters 4 and 5 in several

themes and include in these, the discussion of five points of power analysis: systems of differentiations, the types of objectives, the means of bringing power relations into being, forms of institutionalization, and the degrees of rationalization, to describe, “who we are now” and our ability to “refuse who we are” and the conclusions.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter serves two purposes. One is to describe the works of Foucault briefly. This part will be a nice connection to Chapter III of this dissertation that describes the methodology for this study. Second is to critically review and discuss the literature produced around the conceptions of 'free schools', such as how scholars have described 'free subjects' within the literature of 'free schools', and how have these descriptions become distinct from other conceptions of 'free subjects'. I will also describe the play practice within the conception of free schools and then describe briefly the history of play in the US.

On the Works of Foucault

I will turn to some scholars whose writings on Foucault have been very helpful to me in understanding Foucault's thoughts and how these influence my study such as Paul Veyne (2010), Gubert L. Dreyfus, and Paul Rabinow (1982/1983).

Foucault is interested in the study of human beings. As Dreyfus & Rabinow (1983) states, "Foucault thinks that the study of human beings took a decisive turn at the end of the eighteenth century when human beings came to be interpreted as knowing subjects, and, at the same time, objects of their own knowledge" (p.). For Foucault, this turn of the study of human beings is problematic. Therefore his works respond to this decisive turn, Kantian subject/object division. His responses or movements can be triangulated in three major positions that respond to this Kantian subject/object division: structuralism, phenomenology, and hermeneutics.

Foucault strongly responds to structuralism. Foucault avoids the structuralist analysis, which eliminates meaning and substitutes a formal model of human behavior as rule-governed transformation of meaningless elements. He also avoids the phenomenology project, which tries to trace the meaning again to the meaning-giving activity of an autonomous transcendental subject. He also avoids the commentary to read off the implicit meaning of social practices and the hermeneutic deeper meaning. As Dreyfus & Rabinow (1983) states Foucault's work "is and has always been beyond structuralism and hermeneutics." Foucault's early works focuses on the analysis of historically situated systems of institutions and discursive practices. He proposes to treat the human sciences archaeologically which means treating all that is said in the human sciences as a "discourse-object" (p. xxiv). At a given moment, these discourses may "accept or put into operation, or, on the contrary, exclude, forget, or ignore this or that formal structure" (Foucault, 1972, p. 128). After his *Archaeology*, he turns to develop a method that would allow him to "thematize the relationship between truth, theory, and values and the social institutions and practices in which they emerge" (p. 128). This leads his attention to power and the body in relation to the human sciences. This is his genealogical approach. His genealogical questions include: How are the discourses used and what role do they play in society?

Free Schools

How are 'free schools' conceptualized? And how are 'free subjects' of free schools described and distinctive from *other* conceptions of 'free subjects'? To answer these basics questions, I keep in mind Foucault's suggestion that "we should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really, and materially

constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts...” (Foucault, 1980, p. 97). Following Hacking’s *Making Up People* (2006), I consider ‘free schools’ –as well as ‘free subjects’ – as coming into being or as *made up* from a variety of ‘engines of discovery’ within the works of human sciences. The ten ‘engines of discovery Hacking mentions are: 1) count!; 2) quantify!; 3) create norms!; 4) correlate!; 5) medicalise!; 6) biologise!; 7) geneticise!; 8) normalize!; 9) bureaucratise!; and 10) reclaim our identity! With these views and engines in mind, I am looking at several disciplines where the free schools and its free subjects are discussed or conceptualized and eventually *made up or in-the-making*.

‘Radical Educational Writings Between 1960 and the Early 1970s’

First, I look at the literature of free schools that Miller (2002) refers to as ‘radical educational writings between 1960 and the early 1970s’. These writings come from various groups of people, including the young/students, parents, teachers (both public school teachers and free school teachers), and other radical educators from fields such as anthropology, sociology, history, and psychology.

I will first discuss a general view of free schools from this literature. In the next part of the chapter, I explain particular elements of free schools in more detail. The free school that emerged from this body of work is not created out of concern for “improving schools or bolstering student achievement”, as these radical scholars of the 60s and 70s argue that the established system of schooling is “an oppressive institution that thwarted young people’s social, emotional, moral, and even intellectual development” (Miller, 2002, p. 39). Instead, free schools are conceptualized around a call to rethink basic assumptions about school, education, learning, teaching, and all other facets relating to

these assumptions. This includes assumptions about children or humans in general, such as those made about the nature of a child; the nature of childhood, adulthood, or other stages of human life; how children learn what children are capable of doing; how human beings grow and develop, etc. In the scholars' words, the free school is a "moral critique of schooling in modern society" (p. 39). Thus, the free school movement pursues "a total transformation of American society" (p. 39). Some of the keywords for this body of literature are: counterculture; transformation of American society; and depersonalization of mass technological society.

According to these radical education scholars, the idea of the free school can be traced back from numerous youth movements, such as communes, back-to-the-land living, youth fashion, and experimentation with marijuana, LSD, and other consciousness-altering drugs, all of which can be found through the writings in underground newspapers. Edmonds (1971) argues that it is hard to trace the beginning of the free school movement, speculating that it was perhaps the Menlo Park conference of March 1969, at which the New Schools Exchange (NSE) was founded. There were many free school publications at that time through the work of NSE. Young adults wrote in the underground newspapers that "modern institutions objectified and manipulated people". These writers sought out "open, emotionally authentic, face-to-face relationships that reject "technocratic systems" and celebrate "mystery, sensuality, emotion, and immediate experience" (p. 40). The traditional school was viewed as "a major agent for harnessing youth's vital energies and narrowing their ideals in the service of a smoothly managed corporate society". The young adult writers also said that learning was reduced to 'predigested materials' or 'isolated meaningless units of information' and that school was

made as ‘a system of control’ to train students to accept the Vietnamese war. The fact that school was disconnected from important events in the world and the students’ lives was also one of the main criticisms of public education emphasized throughout the writings. One of the articles in *This Magazine is About Schools* journal (1966) mentions that “[o]utside of school they [students] discussed war, the draft, injustice, racism, freedom, love, birth control and environmental destruction”. Therefore the schools had nothing to do with the quality of life. Miller (2002) mentions that some of these students dropped out of school to form free schools. Here, free school is conceptualized as a response to how students felt about the public schools that were increasingly becoming irrelevant. Free school was created to create a connection between learning and real-life issues, that is, the concerns and needs of the youth. The alternative school in Maine is one example of a free school that was founded under these premises.

In addition, free school is also conceptualized as a response to how students felt about the school’s opinion on their own freedom and interests, and as a response to the adults’ support within the school environment. At school there was “lack of freedom to be themselves, a lack of space to follow their [students] individual interests, and lack of adults to listen to their passions and fears.” (Miller, 2002, p. 43). Free school responded to these feelings of irrelevance and suppression, seeking to create both relevant learning and a free, supportive environment. This seems to speak to the importance of *feeling* as the common theme around the deeper conception of free school. Feeling, here, refers to the feeling of the young generation in America towards mainstream society. Gitlin cited in Miller (2002) said the young people were trying to save “the natural, the primitive, the unrefined, the holy unspoiled child, the pagan body” (p. 40), and their personal autonomy

(p. 41) which was “repressed” by the culture of mainstream America. This youth looked for “wholeness” and a “genuine experience”. Thus, free school in this regard, means “finding ways to free our children from the controls that wrap their growth...Instead of a reality based on measurement, the new ways are feeling what you really are and trusting that” (Tyack and Hansot cited in Miller, 2002, p. 40). This aspect of feeling certainly makes me wonder how and why ‘feeling’ was put up front as the main initiative in the making of free schools. The investigation of the idea of feeling as a main component for a school is important in order to shed light over the conception of free school. It is possible that other fields of research around feeling or some discourses around feeling may enter the education field that eventually takes place on the making of schools and free schools.

Along with the idea of free school that was created out of criticism of the institution of public education, free school was quickly seen as an “alternative” (Miller, 2002, p. 43) to public education.

From the writings of social scientists such as Whyte (1957), Mills (1951; 1956), and Packard (1957; 1960), and within these radical education writings, free school was conceptualized as everything that was against the postwar American culture. Free school was counter to the mainstream culture, which, in their opinion, was overwhelmingly fed by mass marketing, public relations, and the relentless pursuit of consumer goods.

The construction of free school was also linked to the social and the psychological development of young people. Friedenberg claims that modern society became *sterile* (Friedenberg, 1959). A sterile society in his view is associated with non-individuality and non-authenticity. It means that schools prevent young people from expressing and

seeking their own authenticity and individuality. I also observe through the work of Friedenberg that the idea surrounding “teens” around 1965 also plays an important role in the conception of free school and the free subjects to be produced within “free schooling”. “Teens” in 1965 were defined as “colonized population, economically dependent and exploited” (Friedenberg, 1965). Friedenberg further argued that self-defining was the main developmental task for the adolescent. In line with Friedenberg, Gaubard, who is also an activist of the free school movement, looked at free school as keeping with the American tradition of self-help. Gaubard likened free school with Friedenberg’s interpretation of authenticity and individuality, although in Gaubard’s words it was a search of self-expression, self-actualization, and personal authenticity. Friedenberg also added that liberation and spontaneity are more valuable than anything else (Friedenberg, 1965). He even argued that it is an innate need of young people to find meaning and an authentic identity. Therefore, to have any depth, education, in his perspective, must start with and be derived from the life-experience of the student.

According to the above, I argue that free school subjects were made along with the making of teens and adolescents in 1965s through the work of Friedenberg as well as Gaubard. Friedenberg contributes considerably to the conception of young people within the creation of free school. He spoke at the free school meetings and his ideas on teens and adolescence are circulated in many of his appearances in free school talks.

Theorizing Elements of Free School Ideology

I will now discuss various elements of the free school ideology in more detail. Here, I incorporate some literature from the Summerhill school publications and A.S. Neill, and the radical education writings between 1960 and the underground papers of the

early 1970s. Additionally, I will touch on the work of Paul Goodman, Dennison, then the work of John Holt and the Growing Without School publications. Last, I will focus on works from 1970 to more recent publications on free school, with many of these publications written by a growing group of scholars named *the democratic education scholars*. Many of these authors are part of AERO (Alternative Education Resource Organization), which include the free schools' students, staff, parents, and communities.

These scholars theorize each of the elements of free school, theorizing about human nature, schools, students, teachers, the role of the adult, learning, priorities, materiality, and evaluation/assessment leading to the subject of free school. The theorization of each of these is crucial in negotiating and making the kind of free school subject produced within free schools. Each element brings with it the various network of *truths* and exercises each other (power/knowledge relation) constituting the free subject.

theorizing about human nature. Solo (1972) argues that humans are “naturally curious and if given support and love in a rich environment, they will continuously learn and grow” (cited in Miller, p. 60). “[H]uman beings are naturally inclined to grow and learning healthy ways if not thwarted by oppressive or shortsighted social practices” (p. 63). In 1967, Holt published a book titled, *How Children Learn*, which reaffirms what had already been said by other radical education writers, including Solo. Holt emphasizes that children are naturally curious and they develop skills as they grow. Holt observes and writes extensively about children’s curiosity and what children are capable of doing and learning. In *How Children Learn*, Holt calls on the stories of four children – Tommy, Lisa, Charlie, and Elsie – to exemplify that children are fascinated with many things and know how to pursue what they find interesting. These are curious children, who love to

learn, but sometimes become frustrated when others try to teach them. “Children resist, almost always angrily, all such unasked-for teaching” (Holt, 1967, p. 68). Instead, Holt emphasized, they would ask for help when in need of it..

Sudbury Valley School, one of the oldest free schools in the US, follows the same fundamental premises about human nature as espoused by radical scholars and Holt. as all of their publications on free school seem to indicate. Some of the Sudbury Valley school’s fundamental premises are: 1) all people are curious by nature; 2) the most efficient, long-lasting, and profound learning takes place when started and pursued by the learner; 3) all people are creative if they are allowed to develop their unique talents; 4) age-mixing among students promotes growth in all members of the group; and 5) freedom is essential to the development of personal responsibility (“Independence: Creating leaders”, n. d.). Here, Sudbury Valley School’s premises imply children possess a particular learning nature. People are naturally curious. Second, children are said to be charged with their own learning. Learning should start from within the individual. In other words, humans are naturally inclined to learning and they know how to learn. Third, there is such thing as individual or personal growth. The nature of children includes the capability to ‘grow’ and ‘develop’. The implication is that there are certain ‘stages’ of growth and development in humans. Fourth, freedom is a necessary condition for the development of personal responsibility or personal autonomy. In relation to the human nature, it can be argued that this may include the capacity to take up responsibility, which is why free schools seem to believe that there is such thing as personal responsibility as well as personal autonomy as part of the theorizing about humans. Taking Foucault into consideration, Foucault’s works have been after the

creation of human science. Human nature is created within the human science power/knowledge. Foucault did not believe in the post-Enlightenment and humanist conception of human nature; including in this continuum is children's nature in free school. Power within the disciplinary block of free schools is exercised according to the knowledge of the child's nature and vice versa. The scholarships of free schools presented above exercise the power/knowledge on human nature within the conception of free school.

theorizing schools.

democratic school. Radical education writers envision (free) school as defined by certain characteristics. One of the main characteristics shared by all of the scholars who wrote about free school is that schools should be democratic. Democracy here means that all school members directly and equally participate in the decision-making process that affects their lives. This principle sometimes is also referred to as participatory democracy (Miller, 2002). Chris Mercogliano of the Albany Free School considered the "council meeting system" as essential in free schools. In this council meeting, "teachers and parents hammered out, in a series of heated sessions, ... Anyone who wanted to resolve a conflict or to change school policy could call a general meeting at any time." (p.). Mintz (2007; Mintz, n.d), also identified the presence of a system of self governance as one of the main aspects of free school. Summerhill, one of the oldest free schools, located in Suffolk, UK, has what they called a 'General School Meeting' (Ayers, 2003, p. 90). In this meeting, each staff member and child has one vote, regardless of age. In the Sudbury schools, they have school general meetings and judicial meetings. All adults and children participate in these meetings. Each child or adult has one vote in each meeting to express

personal opinion, evaluation or intellectual judgment toward cases happening at the schools. Each of these meetings has its own special function. The students, staff, and parents attend the school general meeting. This general meeting is used to make decisions regarding the school's budget, hiring staff, yearly school programs or activities (such as field trips, retreats, graduation-related issues) or following-up cases after the judicial meeting that need the votes of the whole school community. On the other hand, the judicial meeting is a meeting to discuss behavioral problems or issues and rule violation cases happening in the school daily activities. Children who practice this participatory democracy from a young age are believed to be far better prepared to assume citizenship when they later take place as adult members of society (Mercogliano, 2006, p. 12).

therapeutic school. Other than the school being democratic, Chris Mercogliano (1998) introduces a very intriguing conception of school, in which he refers free school as “therapeutic school”. The term “therapeutic school”, he explains, does not imply that free school is some sort of institution for problem children. Under the therapeutic concept, he has in mind the school acts as if it is a therapist. The school is “a place where the profound healing of mind and sometimes even body frequently occurs” (p. 57-58). Mercogliano specifically mentions how over the years the school has helped some children to no longer need potent asthma medications. The difference between a free school and other schools would be that the free school community “will help them [the students as well as parents who decide to send their children to the school] find real solutions” (p. 48). According to Chris, the school encourages and invites “the inner rumblings of the psyche to ‘come up’” (p. 48). The school would need to set just a few fixed rules and policies to open opportunities for things to go wrong so that children may

learn themselves “how to set them right again” (p. 48) or, in other words, students learn from their own mistakes. Then the school stands to condition so that students learn to deal with their problem or situation.

Chris describes in his book the case of Terry, one of his former students at Albany Free School, who in his view was successfully trained to manage his overruling behavior through the learning opportunities provided at the school, such as through paradox, metaphors, and school activities (such as school camp), as well as through the interaction with other students and staff at the school, and even through the elders who are invited to come to school to share some wisdom. In a therapeutic school, Chris emphasizes that, when a certain situation arises because of a certain ‘difficult’ child, in Chris’s term, that moment is important for all children at the school to learn something about themselves. So, in other words, everyone at the school is provided with the opportunity to learn or perhaps ‘heal’ themselves through the situations faced by others. Another case is Allan, described as having tremendous nervous energy, restlessness, and lack of focus. The school responds to his situation by mainly providing him with the freedom to do whatever he wants. The school begins by getting to know what he likes. The staff later discovers that Allan likes animals, fishing and hunting, and being out in the wild. The school farm outing becomes an opportunity for Allan to explore what he likes about animals. This outing activity became part of the ‘way’ to deal with Allan’s situation. At the end, Chris wrote that Allan’s behavior changed through his love of animals and various unplanned events during the outing. Chris also explains in detail the cases of several other unusual or sometimes difficult students at the free school, such as John, who came to free school with an emotional damage, and Billy who has emotional and social

problems and a history of academic failure and appears to be uninterested in learning. While the school functions as therapeutic to these children, it also provides a learning space for other children at the school.

living, organic school. Another theorizing of school is that “[t]he school is a living thing which grows and changes and expands – a whole, greater than the sum of its parts” (Children Community, NSE papers). This also relates to Chris’s (2006) metaphor of ‘garden’. He uses this to describe school as an ideal learning environment. He explains that the school “begins with a seed, a vision of a better way. Then comes a sprout that must be carefully tended until it matures and bears the fruit of happy, competent, purposeful, autonomous young people” (p. 2) The growth required by a plant is similar to the growth needs of a child, as both need nourishment, warmth (which means attention, care, person-to-person relationship), sunshine (which speaks about the support system for growth to happen), and open space, which specifically talks about space for children to nurture their interests, being given the opportunity to explore and try out what they find interesting, and also the need to be protected from ‘intruders’ and ‘toxic influences’ or ‘synthetic chemicals’ to regulate development (which symbolically talks about the need to protect children from artificial learning and a predetermined curriculum or whatever may harm children’s growth such as irrelevant learning experiences).

When school is theorized as a living entity it is therefore also *organic*. An organic school leads to a cluster of ideas, such as a school as an integral part of the child’s whole being, which addresses both the needs of the *heart* and the *head*. It means that “it fosters vivid emotional, intellectual, and physical experience... What is learned therein has tangible meaning and purpose” (p. 10). Here, the goal is not to get through the

“curriculum” which is divided by subject matter, rather it is the pursuit of areas of interests. Related to addressing needs of the *heart* and the *head* mentioned above, Hern (2003), in *Field Day: Getting Society Out Of School*, believes that the focus of the school is on emotional/social development.

The radical education scholars in 1960 to early 1970s also see school as “places that provide for many alternatives, ones that involve real choices that are meaningful to students” (Miller, 2003, p. 60). These scholars believe that students should be able to decide what activities they like to do, rather than participating in a predetermined curriculum. In other words, “students must be free to choose and grow in his own direction if he is to be independent, integrated being” and the school “should provide a wide variety of learning situations, hopefully meeting the needs of each student” (Solo, 1972, p. 7-8). School is like “one day you were talking to someone about one subject and another day you were talking to someone about another, and that eventually you would get around to all of them” (Sudbury Valley School, n.d.). A living organic school disqualifies the predetermined rigid conception of school. In other words, the school cannot be too rigid and all planned. Instead, “the school is experimental: trying new things as they are suggested by the changing requirements of changing children” (NSE; p. 61). During the free school movement of the 60s, free school was created to respond to new needs, new individuals, new possibilities. The movement constantly reassessed methods and goals in search of better way to further children’s growth. It’s outlook “welcomes young and old volunteers who are inclined to work with children” (NSE; p. 61). Furthermore, as Friedberg (1970) emphasized that free school is operated without any rules, such as no formal duties, penalties, hierarchies, or ways of enforcing anything.

If somebody wanted to, decision-making was communal or by consensus. Free school operated on the basis of personal encounter, in which students deal with their feelings as they emerge, work through their differences, confront their fears, frustrations, and anger, and demand personal and fair constant contact (free school newsletter). It is “guilt-free environment” (Marin, 1969, p. 70) and thus school should not be “compulsory”. Coercion is strongly discouraged within the realm of school (Hecht, 2010).

personal school. Another important theorization of school within the concept of free school is that “schools must be small so people can have close, face-to-face contact because schools are, first and foremost, places for personal relationships” (p. 60). The idea of a small school is emphasized through the writing of radical scholars in New Schools Exchange archive. This view seems to “personalize” school. The school should be intimate and caring, one that is in the context of a friendlier environment for children, and where its members are living like a community, where there is a sense of belonging, togetherness, sharing, and caring. This personalization of school and schooling is also reflected in the physical realization of a school body or building. Almost all of the free school buildings are conceptualized around the idea of the ‘home’. Take for example, the Sudbury Valley School building. It looks more like an ordinary house than a public school building. It has large kitchen, living room or common rooms, and many other small rooms. It has also big yards and a fish pool. Yaacov Hecht, in his book *Democratic Education: A Beginning of a Story* (2010), also joined the conversation of what free/democratic school means by raising the issue of school architectural design that mirrors the philosophy of the non-hierarchical relationship among the school community members, in particular students and staff in the free/democratic school setting. Each room

in the school is designed with equal value, importance and use, including equal access to all members of the school to the rooms. He suggested the idea of home resembling the school building and environment.

theorizing students. In the conception of free school, students are viewed as the ones to be supported, loved, and cared for rather than as “raw social or economic material to be molded into some preferred form” (Miller, 2002, p. 60). Further, Miller emphasizes that this was “the heart” of the free school ideology. It is also important for the schools to have heterogeneous and mixed-age populations. This is because heterogeneity provides a basis for growth. There is no grade division in free school. “[E]veryone must also be known well by everyone else” (excerpt of Free School flyer from the New Schools Exchange Archive). This is related to the concept of school being small. On the other hand, the radical education writers theorized student as a subject being rescued from “their present obscurity in the bureaucratic heap” (p. 64). Meanwhile Kozol contributed to the idea of treating and creating ‘real students’ or ‘real child’, and this means treating children as being able to handle their own problems themselves and being self-ruled. Not only can they work with adults, but they can work with other kids as well.

theorizing ‘teacher’ and the role of adult. In the public school setting, teachers are considered responsible for the success or held accountable for the failure of their students, measured by the students’ academic outcomes (Taubman, 2009). This generally shapes the teachers’ pedagogical practices and their conceptions about education. In *Teaching by Numbers*, Peter M. Taubman (2009) talks about the disappearance of teachers into an assemblage of “best practices”, which is shaped by an assumption

implicit in the Audit culture, for which “if it can’t be measured, it doesn’t exist” (p. 146). In the free school setting, the term ‘teacher’ does not necessarily exist, since this commonly refers to any adult in the community, who are all considered equal with children. Given that students receive freedom to organize their day-to-day activities, the adult is not necessarily an authoritative figure who merely teaches the students within the confines of the school. Pre-determined lessons are never created by the authoritative adult figure usually referred to as the ‘teacher’ in other schools settings. Consequently, the free school chooses the term ‘staff’ instead of teacher to refer to educators (Greenberg, 1992; Greenberg 1999).

The role of the staff at the school is said to be one of the most challenging aspects to describe and articulate (Greenberg, 1999). Greenberg argues that to see the role of the staff at school, one must be willing to free themselves from what he calls the “artificial precision of human roles” (p. 161), which lies at the core value of industrial society. The staff may serve as the children’s role model in this sense (Greenberg, 2000). Meanwhile, Greenberg (1999) sees herself as part of the staff in the Sudbury school as “part of the children’s landscape which they explore” (p. 116). This means the staff is composed of those adults the children at the school are interacting with, regardless of their ages. Sometimes, children can ask for help from the staff and the staff offer help; other times, the staff are being led by the children as they show their new work. When asked, children at Sudbury school will refer to the school staff as people they love, whose company they enjoy, and whose encouragement and support they have (Greenberg, 1999). However, the role of the staff is also expressed spontaneously and manifested on an individual basis as children may need their help. In this case, the role of the staff is basically to participate in

the children's life as well as in the school's life, engaging them into "both physically and spiritually- cleaning it [the school], doing chores, taking care of public relations, seeing to the plant's maintenance, planning camping trips and all the other things which the staff does to keep the school going" (ibid, p. 116-117). This way the staff nurtures the school as an institution as well as the students as individuals.

On another study, Greenberg (1999) asked the students about their perspective regarding the staff and their role. Research found that the children believed the role of the staff should be to run the school smoothly, and that they should be resourceful people because of their maturity, wisdom, and life experiences; that they are members of an extended family, and mentors for specific areas of knowledge. Moreover, they realized also that the staff, as the adults in the school community, are "the heart of the group with whom the community could not exist; they were the bearers of the continuity and tradition that gave the community a sense of cohesion and common purpose" (p. 135). In addition to all of these roles, the staff is expected to be attentive and caring, not coercive or directive, and to have the competence to guide the young to listen and find their inner interests and to pursue them wholeheartedly (Greenberg, 1992; Hecht, 2010). Staff experience 'teaching' as both intellectual and ethical work (Ayers, 2003).

staff's inner conflicts. The literature about democratic/free schools also raises the issue of the staff's inner conflicts. Greenberg (1992) suggests that "[t]he conflict is between wanting to do things for people, to impart your knowledge and to pass on your hard earned wisdom, and the realization that the children have to do their learning under their own steam and at their own pace. Their use of us is dictated by their wishes, not ours. We have to be there when asked, not when we decide we should be" (p.81).

relationship among staff, parents, and children. Greenberg (1999) discusses the relationship among of parents, children and the staff at the Sudbury Valley School, and maintains that this relationship sometimes can put the staff in a very difficult situation when the parents challenge the principle of the school and, for example, play an important role in their children's choice of 'classes'. What usually happens is that the children end up taking the classes their parents have suggested to them in order to please them; then they do not show any interest in these classes and may start skipping the class. This creates a conflict between the students and the staff, who were under the impression that they both have agreed upon the class choice. At the same time, the parents may disagree with the staff about whether making suggestions to their children causes pressure to their children, and whether these actions may be or not in harmony with the school's approach to education (p. 108-109), which again challenges the role of the staff at school.

theorizing learning. One main narrative of learning within free school is that learning is natural. "The learning process is as natural as the ripening of an apple or the blooming of a rose." Moreover, "children are learners even before birth. Their education begins inside the womb, [...] and that a fully developed intelligence already exists within every newborn" (Mercogliano, 2006, p. 3-4). Consequently natural learning emphasizes the living experience of each person.

One condition for individuals to be able to learn is the provision of "an atmosphere of freedom" (p. 65). The freedom here enables children to learn in ways, times, and places of their own choosing. With this idea, students learning spaces are broadened, not confined within the school building or school programs.

The free school movement was also related to the “school without walls” movement, the Parkway program in Philadelphia, in which the high school students were placed in seminars and internships in diverse locations around the city. Learning is “human life, itself” (Bremer, 1969). To give a concrete example of how the free school views learning, here is learning described by Sudbury Valley School:

you had a dozen conversations with people. We weren't learning subject by subject. We were learning in a much more organic manner. You would be doing a lot of different things and you would learn them in little bits and pieces that would start adding up to much bigger pictures. You wouldn't really know where it came from a lot of the time. By the time you were done learning about something, information was coming from so many different sources, from books and from people you were talking to, and from a long drawn out experience, that you had no idea how you learned it." (n.d.)

‘Free’ Subject

Free subject is made, and is in the making, by the multiplicity of truth and knowledge elements that make up the whole body of literature about free school. Each of the elements of the free school in the previous section and its theorizing mold a certain kind of subject, which is referred here as ‘free’ subject.

In Mercogliano's (2006) words, free subjects are “autonomous individuals who are equally at peace with themselves and other people” (p. 81). He specifically quoted Carl Jung's “individuation” or “the process of becoming a psychological individual”. He states that these free subjects:

will be critical thinkers and good problem solvers. And when they are stymied, they will be able to turn to others for the help they need. They will also be self-starters guided by a strong inner sense of direction that enables them to lead a purposeful existence based on their own interests and goals, not the expectations of others (p. 81-82).

He continues, the free subjects will possess “self-awareness, emotional resiliency, self-confidence, character, intellectual curiosity, and determination” (p. 82) and eventually become mature, intelligent, resourceful adults. As for Kozol (1967), while the institution of (public) schooling produces “artificial” persons, he argues that free schools could enable people to be “real”. He roots for the idea of *wholeness*, one who wants to relate to the world around them. So, free subject here is one who journeys back to their ‘natural’ self, their ‘real’ self.

According to the radical education writers in 1960s and early 1970s, the free subject is one who is free from the burdens of competition and threats, which were caused by the modern public schooling experience. This free subject is “the sexual-intellectual-moral wholeness of the individual”, one that strives for knowledge of themselves and their worlds. This subject is responsive to changing life conditions and seeks to be urgently relevant, because the world is in a constant and rapid change. In Miller’s words, free subjects are “authentic (natural, organic), responsive, and relevant young human beings” (p. 66). Peter Marin (1969, p. 70) adds that the free subject of free school is one who “eliminated...all preconceptions about what was proper, best, or useful; [...] gave up rules and penalties”, they decide what they might become or “being what they were without having to worry about preconceived ideas of what they had to

be.” Congruent with the student movement, through the specific reference to Port Huron Statement: free subject is an “individual who can become a citizen in the truest meaning of the word---a determiner of his/her life and his/her society...to become all it is possible for him/her to become. Democratic community” (p. 69. 59).

Personal Autonomy

I will now discuss more specifically the concept of personal autonomy, which seems to be a major element defining the free subject of the free school, as many scholars I mentioned above stated.

As described by Hemmings (1974), when talking about Summerhill, Summerhill was:

a place of living in its own right, a society catering for its own needs and pursuing its own purposes, not totally uninfluenced by the larger society in which it was set, but yet not determined by the ‘needs’ of that society. (p. 174)

In the quote above, the notion of personal autonomy is characterized by the phrases: ‘living in its own right’, ‘its own needs’, ‘pursuing its own purposes’, ‘not determined by the ‘needs’ of ...society’. According to these, personal autonomy seems to be associated to individuals, in this case, the Summerhill school ‘members’, including students or the children in the school that have the ability to ‘decide’ a way of living ‘in their own’. It implies individuals’ ability to create or make decisions with their own reasoning or justification. These students or children in free school as well as the school itself as one larger entity are also said to have ‘their own needs and purposes’, their individual needs, independent from the needs of their outside environment, their society. Although they mentioned in the quote that these needs and purposes may be “not totally uninfluenced by

the larger society’, they have the ability to ‘de-attach’ themselves from the ‘needs’ of the society, or even ‘refuse’ to be “bound by the needs of society” (p. 174), in a way that they are able to ‘manage’ their own needs to not be ‘determined’ by the society. In other words, the individual member of the school, the students or children, are ‘(able to be) independent’. Thus personal autonomy, according to Summerhill’s articulation, presupposes “independent work, judgment and examinations” (Marshall, 1996).

Sudbury Valley School in their school website, describes their school as:
a place where people decide for themselves how to spend their days. Here, students of all ages determine what they will do, as well as when, how, and where they will do it. This freedom is at the heart of the school; it belongs to the students as their right, not to be violated. (“Independence: Creating Leaders“, n.d.)

Elaborating the quote above further, in the school day-to-day practices, Sudbury Valley school students “initiate all their own activities” and even “create their own environment” (Independence: Creating Leaders, n.d.). There are two important premises in the quotes above: first is the premise that individuals are able to ‘decide for themselves’; again, they are assumed to be ‘independent’. They can ‘independently’ initiate activities they want to do, or what is worth doing, or what is meaningful and useful for them. They can ‘independently’ ‘think’ who are ‘best’ guiding or to learn from or with whom they spend their activities. They also are able to ‘independently’ ‘think’ when may be the ‘best’ or ‘appropriate’ or ‘suitable’ time and place to carry out their learning activities, to begin or not, to end or not, to pause, and even ‘think’ what means they need to use for their activities and how they go about the process of learning. Second, the quotes above contain the premise that freedom is a necessary condition for personal autonomy. This

means that for the personal autonomy to develop, freedom needs to be established. In other words, personal autonomy is identified with freedom. Freedom in Sudbury Valley school means ‘the spaces’ in which the students can exercise their own ability to ‘decide on their own’ as explained above. In concrete, the freedom in the school activity can be described in the following manner:

Adults and students of all ages mix freely. People can be found everywhere talking, reading and playing. Some may be in the digital arts studio, editing a video they have made. Some may be outside playing basketball or practicing new moves on their ripsticks. There are almost always people making music of one kind or another, usually in several places. You might see someone studying French, biology, or algebra. People may be at computers, doing administrative work in the office, playing chess, rehearsing a show, or participating in role-playing games. People will be trading stickers and trading lunches. A group may be selling pizza that they made to raise money for new equipment. In the art room, people will be drawing; they might also be sewing, or painting, or working with clay, either on the wheel or by hand. (“Involvement: The Day at Sudbury Valley”, n.d.)

Furthermore, free school followers believe that by ‘granting’ these spaces, the spaces for students to ‘make decision on their own’, these children are made to be ‘free’ people. So, it seems to suggest that personal autonomy is liberating. However, this idea can be problematic, as Foucault said in Marshall (1996), “to believe that personal autonomy in modern times is liberating is mistaken” (p. 83).

In addition, the free school staff view their role to provide “a setting in which students are independent, are trusted, and are treated as responsible people; and a community in which students are exposed to the complexities of life in the framework of a participatory democracy” (“Independence: Creating Leaders“, n.d.). Here, personal autonomy is even further characterized as a trait of ‘an adult’: an adult who is ‘independent’, ‘responsible’, ‘trusted’, who is able to face and solve ‘the complexities of life’. Apparently, children are seen to be no ‘different’ that the adult. It is interesting here also to note how Sudbury Valley school proponents construct what ‘a child’ is and ‘what an adult’ is.

Therefore, according to the discussion above regarding Summerhill and Sudbury Valley School, personal autonomy presupposed independent work, examination, and also judgment. These three seem to suggest the relationship between being autonomous and being rational. The students or children in the school are able to ‘rationalize’ or ‘reason’ themselves. Does this mean that these children or students are confined to the calculations of reason or they are ‘free’? Apparently, in these schools it is believed that the students are ‘free’ or ‘being autonomous’. Turning to Foucault, he would argue that these children or students in these free schools are not free people, instead they are ‘unfree’ by pursuing this notion of personal autonomy. They are the ones who are “governable”. In fact, Foucault would negate that the “development” of personal autonomy presupposes freedom. On the contrary, it is “both a negation of freedom in the developmental processes themselves, and a denial of freedom as an aim or outcome of

such processes, by those who bring power/knowledge into existence” (Marshall, 1996, p. 90). In that case, using Foucaultian lens, there is no such thing as ‘personal autonomy’, so the ‘free’ subject is inexistent.

Further, in relation to the word autonomy, which is derived from the word ‘auto’ and ‘nomos’, ‘Auto’ refers to the individual or self, and ‘nomos’ refers to the law or laws. According to Kant, the auto is conceived as making the law. Then the self in Kant (in Marshall, 1996) obeys the laws and acts in accordance with the laws spontaneously not caused by the laws. On the contrary, Foucault considers the power/knowledge game into these ‘auto’ and ‘nomos’. This ‘auto’ is already contaminated by ‘nomos’ and ‘not nomos’. This points towards ‘governmentality’ within the concept of personal autonomy, which is being masked and hidden within the act of ‘freedom’. Therefore, personal autonomy and thus free subject is more political than ethical. This is related to the notion of self by Foucault. There are two major technologies constituting self, which are technology of domination and technology of the self. Technology of domination looks at how power is exercised.

“Power” designates relationships between partners, where certain actions modify the actions of others” (Marshall, 1996, p. 94). The concern here is about the organization of space, time, and capacities. The students or children in free schools are placed in a ‘space’, the building of the school. Although there are not necessarily labeled or definitive rooms for certain functions in free school architecture (Hecht, 2010), all rooms can be subjected for ‘space’ of power/knowledge exercises. This makes it possible for all the rooms function as *panopticon* (Foucault, 1979). Therefore, the children or the students become the subjected subjects within these ‘spaces’. This can be seen from the

example of Jesse, a student in Albany Free School (Mercogliano, 1998). Jesse came to the school at the age of twelve “with a long history of school troubles, both academic and behavioral” (p. 38). Mercogliano (1998) describes Jesse as having “depression, the grief, the pain, the fear, the anger, and the disappointment” which he explains relate to Jesse’s hyperactivity in the school. The ‘project’ of ‘dealing with Jesse in the school, began by the staff telling Jesse that he was ‘free’ to do as he pleased and not to worry about the schoolwork. This ‘setting him free’ project includes:

free from the pressure of an academic timetable and its endless performance assessments, from constant behavioral monitoring and adult intervention, and perhaps even more important, free to think his own thoughts, to choose his own activities, and to associate freely with a wide range of other children-not just alleged problem ones like himself. (Mercogliano, 1998, p. 40)

For sometime Jesse remains ‘problematic’ in the school. However, in the school meeting, which comprises of all school staff and students, one younger boy student made a motion that Jesse had to pay money whenever he intimidated other younger students. All school members: staff and students voted for that and so the fine passed. Here, the school general meeting is within the organization of space where power is exercised.

Another thing that Mercogliano mentioned in facing Jesse’s case is by the ‘truth telling’ mechanism. Mercogliano (1998) wrote:

When he [Jesse] was behaving like a moron, someone would tell him-straight and to his face. And when he acted courageously or insightfully, the same was true. When his jokes were funny, people laughed at them; when they weren’t, they didn’t. And when his language or behavior exceeded acceptable limits, someone-

not necessarily the teachers [or staff] -would stop him in his tracks...we were “real” with Jesse at all times, and he grew to count on that. And suddenly he found himself with the space he had never had before to experiment with new behaviors and to fashion new expectations. (p. 41-42)

What happened in here is that Jesse became the subjected subject. All physical rooms and all staff and students in the school are organized as a ‘field’, as a ‘space’ for power/knowledge play and exercise. They serve as *panopticon* mechanism. “These spatial organization aims at knowing, mastering, and using” (Marshall, 1996, p. 95).

‘Other’ Free Subject

The literature of free school claims that free school ideology is different than the progressive public school reform. They are different in that free schools do not concern themselves about pedagogy or instruction or achievement like the progressive public school reforms do. It is also important to note that there is some fragmentation of free schools. As its ‘movement’ became reduced between 1972 and 1973, free schools split into three different sectors: 1) community-based school; 2) public alternative schools; and 3) grassroots movement for homeschooling. By mid 1970s the term “free schools” was replaced by “alternative schools”. Each of these bodies of schools mentioned above speaks their version of ‘free subject’. There is not much literature on how the free subject created by the free school may differ from one another as these schools split.. Robin Ann Martin (2002) made an attempt to distinguish the eight types of schools, falling into eight educational alternatives. These eight types of schools include: free school, folk education, Quaker schools, homeschooling/unschooling/deschooling, Krishnamurti schools, Montessorri schools, open schools, and Waldorf schools.

Play Practice

In *Free to Learn*, Peter Gray (2013), argues that unleashing the instinct to play will make the children happier, more self-reliant, and better students for life. In free play, Peter said, “children learn to make their own decisions, solve their own problems, create and abide by rules, and get along with others as equals rather than as obedient or rebellious subordinates” (p. 17-18). In outdoor play, as the children swing, jump, or slide on the playground equipment, they deliberately dose themselves with some amounts of fear and thereby learn how to control their bodies and their fear. In social play, children also learn “how to negotiate with others, how to please others, and how to modulate and overcome the anger that can arise from conflicts” (p. 18). Free play helps them to discover their passion, what they love as the predominant emotions of play are joy and interest. Throughout the literature, play is described as activity with freedom, non-competitive one, as what matters is how children play the game, how much fun and how much joy they have, instead of winning the game. Play is exciting process, fun, democratic, as well as part of the active experiment in optimizing the creativity of the whole child. Hence play creates ‘free’ and ‘happy’ subject.

On History of Play in the US

I refer here the two publications on the history of play in the US. First is *A History of Children’s Play and Play Environments: Toward a Contemporary Child-Saving Movement* (Frost, 2010). Second is *Children at Play: An American History* (Chudacoff, 2007). Both publications discuss play chronologically, in particular various kinds of children play, from Ancient Greece and Rome, Medieval Times, in early America, during the early child saving movement which leads to the establishment of Girl Scouts, Boy

Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, the Child study movement, to present time. Frost discusses on children's play and the play environments and trace these play and play environments to find ways to "preserving and enhancing" them for children.

Chudacoff uses children diaries and autobiographical recollections of childhood focusing on what children did and to explain children play historically. Play serves as a means of asserting autonomy. It is said that the children's ability to play decreases over time. Both historical accounts try to define play by means of differentiating activities by adult and children, and what the children experience in play. One of the tensions on play on the book lays between the children right to play and adult supervision for safety and child achievement concern as adult always try to make meaning the children play. According to Chudacoff, there are three basic changes that altered the play: things involving place, things, and uses of times.

These history of play lack of a description of the conditions or forces that allowed specific practice of free play to emerge at particular moments in the history of free schooling. Therefore, in this study, I put the free play practice in a broader socio-historical context and identify it as a problematic government.

Chapter 3

METHODS

I am crafting Foucauldian genealogy based on my reading of what are available, what has been said about “doing genealogy” through Foucault’s lectures, interviews, essays, and how other scholars wrote about Foucauldian genealogy and conducted genealogical work themselves, as Foucault himself has never written specifically “The book of methods of doing genealogy”. As Carlson (2005) said that scholars who want to do genealogy are left to search for methodological artifacts through Foucault’s work. Therefore, this project will create itself a genealogical method of its own. It is my hope to keep Foucault closer to the study, with the realization that this study may not be the Foucauldian genealogy.

Foucauldian Genealogy Study

According to Foucault, “the object, in all its materiality, cannot be separated from the formal frameworks through which we come to know it” (Veyne, 2010, p. 6). These frameworks are what Foucault called ‘discourse’. Discourse for Foucault means “a most precise and close description of a historical formation, stripped bare, a revelation of its ultimate individual difference” (p. 6). “[W]e can only reach a ‘thing in itself’ by way of the idea that we have constructed of it in each different epoch...for we cannot separate the thing in itself from the ‘discourse’ in which it is bound up for us or ‘buried in the sand’, as Foucault put it.” (p. 11)

Genealogical study requires attention to details. Taking the suggestion of Veyne when he describes what Foucauldian study takes, this attention to details suggests those who want to do a genealogy study to look at the particular words or turns of phrase,

which is despite analysis, left a residue, that gives hint that suggests “instead of taking no notice of that residue, we should make an extra effort to make explicit what it appeared to imply” (p. 7). The discourses that Foucault refers can be set up to name a few in “law, actions, institutions, powers, customs and even buildings” (p. 9) This set-up is also called *dispositif*.

What it might mean to do a Foucauldian inspired genealogy is to “strain history through a line of thought that rejects universals (Veyne, 2010, p. 10; DE (Dits et Ecrits, p. 56). Genealogical work “start[s] off with detailed practices, details of what was done and what was said, then make the intellectual effort to make explicit the ‘discourse’ surrounding them” (p. 10) – as opposed to “starting off from a general, well-known idea”, “for if that is what you do, you are in danger of looking no further than that idea and failing to notice the ultimate, decisive differences that would reduce it to nothing.” (p. 10). Therefore, genealogical method shows how practices and rationalities emerge from ‘bottom up’ or focus on the ‘micro-physics’ of power and its effect on the subject produced.

Genealogy takes into account the contributions made by other fields of studies and thus looks at associated elements, such as customs, words, bodies of knowledge, norms, laws and institutions. Therefore, every discourse brings into play, to discover “details that had never before been noticed” (p. 10).

Genealogy “attempts to ‘de-subjugate’, or resurrect local knowledges and allow them to challenge grand theories” (Carlson, 2015, p. 124). In other words, genealogy intends to demonstrate fallibility of the grand theories by analyzing the local knowledges. Also, “grand theories emerge from a historically contingent battle between various

forces”; and “how through the battle, some local knowledge were lost or silenced by the victors.” (p. 124). So, by analyzing the local knowledge, genealogy study hopes to offer other narrative than the one that has been long believed and to show various unspoken forces that make up the ‘truth’ of something.

Foucault’s “The Subject and Power”

It is crucial in Foucault’s genealogy to examine the relationship between the ‘subject’ and ‘power’. The analysis of this relationship needs five points (Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983) to be established:

the system of differentiations. This system of differentiations, “permits one to act upon the actions of others; differentiations determined by the law or by traditions of status and privilege; economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods, shifts in the processes of production, linguistic or cultural differences, differences in know-how and competence, and so forth” (Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 223). For the Foucauldian inspired genealogy of free schooling I am conducting, I began to examine how children were discussed in various discourses. This includes how children in the two historical moments, and children at the free schools are discussed, categorized, and later differentiated from other children in other schools. Then specifically move to how free school students are discussed along with learning and play throughout the archival texts I am using. The archives I use, which will be discuss further in details in the later section of this chapter, disseminate information about free school including the information on discourses on free school children and how they are discussed within the learning and play activities in the school.

the types of objectives. These objectives are “pursued by those who act upon the actions of others” (p. 223). Each power has various “objectives”. In this study of free school, sometimes the “objectives” are masked within the “progressive” or “humanistic” language of “helping” or “centering” the children. In play practice, which is one of the most important practices within the free schooling: from 1890 to 1929, play was said for the health and happiness of the children. However, forms of power in this study of play as shown in the texts about playground movement may show that play is used as a means for controlling population and shaping the citizen and also order.

the means of bringing power relations into being. Here, various forms of differentiations and objectives are made institutionalized using various methods. Here, it speaks about play within the institution of psychology, child development, physical education, citizen education, free schools, and pedagogy. Another thing, several conferences and meetings were established to exercise the knowledge about the scholastic body, the free school body. We witness here also the emergence of the groups who are concerned about the need to have play.

forms of institutionalization. This point talks about various apparatuses to institutionalize various power relations on play practice within free school practices and play program in 1890 to 1929, such as no curriculum rule, school architecture, no adult supervision, no ‘teacher’, no test, school meeting, legislation on recreation and juvenile delinquency among others.

the degrees of rationalization. This relates to the issues of “effectiveness” of the instruments and also the degree of the certainty of the results.

Foucault's Interview "Questions on Method"

on research questions. In line with Foucault, I want to keep reminding myself and the readers of this study that this study does not mean to lay foundation of totalizing or universalizing phenomena of free school, rather this study takes place between "abutments and anticipatory strings of dots" (Foucault in Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991, p. 74).

Foucault's method is interested in asking the question of *how* rather than *what*. So, rather than asking what is free school, in the study I want to ask questions such as: how did play become a viable solution to the problem of truth (subject production) in free schooling? and how did play help the state, nation, family, and school, produce "healthy" "good" citizens? So, I intend to write a history of play practice of free schooling. There is also contemporary issue relating to free schools practices especially on the students freedom in relation to the use of free school space and learning ("AERO Conference 2015 Workshops," n.d.), which made me wonder why these discussions came to be posted so urgently at this time.

The target of analysis of this study would be play practices. These practices "posse up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and 'reason' (Foucault in Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991, p. 75). Therefore, the question asked by the study is a question of analyzing a "regime of practices" - practices here mean "places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnected" (ibid, p. 75).

According to Foucault (1991), to analyze 'regime of practices' means "to analyze programs of conduct which have both prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done (effects of 'jurisdiction'), and codifying effects regarding what is to be known (effects of 'veridiction')" (p. 75). So, this study will aim at writing the history of the play practices at the free school, to show the conditions or how these play practice could be accepted at a given moment as main components within the free schools that seem to be altogether natural and self-evidence. To arrive at this analysis, I identify the moment of discontinuity or in Foucault's words, 'phenomenal set of mutations' of the play practice at the free school in this study. To identify discontinuity and shake this self-evidence, I will explain further the key terms of Foucault's 'methodology' in genealogy:

eventualization. First, eventualization means a breach of self-evidence. It is to show that "things weren't as necessary as all that" (p. 76). It is not a matter of course that free play means free schooling and thus freeing the children. These practices are not self-evident. Second, eventualization means "rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary" (p. 76). This requires multiplication of causes, which means "analyzing an event according to the multiple processes which constitute it" (p. 76). So, in my study, in analyzing free play practices as events, it means to determine the processes of playing of already existing practices and the movement by which play as a form of learning, the formation of learning form as a natural process, and some others. These processes then need to be broken down into their multiple processes by "constructing around the singular event analyzed as process a polygon' or rather a 'polyhedron' of intelligibility" (p.76). This

procedure can be exemplified through three polymorphisms as described in Foucault in Burchell, Gordon, & Miller (1991): 1) polymorphism of the elements which are brought into relation of the practices; 2) polymorphism of relations described which may include the transposition of technical models, tactics calculated in response to a particular situation, or the application of theoretical schemas; and 3) polymorphism of domains of reference, “ranging from technical mutations in matters of detail to the attempted emplacement in a capitalist economy of new techniques of power designed in responses to the exigencies of that economy” (p. 76).

Problematization. Problematization here means to see how men govern themselves and others by the production of truth, as Foucault (1991) said “the establishment of domains in which the practice of true and false can be made at once ordered and pertinent” (p. 79). So, in this study, we try to see how the scholastic bodies of free school are governed and enter these domains of the practice of true and false.

rationalities. According to Foucault (1991), rationalities “inscribe themselves in practices or systems of practices, and what role they play within them, because it’s true that ‘practices’ don’t exist without a certain regime of rationality” (p. 79). Foucault suggested in analyzing these in two axes: 1) codification/prescription, formulating rules, procedures, and means to an end, etc., and 2) formulation of true and false, determining the domains of objects about which it is possible to articulate the propositions of true and false. In my study, rationalities are located within the archival texts on free school and play I will be explaining in the next part and through the current texts/publication of free school practices play, inscribe themselves in various practices to be performed on the scholastic free schooled body.

Doing Foucault

Following the methodological considerations I've mentioned earlier in the previous sections of this chapter, I begin the genealogy of free school by locating taken-for-granted practice within free schools in the present moments. The taken-for-granted practices I locate is the practice of "free" play or "self-governed" play.

I choose the "free" play or "self-governed" play for six reasons: 1) in free school, play is seen as natural to children and therefore learning through play is the most natural practice for children; 2) the "free" or "self-governed" play is believed as democratic by allowing the children to take control on their own learning choices; 3) Free school cannot be imagined without the concept of "free" play or "self-governed" play; 4) play can take the children to their inner desire and real interest or passion; 5) this free play practice is said to be a more "humane" practice than any other learning practices in public schools or other types of schools which rely on the roles of predetermined or structured or planned curriculum, a accompanied materials, and teachers or adult supervision with specific outcomes and regular type of assessment to measure the 'learning' that has been 'produced'; and 6) ultimately, play is one of the most important aspects of children growth and happiness. Through this study I intend to challenge what it seems to be the grand narrative of this "free" or "self-governed" play practice. Instead of being the forms of learning that allows students to seek their truest capacity and interest, learning, and eventually growth, this practice does so at a great cost, and therefore it is a dangerous practice.

To complete the “history of the present”, I need to find historical moments when traditional learning was challenged or problematized. Two historical moments that I identify so far are 1890 to 1929 and 1960s to present. The first historical moment, 1890 to 1929, is chosen because 1890 to 1929 marks the changing perception about the practice of play for public and in education through the playground and recreation movements in the U.S.. Play was a crime before and then becomes something that is useful for the population especially for the children. I was first led to this by reading Gulick’s (1920) book, *A Philosophy of Play*. Lee (1920) in his foreword of the book stated “if you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what he shall be, direct the form of play” (p. v). Here discourses of play raises the question of the role of play to child’s education and life experience in general. The second historical moment is 1960s to present. 1960s to 1970s mark the free school movement. During 1960s and 1970s, many free schools were built and within a few years they disappeared. These times would be crucial in understanding the conditions that make the free schools and its practices emerge. The archives from the New Schools Exchange (NSE) records from 1968-1978, which are available at the Yale University library is used to reveal various technologies such as technologies of play as they network to produce specific scholastic body of free school subject and how the (free school) subject becomes an object of its own analysis.

Based on the texts that are available to me, I design a dispositif. This dispositif is to reveal the micro-physics of the historical struggles and battles that will demonstrate the macro-physics of the corporate body. In Foucauldian historiography project, various discourses constantly move around through these historical moments. As I mentioned

earlier in this chapter, this dispositif can be in the forms of “law, actions, institutions, powers, customs and even buildings” (Veyne, 2010, p. 9). This dispositif refers to “eventualization” method. In this dispositif, I bring various “intelligibility”, that will show how power circulates and exists in network. Types of knowledge appear such as Physical Education, Recreation Movement, and Playground Movement in 1920s. After the dispositif is established, I study how the rationalities become inscribed on the individual body and power attempt to categorize and carve the scholastics body. Perhaps there will be some similarities between the discourses of therapeutic method, or play such as in playground movement /public play and discourses (I add more elaboration on this in the next subsection on 1920 Historical Moment: On play). Then, I locate the specific technologies of power: disciplinary, pastoral, and bio-power, to see how power operates to the free school body. In addition to analyze how power/knowledge produces subjects (in this case is what I call free school subject), I use Foucault’s methodological points (which I have explained briefly in the previous section of this chapter): 1) the system of differentiations; 2) the types of objectives; 3) the means of bringing power relations into being; 4) forms of institutionalization; and 5) the degree of rationalization.

1920 Historical Moment: On Play

Gulick’s (1920) book, *A Philosophy of Play*, asked several crucial questions on play, such as what play is, why boys give to play so much greater earnestness and zest than they give to work, and whether the underlying forces of play can be so well understood that they may be applied in other directions, in education or morals. As these

questions and others are addressed in the book, the discourses of play emerge. Here, I see similarities between recreation movement (playground movement) and pedagogical discourses.

Here play is seen as “the best and most profitable way of studying humankind itself” (p. xii). In addition to that, ”man is better revealed by his play, or by the use he makes of his leisure time, than by any one other index” (p. xii). Gulick in his later part of the book actually stated that not only play can better reveal a man, but play actually shows what man really is. Play can influence a person greatly and therefore through play one’s character is being shaped profoundly. This also speaks of the discourse of pleasure, that people most reveal themselves in the character of their pleasures. Play in free school has been one important element of natural learning. Play has been used as one of the tools for a child to express his/herself and to find the inner interest and passion. However, the discourse of play as the technology to study and shape or mold a child has never been put attention in the realm of free school discussion. To think that play is better and natural practice to learn than doing structured writing at school or any other structured form of learning activity can be misleading. Play has its own network of power/knowledge that is exercised through the body of free school subject.

Playing ball on the streets of New York was banned. Yet, every day in the spring, a large group of boys were brought before the judge of the Children’s Court charged for playing ball. Surprisingly, these boys were not “troubled” children; instead they are respectable decent boy. There was also a game called cat or old cat or cat-ball, 19th century game played in North America. The game has been said as the origin of baseball. Many children in New York played this game and as many as one-seventh of the total

arrest in the court were due to playing this game on the streets or in the vacant lots. These boys have risked arrest to play it. There usually were many ball games played in close approximate to another; there would be someone threw a ball and the ball often went to other children game; right next to the pitcher of one game is another game ball catcher and pitcher. The sides of the streets were so crowded. The game was stopped and reappeared after the street police car passed by. The children parents were watching their children play and approving it. During 1920, there is a high interest in play in northern America. “In 1907, 57 cities reported that they were conducting playgrounds, 54 of these having 836 grounds...” (p. 8). In addition to that, according to the reports by the Playground and Recreation Association of America in 1918, 504 cities expanded the work on playgrounds and increased the expenditure for them. “[A]s the cities became crowded due to the Industrial Revolution and the waves of immigration, reform leaders saw playgrounds as a means to train healthy, responsible American citizens and provide relief for the children of the inner city” (n.p.).

One of Playground Association of America's (PAA) basic beliefs was, “that inasmuch as play under proper conditions is essential to the health and the physical, social, and moral wellbeing of the child, playgrounds are a necessity for all children as much as schools.” The association's journal, the *Playground Magazine*, led by Seth T. Stewart, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, significantly furthered the playground movement through practical advice, programming ideas, and playground theory articles. The first annual conference of the PAA, the Play Congress, was held in Chicago, Illinois in 1907. Besides the speeches concerning how play supports morality and citizenship, the congress also featured an extensive “play festival.” That same year

the PAA developed a curriculum for training recreation and playground directors. *A Normal Course in Play* set the standard for courses used in teachers colleges and universities across America. Some of the topics covered were play theory, the playground movement in Europe and America, child development, psychology, playground planning and management, games and activities, nature study, hygiene, landscaping, record keeping, and fund raising. This shows that play is not emerged without a structure. On the contrary, in its development, it's very organized. There are many various interesting discourses on play here that are relevant for the study and would reveal how the power/knowledge move and shape/create, organize, categorize the body of free school subject.

By 1925, they considered play to be what “we do when we are free to do what we will.” Further, “play” was what children did, “relaxation” was what adults did, and “recreation” referred to activities for both children and adults.

Archives and Texts

In determining the documents used for this study, I employ various approaches:

1) Library Search:

I search for book about play and found *A Philosophy of Play* by Luther H. Gulick (1920). I have read it and it points out to further paths for investigation in the study to keep in mind. Some of the interesting discourses that emerge from reading the book include:

- i) play as a project of “creating modern city”
- ii) discourse of control: playground as a means/tool of control. “The playground is a device by which a single leader can effectively control the play of a large number of children” (Gulick, 1920, p. 12)
- iii) schools as social center and play to enter school (this is within the body of play center movement knowledge)
- iv) play and playground as political means of advancing political votes; “[A]ldermen in Chicago lose all popularity with their constituents unless they secure playgrounds in their wards” (p. 8)
- v) spontaneous play of children
- vi) play to preserve the social inheritance of the race

Other than some emerging topics to keep in mind above, from the reading of the book, I identify archive on playground movement to investigate further. On the side notes, it is interesting to me to learn that Boston is one of the first cities in the United States to establish the playground, and then thinking that Sudbury Valley School, one of the oldest free schools in the US that was also founded in Massachusetts. This intrigued the question why Massachusetts, and the possible relationship between the Free Schooling and play movement in Massachusetts.

Then, I do further library search. I searched with the keywords “play in education 1900” in ERIC. From the result of ERIC search, I have seen many articles from specific journals. One of the most frequent ones is Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance. So, I looked up the journal and search if the journal has written in 1900 or about 1900 play. I later found out that the earlier journal was

named differently. Its first volume was under the name, American Physical Education Review and it dated back from 1896, which is exactly around the historical time I am working on for this study. So, I requested the journals from volumes 1-2, 3 (1898), 4 (1899), 8 (1903), 9, 10, 17, 26 (1921), and 28 (1923) from Yale University.

From the reading of the texts from American Physical Education Review volume 1-2 and 3, other texts are found, read, and reviewed for relevance. The other texts include Report on Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations, Playground journals (1907-1929), Proceedings of the Annual Playground Congress (1908-1909), The Year Book of the Playground and Recreation Association of America (1917-1918), City Problems, Reports on Play, Publications on Play Activities, and Outdoor Recreation Legislation and Its Effectiveness publication (1915-1927) and a study on recreation areas and juvenile delinquency in Manhattan (1920).

- 2) Archives search within the Free School Publications: Reading Ron Miller's *Free Schools Free People* (2003) book, which is the current historical narrative of free school, perceived as the first historical account on free school movement in the 60s and referred as one of the main and influential historical narratives of Free Schools, especially in the US, Canada, and abroad, I locate New Schools Exchange (NSE) archive, which also contains Teacher Drop-out Center (TDOC) archive. Eventhough this archive is mentioned in the book, it hasn't been used much in the book. There are a few references and brief quotations in a few pages in the book from the NSE archive, such as general introduction of the NSE and the creation of its newsletter, the statistics of alternative schools and their mortality rate, Dennison's letter (March 1972) suggesting free school as an effective agent of social and political renewal,

Holt's essay (1971) stating his doubts about American society and education *for* change, Kozol's article (1973) about the school serves the state (such as "manageable workers, obedient consumers, manipulable voters...." (p. 151)), the often defensive reaction of free school to the public schools (1975), the debate on ideological divide between free school and public alternatives (March 1973), and interesting mention that free school "was more clearly therapeutic" (p. 71; unsigned editorial (NSE)).

This last quotation on free school is therapeutic intrigues me as it relates and gives sparks to this study. This idea of free school as therapeutic school is not explored further in the book, although the book has chapter on Free School Ideology. So, this leaves room for me to ask further question and explore the therapeutic aspect and practice within play practice in free school. Similarly, TDOC archive is also mentioned briefly in a few pages of the book such as general introduction of TDOC and its creation, the statistics of free schools and progressive alternatives, and that TDOC helped hundreds of teachers to find jobs in free schools and linked radical educators around the country. The latest information that states free schools provide jobs for teachers is interesting to me as it raises the discourse of employment opportunity and free schools or free school as a solution for particular social problem in this case is job opportunity which may allow various technologies of power to operate within the discourses of free school.

New Schools Exchange (NSE) Archive

The New Schools Exchange records are from 1968-1978, which are available at the Yale University library. These archives are categorized in three groups. They are *General Files* (1969-1978), *School Files* (1970-1977), and *Publications* (1968-

1977). This New Schools Exchange (NSE) was first formed at the First New Schools Conference in Menlo Park, California (March 1969). NSE's mission was to provide a clearinghouse for resources and information related to the free school movement. They collected information about the free school movement, published the school directories as well as the School Exchange newsletter. Their newsletters in particular had been widely read within the network of alternative schools, free schools included at the time. The New Schools Exchange published their final newsletter in 1978 and unfortunately had to stop the publications due to financial shortcomings. The archives consist of publications, school directories, correspondence, writings, and other information documenting the New Schools Exchange in particular and the schools, individuals, and other organizations of the free school movement in general. These collections are hundreds of files documenting individual schools in the United States, Canada, and other countries, as well as many ephemeral newsletters, journals, and other publications relating to alternative education. Included in NSE are the Teacher Drop-out Center (TDOC) archival texts. These archival texts were only used in a very limited way, and in this study, the archive will be used more extensively and read differently from the way Ron Miller had used it in his book.

Using Foucauldian inspired genealogical considerations into the reading of these archives, different or counter history hoped to be told. Using these archives, I do not examine whether the free school “works” or “is effective” or “is successful” model of alternative or progressive schooling, instead I place various discourses such as therapeutic methods, child growth, citizen education to hopefully show the

emergence of free school as a type of schooling is historical and will specifically search for articles within the archives that address the practice of “free” play or “self-governed” play and historicize them in this genealogy project.

I have used search box within the table of contents of the NSE archive with the keyword: “play”, “self-governed” or “self-directed play”, and free school and identify many texts to be used. The archive is in printed version, so to use electronic search engine throughout the collection is not possible. So, I take pictures of all texts and organized the files according to the similar topics discussed in the texts. Then, I try to read as much the records and pay attention whenever the words play, self-governed or self-directed play are used and look into the discourses surrounding the relation between free school and play, how the relationship between staff and students and among students are within the play practice, how the play is created, decided, influenced, and practiced.

- 3) Book Search within the Free School realm: There are only a few books on free school that specifically discuss about the practices within the free schools. Books by Chris Mercogliano, titled *Making It Up as We Go Along: The Story of the Albany Free School* (1998), and *Teaching The Restless: One School’s Remarkable No-Ritalin Approach to Helping Children Learn and Succeed* (2003) provide detail articulation and case studies of students and their practices in Albany Free School. These books are used as the texts to be used in the study to see various kinds of power operate specifically in the practices of play in free school.

Chapter 4

HISTORY (1890 – 1929)

“The right use of leisure is no doubt a harder problem than the right use of our working hours. The soul is dyed the color of its leisure thoughts. As a man thinketh in his heart so is he.”

Dean Inge

This chapter will describe various discourses that emerged at the crucial moment of the period of 1890-1929 in the American education history and put these discourses into play regarding governing student populations within the play practice and describe their relationships in order to find how it is that we are governing the present. Play practice emerged genealogically with specific “expert” knowledges, “objects”, and “targets” in mind. This means that the rationalities of what and how a child experience play and what it does to them are justified and supported by certain political technologies that are embedded in the educational or learning practices. And this chapter will describe how the practice of play as both technologies and rationalities of government. In other words, play is a governmental strategy and it is to produce specific kind of body and subject. This chapter focused on the various governing rationalities and practices involved in the ‘city’, ‘state’, ‘nation’, ‘home’, and ‘school’ that is responsible for providing means of support and creating a “healthy” and “happy” citizens who can use their leisure time properly which eventually contribute in “vitalizing American life”.

In looking at the governmentality of play practice, I want to de-center the notion of “government” from its meaning in institutions or political ideologies. What I would like to do is to problematize current methods of what it means to “govern” populations, children or school populations. Governing is a more complex, dynamic, historical, and discursive enterprise.

The discourses I am discussing in this chapter emerge from various texts. This chapter puts into play an assemblage of discourses, beginning with the articles from the American Physical Education Review journal, which was first published in 1896, then Report on Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations, Playground journals (1907-1929), Proceedings of the Annual Playground Congress (1908-1909), The Year Book of the Playground and Recreation Association of America (1917-1918), *City Problems*, Reports on Play, Publications on Play Activities, and Outdoor Recreation Legislation and Its Effectiveness publication (1915-1927) and a study on recreation areas and juvenile delinquency in Manhattan (1920).

School, Physical Training, Playing Space

On the first volume of American Physical Education Review, Ernst Hermann (1896) describes one of the most successful cities or ranked among the very best in Germany, named Braunschweig (the capital of the Duchy of Braunschweig). Among many reasons why this city has a good reputation, one of them is what it does to its population, in particular its children population. The city invests greatly on the physical training of its school children. Hermann highlights different kinds of schools available in the city and how each school organized its pupil’s activities around their available large and well-equipped gymnasium. All of their gymnasia are connected with a large yard.

Hermann refers this gymnasium and large schoolyard as the ‘perfect playgrounds’. It is important to note here that Hermann points throughout the article on the importance of a space or in his words, a playground, and its relation to school. Taking the example of Braunschweig’s schools, the success of school in educating their children population seems to lie on how the school provides the ‘playground’ space and how the school uses that space for its student population.

What are the perfect playgrounds? The gymnasium, its normal dimensions are “length 24 meters, breadth 12 meters, and height 7 meters” (p. 34). It is usually “built of brick and sandstone; they are light and airy, and appropriately painted and decorated” (p. 35). There are also usually some impressive sentences on the walls of the halls. There are also plenty of apparatuses: one is called as “free floor”, one meter’s depth along the short sides of the hall, climbing apparatus, ladders which are usually movable to oblique and perpendicular position, horizontal ladders, climbing ropes, climbing poles, mounting boards, horizontal bars, adjustable bars, balance swings, jumping box, storm boards adjustable to the horizontal bars, jumping standards with lines, jumping boards, adjustable steps for deep jumps, balance beams, balance boards, and giant swing. Also, there are hand appliances in each gymnasium: iron and wooden wands, hoops, rubber balls, round footballs, medicine balls, tug-of-war rope, swinging ropes, and mattresses. For the gymnasium of higher schools, these apparatuses are added: swinging rings, trapezes, adjustable parallel bars, horses, large bock, heavy iron wands, heavy dumbbells, apparatus for pole-vaulting, pole and pilum-throwing, and discus-throwing. As for the schoolyards, “the grounds are arranged for running, jumping, throwing of pilum and discus, and for wrestling” (p. 36). These descriptions of gymnasium and the schoolyard

allow certain kinds of ‘physical trainings or exercises or movements’ the school is supporting and thus they ‘structure’ and ‘govern’ particular kinds of movements of a child. Hermann even further mentions that for every school child, there is from 1.04 to 1.54 square meters of yard space and 2.05 to 5.66 square meters of playing space (in the newer gymnasium). The space is important for the children and each child has its certain square feet for play practice. Not only that the schools should have the space as playground, in Braunschweig, the city has the public playgrounds, which are also at the disposal of the schools.

Physical Training and the Making of a Teacher

What is also interesting about the schools in Braunschweig, not only that the physical training is of importance of the school children, it also governs the making of a teacher. In the grammar schools in Braunschweig, every teacher is competent to teach gymnastics. During the four years of student teacher study in the normal school, they have thorough course of physical training. This course is considered a very important branch of the whole training. Not only the grammar school teachers, the higher schools teachers have to take the course as well.

Obligatory Physical Training, Obligatory Play, and Physician

It is obligatory for every child in the schools of Braunschweig city to have lessons in physical training. Teachers can only excuse the students from these lessons for temporary reasons. A known physician, on the other hand, has the full capacity to provide permanent or periodical excuses. The excuses by the known physician are given in the form of a certificate. Here, the article marks the important role of other institution, specifically the role of medical institutional expertise and ‘paper-based’ knowledge of a

physician in school. This rule is also still applied nowadays in the US, enforced by the States' Department of Education and is clearly stated in the State's law. The law requires that the medical inspector determine the child's fitness for participation in health and physical education courses.

During every week, a school child has two to four lessons hours of physical training. It's usually in the morning or in the afternoon. In addition to these hours, one to two afternoons of each week for two hours are dedicated to plays and games. These plays and games take place in the schoolyard or in the public playground and as part of the regular school curriculum. In different season, certain play activity will be appropriately organized as well, such as skating during the winter. Instead of utilizing the schoolyard or playground, the skating place is used. Outside these obligatory physical training and play, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursday, and Fridays at all time, there are games and plays in the playgrounds.

Supervised Play

On the plays and games hours mentioned in the previous paragraph, the classes on a given signal, arrange themselves according to their classes on one side under the trees. One boy in every class hands a class list to be signed by the supervising teacher. The games are then assigned to the different classes. On the call, "All ready!", they go to the allotted place and within the next five minutes, the play must be in order. The supervising teachers go around the different play groups, advising, teaching, inquiring, and participating in the game. The games can be also changed during the two hours' play time. At the end of the two hours, the groups are called and return to the beginning place and the play and game are dismissed.

Play and Correct Postures

During the obligatory physical training lessons, instruction with corrective element, such as ideas of correct postures, is always emphasized. There are also numbers of regulated exercise to be devoted for this corrective practice of the body.

‘Happy’ Play and Hygiene

There is also the discourse on play and hygiene throughout the texts in the American Physical Education Review journal. Hermann (1896) calls the attention of the greatest importance for school hygiene that was related to the outdoor exercises. In between every two successive school hours, there is a recess. The recess is usually around ten to fifteen minutes, and it is for all students and teachers. The students and teachers have to leave the school-room and the building to move to the yard. The children are carefully supervised and attended when they leave the room. All windows and doors are opened for a thorough airing of the school-rooms. During this recess time, students are encouraged to ‘play’. They are not allowed to stand still. They have to move their bodies, perhaps play easy games or even to march about. During the bad weather, these children go to the big hall for the recess activity. In old school building, students walk up and down the corridors in front of the classrooms. The school design is also created in such a way to accommodate this activity: the building is never too deep, instead is always long and all the rooms are on one side of the building, the side where the best light is to be had during the school hours. Less noise, best light, and best ventilation are the three main keys for the school building and rooms. Throughout the archived texts, these four to six times, from ten to fifteen minutes of recess are referred as “happy play and bodily freedom” which is said as the “glorious school life” for every child at school. It is

interesting to see how the word and the reference of happiness connected to the play practice. Hold the thought on this, I will explain further on this child happiness and freedom and play in chapter 6. Child happiness, freedom, and play are also few of the main discourses in the Free School movement in 1960s, 1970s, until present time (chapter 5). This section suggests that play is used as the technology of school hygiene practice.

Play, Community, and ‘Happy’ Excursion

Play is also promoted through the school excursions. Teachers usually make the arrangement for the excursion in the neighboring woods and fields. The class excursions are once a month or more often. While the school excursions are once or twice a year. During these excursions, there are many different kinds of play the students are engaging, from the games of a military character (which will be explained further in the next paragraph on Play and Military Exercise), marching and singing. Another way of doing excursion, the schools take a train to go to some place like a mountain track and march up and play. In addition to these excursions, once a year, every school holds a school festival. School festival is the grand occasion of the school year in which all students, teachers, parents, and siblings would not miss it. The whole school marches from the school-yard to the chosen forest, where there is also a good forest restaurant. There are also hired military band, the school drum corps, and the teachers’ corps. For a moment this picture reminds me of the Fiesta in San Antonio, during the 2017 AERA conference, where there are students marching, teachers corps, military bands, and school drum corps. What is interesting in this school festival is that after the refreshment time, there are ‘play’ time through school and class contests in popular sports, games and plays, such as

different kinds of jumping and walking, running at different distances, throwing of large and small balls, of the pilum and discus, and also wrestling, football, cricket, and corner ball. All students, teachers, parents, and siblings participate at the play. When they are dismissed, they went home “tired and happy”. The text describes this school festival play as the “happy moment”. Again, the discourse of play is connected to the state of ‘being happy’. We can see now how play is promoted through the school or class excursions and festivals, and is participated by all school community. Play operates as the technology to connect school and the community outside the school. There is also a national festival, a bigger event than the school festival. The main attraction of this national festival is the youth contests at the playgrounds. The contests are “running broad jump, pole-vault, lifting with one hand of a 25-kilogram dumb-bell, running of a 600-meter distance, and wrestling” (p. 41). Here, play also encourages and produces competitive self manifested through various youth contests at the playgrounds during the festival.

Athletes or Soldiers?

There are many hundred acres available in Braunschweig that are used for immense military maneuvering that sometimes are used as a playground by school children. Here, the school shares space with the military group. The games of a military character or what is also referred as patriotic play are also popular among the school children. The school children play these games during the school excursion. In these games of military character, one-half of the school will march out in one direction of the city and another-half will march out in different direction of the city. One group may take a defensive position somewhere in certain region and the other group is told that the enemy (which is another group) has taken a defensive position. They would play a battle.

These games take up a half or the whole day. These games are “very instructive and highly moralizing” (p. 39). Military bands are also present and participated crowd around the school children play space. Military practice makes up the play practice. Play movement consists of military exercise movement and principles/values. Patriotic movement is part of the play practice. In this practice, governing the body through play is done by the means of military exercises/movements.

In part of the archives also discusses about the military training of the school boys. During this historical time, there was the manual of arms exercise as part of the school curriculum. In the archives, there is a discourse to suggest a substitute for the manual of arms as a means of physical exercise at schools. Manual of arms exercise means the movements by which the students (boys) “know how to place [the musket] in prescribed positions for the convenience of carrying it about, of placing it in ceremonial positions, and of holding or placing it when not in motion” (Edmands, Sargent, & Hartwell, 1896, p. 44). Some believe in this “military drill” in the schools, which includes the manual of arms exercise. In these soldierly attitude and rhythmic movement of the marching drill lay “the habit of obedience to command” and the “discipline” that will benefit the boys and thus these exercises are much to be commanded and retained at schools. On the other hand, the musket gives the false notion or wrong impression to the boys since these boys are not allowed to use the musket with safety at their age (a concern to the public safety argument was also expressed in the archives), which leaves them with just a surface idea of holding the musket without actually know at all about it or its use. For these reasons, some people would like to drop the word ‘military’ in ‘military drill’ since the word military just refers to the use of musket. Then they would

substitute the term with something else that is more appropriate, such as ‘physical drill’.

The debate then becomes producing athletes versus soldiers. Those who believe in the ‘military drills’ said that the country needs soldiers, not athletes. Herman J. Koehler, master of sword and instructor in gymnastic exercises at the United States Military Academy argues that “athletes make the most superior soldiers, and that even those who are not athletes, but have enjoyed the benefits accruing from a good physical education, are readily molded into better soldiers than those who were educated under the old rules and methods” (p. 46). He further presents the ‘proof’ in the real military training that training of soldiers by the old methods was inadequate and injurious and other methods (gymnastic and athletic training – refers as ‘physical training’) are proved to be more “successful”, “better”, and “quicker” to produce soldiers. If the real military training is benefited from the physical trainings, he suggests that ‘the training of children’, which he refers as “a nation’s most holy and sacred charge” should also profit from these physical trainings experience. In particular he specifies “a thorough course of gymnastic training’ as the substitute of military drills including manual of arms exercise. In his words, this “thorough course of gymnastic training’ is a course varied enough to interest of American youth. He describes the American youth as “possesses a temperament peculiarly his own and easily bored”. Hence the trainings or the drills should not be monotonous to attract these youth. This thorough physical training develops all necessary qualities to the highest result, such as the muscles quality of the body, with no injury. More importantly, as he strongly believes “if we have athletes we shall never be without soldiers!” (p. 46).

What is interesting to me through these discourses is first the idea of play as manifested through the physical trainings is to develop the soldierly quality of any man and second that play is to mold and discipline the ‘peculiarly tempered and easily bored American youth’ to be ‘obedient’ body like ‘soldiers’ or ‘boy-soldiers’ that the country desperately is in need. In addition to these, there are no well-organized gymnastic trainings available for the American boys in any city in the United States. So, the elimination of military trainings such as manual of arms exercise makes a way for the physical training as a well-organized training to happen in schools.

Schools to Furnish Brains

The emergence of physical or manual training and its importance is discussed further throughout the archives. The manual training is linked to the proper use and development of brain. Several experts such as neurologist, physiologist, nutritionist, and medical doctor contribute to the building of the body of knowledge or the scientification of the manual training.

The brain is said to be one of the most important organ to be nourished properly in human. In the archives, there was discussion at length clinically on parts of brain and how the brain works and eventually relates to the core principle of manual training. Human brain as a double organ: the right half being in communication with the left half of the body and the left half being in communication with the right half of the body, each half consists of outer layer made of largely nerve cells and inner layer consisting of nerve fibers. It is the function of the cells to generate the nerve energy and also of the fibers to conduct it. The numbers of cells in the human brain were fixed before birth, however, the cells require a long process of development to reach maturity, which enables them to

function properly. This process of cell development carries through nutrition and functional cells and fibers activity. So, the efficiency of a human brain does not depend on the size and weight of the brain, and also the number of cells at birth, as the numbers are fixed, but by the proper development or ‘thorough organization’ of the cells to the point they functionally active. Therefore, this is mainly “a matter of nutrition, of hygiene, and of education in the broadest sense of the term.” (Balliet, p. 61). Taking into account this body of knowledge on proper development and function of brain, the main function of the schools is to furnish brains of their students. This means to help the students to develop their functional activity cells, which include the sensory and motor cells. Hence, to furnish the brain is to exercise these sensory and motoric cells. These sensory and motor cells develop through exercise. For the sensory cells: the exercise of the senses is necessary for the proper physical growth of the brain. As what Swiss physiologist, Gudden, said in the archival text, that if the eye of a pigeon be enucleated, the visual center in the brain is found to have wasted away. Hence the part of the sense training is not the training the external sense organs, but developing the brain center. As for the motor cells:

It is the function of these [motor] cells to generate nerve energy to contract the muscles, and thus to produce and to coordinate muscular movements. Voluntary muscular movements have therefore the effect not only of exercising the muscles involved, but also of calling into activity the motor brain cells which control them....these motor cells cannot be made to act and develop except by means of the muscles; and muscular exercise, whether in the way of ordinary labor, of

recreation, of gymnastics, or of manual training, is absolutely indispensable to the proper development of the motor area of the brain (p. 62).

In addition, other part of the text also mentions that the voluntary muscular movements in any part of the body, that develop the motor ideas, include play. Here, the manual training and play are complementing each other and as the technology of motor training.

Another equally significant information, the exercise of the motor cells must be done during the period of brain growth if it is to be most effective and that the lack of these exercises during this crucial period will be a serious consequence to the brain. This suggests that in furnishing the brain, schools have to follow certain order of growth.

The quote above emphasizes the relationship between the brain and the muscles. To train the muscles is to train the brain. To have the brain developed properly, in a timely manner (following the period of brain growth), and functioned actively is crucial in the making of good American youth!

The Lazy, The Savage, The Stupid

The archival texts also make a reference to physical laziness as a deficiency in the motor cells of the brain. Further it mentions that this “inveterate laziness” goes along with the characteristic of ‘the savage’, ‘the stolid’, and ‘the stupid’. To not exercise the motor cells affects significantly to the proper function of the brain and the deficiency consequence. In other words, the lazy, the savage, the stupid are those who do not exercise their muscle and thus do not develop their brain properly.

The Education of the Hand and The Hand of the Idiot

The larger motor area in the brain is the area that governs the infinite and complex movements of the hand. This shows that the hand is the biggest source of motor ideas. This makes the hand a special sense organ, like the eye and the ear. Hence the untrained hand is like an untrained eye or an untrained ear. The hand of the idiot is not able to acquire skills because the brain center controlling the hand is defective that it is unable to develop accurate motor ideas. This implies that the well-coordinated muscular movement of the body shows the well-organized brain with well-developed motor function.

Manual Work vs Brain Work - Man of Energy and Man of Thought

The texts also suggest that there is no division between the manual work and the brain work. The gymnastics and physical exercise appeal exclusively to the fundamental muscles and their brain center. An education means “to show an utter misconception of the function of manual training”, that it only train the hands or the muscles, but it also trains of the mind.

Variety and Accuracy

Motor ideas form the basis of the manual skill. The skills depend on the variety and the accuracy of these ideas. It is important that the good manual training involve a great variety of movement. These movements also need to be accurate. The only way the accurate motor ideas can be developed is by means of accurate muscular movements. This accuracy is to produce the “clear and accurate thinking” as “clear and accurate thinking can never result from vague and inaccurate sense perception, whether of the eye, of the ear, or of the hand” (p.68). This accuracy suggests that the manual training exercises to be “carefully graded”.

What Count as Educational

Here the texts talk about the work of large group of muscles versus the small groups of muscles. It requires less skills to handle an ax and chop the wood for a boy as he uses all the muscles of the hand and arm, than for him to perform the act of writing. To write, he has to seize the penholder by means of the thumb and two fingers. Performing the act of writing is an example of “skilled labor” that involves small group of muscles, and in the main the accessory muscles with their finer adjustments. Whist “unskilled labor” involves large groups of muscles and the fundamental muscles with their coarser adjustments. The “skilled labor” develops accurate motor sensations and ideas as well as fine coordination of muscular movement, that eventually build the more proper development of the brain. This is inline with the aspect of accuracy of manual training in the previous section. These “skilled labor” constructs what is called educational manual work. Balliet further argues, “human beings are not educated by being made beasts of burden” (p. 69). What he said suggests that heavy manual labors do not help develop the brain properly as they do not develop motor sensations and ideas. On the contrary, heavy manual labors, he said create “stolid man”, implying the deficiency of the brain muscles.

Defining manual training that is educational enables experts in manual training to determine what kinds of tools are appropriate for the manual training at school. “The ax, the crow-bar, and the pickax have no place” in schools, as these tools appeal to large group of muscles and require “crude motor coordination”. On the other hand, “the jack-knife, the chisel, the saw, the hammer, the jack-plane, and the lathe” appeal to small groups of muscles and apply accurate motor ideas and finer muscular coordination.

This section makes me think of what kind of physical activities are allowed at schools and what tools students are allowed and encouraged to use to nourish their brain, mind, and body. The constructs of “educational trainings” and “educational tools” govern the “educational experience” and the kind of school subject is made. Further discussion on these will be in chapter 6. Also, how these constructs are apparent in free school practice will be explained further in chapter 5.

Later in the archives, the discussion goes on what kinds of manual work are educational and what kinds are not and hence the kinds to be introduced to schools.

Spinal Cord and Educational Problems

Spinal cord consists of sensory and motor cells in the center. It conducts fibers in the outer portions. Many of the impressions made on the senses do not go further than the cells in the cord; they do not go to the brain. Such acts are referred as “reflex action”.

Spinal cord is the organ of reflex action. Because of the spinal cord, the brain is relieved of so much work. Balliet argues that many times human is not trained to relieve the brain from a great deal of mechanical work that the spinal cord can do. So, he suggests that educational manual training should consider greatly the function of spinal cord as humans do a lot with their spinal cord; “[m]uch time is lost in the life of every one of us because our early training did not relieve the brain of a great deal of the purely mechanical work which the spinal cord can do with very much more precision and accuracy” (p. 70).

According to this, the principle of manual training should be that any movements cease to be of much educational value when they are no longer directed mainly by the brain but relegate them to the spinal cord.

Maturing of the Brain: “Nascent Periods”

Balliet believes that “[t]here is a time in the maturing of the brain when it is most susceptible to given influences, and can be most effectively modified by certain kinds of training” (p. 72). The time that he is referring is called “nascent periods”, and the manual trainings for the school children he’s been referring is centralized within this period. He further says that the estimated age during this development of nascent period is about four to fourteen. He describes that “[d]uring this period [,] the brain centers which preside over the muscular movements of the hand develop into functional activity, and can attain a degree of efficiency, if properly trained, which it is impossible for them to reach at any later period in life” (p.72). According to this, it is more urgent to make the manual trainings available to the children below the high school. Not only this period is crucial to properly develop the brain, it also determines one’s character and life.

Manual Trainings and Moral Character

The archival texts certainly suggest the strong relationship between manual trainings and the development of moral character. There are five main arguments how the manual trainings develops the moral character. First, the manual trainings develop the respect for manual labor in the mind of children. It means that the skills in manual occupations are as difficult to acquire as the knowledge to understand study subjects such as math and language. The manual occupations also demand the higher order of brain work. Second, the manual trainings provide boys and girls the training that will enable them to earn an honest living and thus become self-dependent. Third, manual trainings establish the sympathy between laborers and the employers of labor, as children all perform the manual works themselves and know the value of doing the work. Fourth,

manual trainings help develop the habits of accuracy. Fifth, the manual trainings develop the self-control in morals. The text mentions that those who cannot inhibit their muscles, cannot effectively control his passions and desires, hence the self-control trait. As also emphasized throughout the previous sections, that “weak will” is an effect of “lack of motor activity in the brain”. Importantly, as the manual training appeals to hand and eye, it establishes a thorough organization of the brain through the coordination between the sensory and motor cells in the brain and opening of paths of association between the sensory and the executive and the central parts of the brain, that is vital for the health and efficiency or “moral hygiene”. Balliet strongly says that “[it] [manual training] makes for perfect sanity and mental health, for well-balanced adjustment of life to environment, for good judgment, for self-control, and for firmness and poise of character.” (p. 74).

Through all of these above the subjects are produced.

The concerns on health and character is also expressed by Anderson (2006) in her writing on the development of organized recreation programs in the American settlement and playground movements during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She believes that the organized recreation programs are linked to the concerns of health, character, and democracy. The development of organized recreation programs was part of the progressive reform response to industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, and reflected concerns about the influence of the physical and social environment on the individual.

Play and Growth and Developmentalism

The archival texts mentions the immediate influence of exercises:

we sleep better and think clearer; we react, discriminate, and associate ideas quicker; we see, hear, and taste more distinctly; the function of the skin and kidneys are increased; digestion and assimilation are greatly improved; the expansion of our lungs is greater, and the contractions of the heart are stronger, blood pressure being slightly increased; and, finally, all the muscles, both voluntary and involuntary, contract more quickly and with greater effectiveness.

(Beyer, 1896, p. 76)

The texts further discuss in details on the relationship between increment of height, weight, lung capacity, and strength due to exercise. Many experts concern on the amount of normal growth of a child and how exercise and play influence this growth of a child. The table and curve dimension studied by Bowditch and Porter is cited and used as a point of reference of calculation to see the normal growth of a child. The expert knowledge from medicine, by citing the Journal of experimental medicine, explanation from physical and chemical physiology and psychology emerge as the basis of the rationalization of exercise that makes up play practice.

Fitz (1896) discusses on what play means in development through the study of childhood. Play is of biological significance. Play is a means that nature has of preparing children for life-work to adulthood and fight for existence. He takes example of animal play. Animal which play are able to make a better fight for existence and then survive. Play is for the preservation of the species. Similar to animal, children play is thereby prepared to live.

Play and Economy

The big play event in the city can provide a good daily income to the locals. For example, during the winter days, skating is one of the favorite activities in town. In the case of Braunschweig city, there is average number of 4000 to 5000 skaters per day. Even when the skating is good, the schools close and the children go skating. It is about 300 workmen per day at the skating place. There are skating school and restaurant inside the skating place. The price of a season ticket is about twelve and a half cents. This skating place is able to generate income for the city population in addition to provide fine means of physical exercise for the children and a safe place parents can trust for the children.

From Bathing to Swimming Practice

Public Baths, Public Hygiene

I also would like to talk about the relevance of the development of the public bath in relation to play, physical trainings, and the subject production. There was a significant interest towards bath practice for the city population and later to the building of public bath-houses, shower-rooms, then swimming pools in many cities in the US since 1895 mentioned within the archival texts of American Physical Education Review Journal. Cities like New York, Chicago, Buffalo, Boston, and Brookline made significant appropriation from their public funds for the building and maintenance of public bath-houses. It is important to note that these are the cities with massive numbers of incoming immigrants during this period of time.

Brookline Bath-house (1896), one of the finest and earliest bath-house in the US, is mentioned thoroughly in the archive. Interestingly, the committee who are responsible for the direction and supervision of this newly built Brookline bath-house consists of those in Boston Society of Physical Education. American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE) is also well represented as the promoters of this Brookline Bath-house. The total appropriation for the construction and furnishing of the Brookline bath-house is about \$43,000. The existing baths and shower-rooms available along side the spread and multiplication of athletics, gymnasia, Y.M.C.A., and colleges and schools, have been popularizing bathing as a hygienic and training procedure among boys and young men.

Aside for the popularization of bathing habit, this bath-house is devoted to the purpose of swimming school for the students in public schools. The town authorities even assign instructors in swimming and designate times when the bath should be reserved for the swimming lessons of the school children. At the Convention at the Brookline High School, Dr. Hartwell gave a presentation on “the nature and value of bathing as a means of public hygiene and of swimming as a recreative form of physical training” (APER, 1899, p. 147). He further explained on the connection between the ancient gymnasia and swimming baths.

Also, the focus of the architecture and space curriculum of the bath-house is in a matter of cleanness, ventilation, light, and order: the cleanness of the passageways, the better ventilation of the dressing rooms, many very large skylights in the roof and windows, and the better order for the bathers, and also modern convenience such as steam laundry. These matters: cleanness, ventilation, light, and order are also emphasized

in the building of the schools, playground, gymnastic, and the training practices, the subject matters the archives have been mulling over with the subject production of school children or the young girls and boys during this period of time.

As of 1896, according to the report of public bath in New York, the number of bathers from June 20th to October 10th can be seen in the following figure:

Week Ending		Males.	Females	Total.
June	27	51,285	8,494	59,779
July	4	70,074	18,406	88,480
"	11	172,247	60,354	232,601
"	18	235,659	68,049	303,708
"	25	343,898	98,155	442,053
Aug.	1	378,297	203,515	581,812
"	8	440,166	238,253	678,419
"	15	508,796	246,924	755,720
"	22	575,244	253,580	828,824
"	29	360,808	140,235	501,043
Sept.	5	261,335	102,507	363,842
"	12	216,248	96,178	312,426
"	19	134,967	82,591	217,558
"	26	81,889	22,218	104,107
Oct.	3	50,313	13,173	63,486
"	10	14,529	5,511	20,040
Total		3,895,755	1,658,143	5,553,898

Figure 1. Report on Public Bath Use, New York, June 20th to October 10th

From November 1, 1892 up to 1895, there were bathed 34,618 men and 3442 women, a total of 38,060. Then in 1895, there were 15,826 persons bathed, and in the ten months of 1896 to November 1, 13,247. All of these made a grand total of 67,133 baths in four years. The numbers of bathers are significantly improved and show how the bathing practice had been significantly demanded and popularized by the city government through the creation of these bath facilities.

The Poor and the “Perfect Cleanliness”

I look further on the report of public baths and public comfort stations archive regarding this bathing practice. The first public bath in the US was opened in New York City by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Strategically, the baths are located as conveniently as possible to the crowded tenement house districts, the most needed location the archive suggested. In New York City, these baths are not just in a crowded tenement house district but also adjacent to an industrial center, in which a mechanical and laboring population is constantly employed. The president of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, John Paton emphasizes on the importance of having the bathing facilities for the city population, as he believes that the water of the docks is always impure and filthy, and thus is unhealthy for the population. Therefore, the population needs the appropriate bathing facility to keep them clean. Further on, the underlying belief around these public baths as expressed strongly in the archive by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is that “cleanliness of person is not only elevating in its effects upon the mind and morals, but also necessary to health and to the warding off of disease” (p. 36-37). One of the ways to insure “perfect cleanliness” and “all risk of infection or communication of contagious disease” is to apply “the spray” or the “rain water system” or the “shower-bath system”. One form of the spray is called the “Ring”, shown in the picture in the following page.



Figure 2. First Public Bath, New York

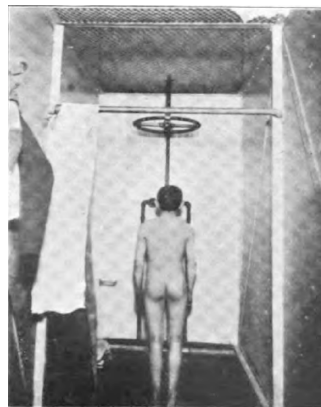


Figure 3. Ring

The construction of public rain baths as a simple and cheap means of bathing for those who don't have the facilities at home is urged. Not only that, the New York Juvenile Asylum also installed "a system of sixty-eight sprinklers, twenty inches apart, connected by pipes near the ceiling". With this system, 280 children can bath in one hour with one-eighth of the quantity of water is used, compared to before that the old bath system could only accommodate eighty children at a time. The public schools start to pick up this opportunity as well, using the very little basement of the school for the establishment of spray baths for the school children. Spray baths are perfect for the limited space the

schools have. It is also mentioned that other than being used as the space for the spray baths, the basement of the school is also used as a playground. In this case, the schools secured and maximized the space for the children.

Unwashed Children

The report on public baths also discuss further on the initiative of the spray baths in the public schools. It's mentioned that the initiation movement of bringing spray baths in the public schools inspired from the example of the city of Göttingen, in Germany. The main concern and question by the city government is that while schools are built with most approved methods of heating and ventilation to secure hygienically-constructed space for the children, the schools admitted "dirty children, with all kinds of infectious germs". So, considering the matter, the schools are in desperate need of the bathing facilities to deal with these admitted "dirty children". In addition to these, girls are mentioned to be the least group to follow bathing practice than the male students. The archive mentions that "the greater portion of the children went unwashed, except for face and hands, and especially was this the case with those above the age of ten" (p. 56). Here, schools have to find a solution to the concern over "admitted dirty children" and "infectious germs".

After the establishment of the spray baths in the public schools in 1885, bathing practice was still not a compulsory. At first, only a few students took advantage of the spray baths. Gradually, it became the practice of about 78% the school childrens:

The class which bathes studies some lesson which does not require the presence of the whole class. From six to nine children, according to size, go down at once, and when they have had time to undress, a second set are sent down. The first set

step under the douches, two or three under each douche, and when they have bathed the others are ready to take their places. Thus, the douches are kept in use, and the time occupied is comparatively small, a class of fifty-one boys bathing in fifty minutes. Girls and younger children take rather longer (p. 57).

The schools value the importance of children bathing and thought that the disturbance of lessons is not a problem as only a few children were absent and could be easily controlled. One School Director person says “ The quickness and willingness to learn after bathing, the education of the sense of cleanliness, the furtherance of the health of the children, are such important and real results of the arrangement” (p. 57) and that he suggests the similar bathing arrangement to be introduced into other public schools. Other schools in many cities follow this example. More and more spray baths are installed in the school basements. Schools are committed to bathe the whole children. Teachers also have new role; that is to supervise the work of bathing their children. Here, the hygiene of the children is of importance of the school.

Following the movement in Germany and other cities in Europe, spray bath is introduced to Boston public schools by the director of physical training. The plan is that 104 children, or two school classes, can be bathes in about an hour, and 2000 children in a week. Not only that the schools are committed to bathe the whole children they do this efficiently.

The School vs The Family

The proposal to establish spray baths in public schools faces some objections from the Committee on Schoolhouses. The hesitancy of the Committee on Schoolhouses stems from the questions: 1) whether it is the duty of the school authorities to bathe the

children in the public schools not the children family or home, as they may not be clean, and also 2) whether it is also the responsibility of the school to properly clothe and feed the children at the school. In addition to these questions, the Committee on Schoolhouses also believed that it is not the interest of public health to place these baths which they called as “washhouses” in the basements of the public school buildings as it will “accumulate the uncleanness which may be brought in on the bodies of the children” and that “[m]ore or less of foul odors must necessarily come from this [bath] practice”, therefore it is “...not in the interest of the proper sanitation.” (p. 59). One of the counter arguments from those who support the establishment of spray baths in the schools basements is that it is fine to have the foul odors in the basement if they must have these odors; but not in the schoolroom, and that also it is not a washhouse as stated by the Committee but simply bathing facilities. Here it is important to note where the school stands in relation to the concern of children hygiene and wellness.

The Poor and the Re-creation

In New York City, swimming is thought as a “recreational” practice. This is similar to what is said earlier at the presentation at the Brookline High School that swimming or swimming bath is a “valuable means of recreation and exercise” (APER, 1899, p. 148). The New York City is lacking of means of recreation for its people. Other than free libraries, which are well patronized, and saloon, parks, also free floating baths, there are no other available means of recreation for the poor. The people are even willing to take the chance of swimming in the water befouled by sewage that of the adjacent rivers or streams. Some others who would be willing to pay a small amount of money would enjoy more comfortable swimming bath.

For the people, swimming is “a re-creating of the body and mind so that the man or woman feels like a new being afterwards, and is better fitted to enter again on the work he has to do” (p. 43). Swimming is not just useful exercise but also beneficial for both the body and the mind. It cleans. It refreshes and rejuvenises the body and mind. It energizes the body to get back to work again and be productive. These influences certainly benefit the city in that it produces the subjects who are not the burden for the city but who are productive citizens. In addition to these, the number of drowning incidents is increasing, being a seaboard city. The city officials thought that it will be useful to encourage its population and the policeman to learn “the art of swimming” and to be trained in the life-saving apparatus so that they might not hesitate in their attempt to rescue drowning persons. Life saving class is also an important knowledge that the riverside populations need to have. So, the swimming practice indirectly can ‘save’ the population.

Competitive and ‘Recreational’ Swimming

Swimming in the rivers or streams is thought to be adequate for small towns or villages arrangement but not for the large and growing urban population. Taking the example in London, the London School Board encourages the children to learn to swim. Special vouchers are given freely to those who are too poor to have swimming practice once a week. The time spent for the swimming practice is counted as part of the regular school hours. There is a London Schools Swimming Association comprised many by teachers who volunteer their service at the association. Certificate is also awarded to every boy swimming a hundred yards and every girl swimming fifty yards. Swimming becomes more competitive and swimming championships are created, making the best all-around show by the children. Swimming clubs are also more and more established.

Prizes are given by the clubs. Points for the championships are given on the basis of “correctness of position on the board, neatness of take-off, of position in the air, and of entering the water, avoidance of splash and neatness of coming to the surface” (p. 49). “Correct posture” become a focus in competitive swimming. Almost all provincial towns have their own swimming clubs. These swimming clubs contests bring the swimming bath popular as a means of ‘recreation’.

Prior the opening of the public baths in 1896, the president of the National Swimming Association requested an arrangement with the Bureau of City Property to hold a lecture on swimming in each various pools along with the exhibitions of “different swimming strokes, best methods of saving life in drowning incidents, how to resuscitate the apparently drowned, and ... instruct and educate the boys in these useful matters.” (p. 53). Also, the boys are pointed the most common faults in swimming as well as the correct ways. These certainly catch public interest greatly. At the end of each lecture and exhibition, the boys who display proficiency in swimming are allowed to compete at the swimming championships. It is the hope of Dr. Houston, the president of the National Swimming Association, to include swimming in the educational curriculum in the schools or especially large cities with the intention to create a strong public interest in the sport or physical trainings. The swimming competition invites attendance at the baths and therefore at the same time popularizing the bath practice among the population.

Outdoor swimming pools and public baths are also two subjects significantly mentioned and reported (of its development and usage) in the Playground archives. The emergence of playground is subsequently followed with the more growth of swimming and bathing practices and the establishment of large public swimming pools and public baths throughout the country.

City Problems

Fresh Air, Sunshine, and Room to Play

In other archival text, *City Problem* (1909), it is also mentioned regarding the importance of fresh air and sunshine to “make children happy and grown folks strong” (p. 15). The city is lacked of the sunlight from where the people live and work daily because of the high buildings, narrow streets, the small yards, and little tenement rooms in the city. However, the children cannot just sit all day and breathe the air and let the sun shine on them; “They must be active. They must have room to play” (p. 16). As the construction of building continues taking the land in the city, children are left with no better place than “the streets”.

Throughout the text, there are many other emphasis on the health of the population which is enforced by the building law to ensure the safety and the health of the people by regulating proper house building, preserving back yards, proper width of hallways, sleeping rooms, numbers of windows, and means of ventilation for fresh air, also making sure the inside of the house is clean, and not over crowding.

Dangerous, Filthy, and Bad Language Infested Streets

Eventhough the children are left with no better place than ‘streets’, in the archive, Gill (1909) argues that the streets are not good for the children to play. First, the streets are dangerous. There is a constant danger from the street-cars, wagons, and carts. The streets pavements are also hot during the summer, in addition to few trees, no grass, and no place to rest when tired. Second, the streets are not constantly cleaned, which make them not hygienic for the children. Third, gambling, indecent practices, and bad language infest the streets. Roosevelt also agrees with the notion that city streets are “unsatisfactory playgrounds for children” because of the danger and that most good games (on the streets) are against the law. In addition, he refers the crowded sections of streets are apt to be “schools of crime” (p. 5). All of these three conditions of the streets can be prohibited, controlled, and supervised in a ‘playground’. On these bases, the city needs ‘playgrounds’, not the streets as playgrounds: “if the child life of the city is to be kept pure, strong and active, the city itself must furnish playgrounds in which the children may be free to run and play to their hearts’ content” (p. 16). One solution stated in the text to manage these crowded masses in the emerging urban areas is to provide rooms for the ‘people’s health and recreation and happiness of the children and the grown folks’ by building playgrounds. Many cases, the school children have to play in the basements. During the spray baths movement, these basements are used as the spray bath space and alternatively as the children playgrounds.



Figure 4. The playgrounds full of children, Buffalo



Figure 5. The playgrounds full of children, Buffalo

On the publication of ‘The Playground’ (1929), one of the key advertisements on playground is “Keep The Children Off the Streets”. The advertisement of playground apparatus couldn’t be clearer in their message that “more playgrounds, fewer accidents” (p. 260). They further says that the building of playgrounds will create a town where accidents involving children are few and far between. Similar to this, in the Playground report in 1926, play is said to help to prevent accidents and death.

Playgrounds become a certain controlled managed and supervised space for the children to spend time in the name of play, outside their schools and homes. Playgrounds keep the children “off-the streets” which means “off-the problems” and mold them into certain subjects that are not the burden of the city but strong, healthy, law-abiding, happy, and productive subjects of the city.

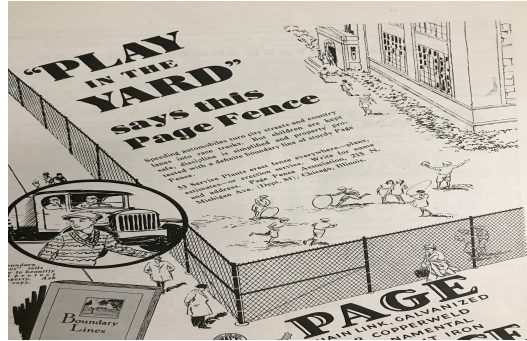


Figure 6. Playground Fence Advertisement

In its development, playgrounds are fenced in (as described in the picture on the left). The fence marks “safe” and “unsafe” space for the children. Play has to happen inside the fenced playground. Children are not allowed to play outside the fence. The play space is supervised and managed. The children are contained inside the fenced space. Various types of disciplinary practices of play in the playgrounds will be elaborated further in chapter 6.

Technologies of Play

Playground Apparatus

There were hundreds of playground apparatuses made available and have been continuously created to accommodate as many children as possible in the playgrounds. Some that are mentioned on The Playground archives are The Merry Whirl, Joy Gym, The Swing Bob, Tree Climb, Junglegym, and Junglegym Junior. The Merry Whirl can

accommodate one to fifty children at the same time. Joy Gym can accommodate at least five children at the same time. The Swing Bob, mentioned as “ideal equipment for the younger children”, furnishes “healthful exercise and amusement to from one to twenty children at a time” (1929, p. 1). Tree Climb would definitely accommodate more than five children at once. Junglegym on the other hand, is able to accommodate about a hundred children at once. Similarly, there is a version of Junglegym for caring the smaller

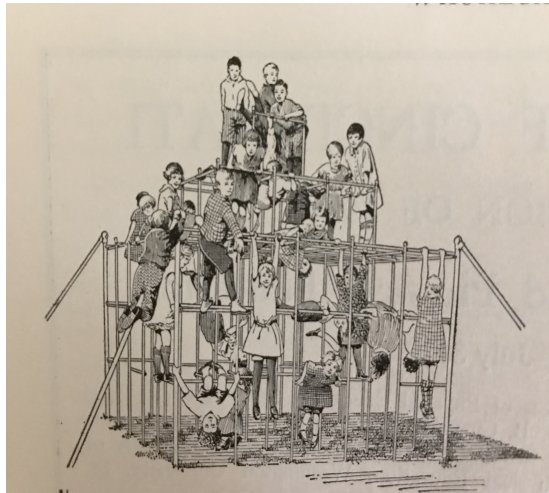


Figure 7. Junglegym

children from three to eighth years old called Junglegym Junior. A ground space of 5 x 7 feet is enough to build this Junglegym Junior. These playground apparatuses are efficient tools to keep a group of children occupied at once with the least possible amount of space. Children can be managed efficiently in a relatively smaller space, as concise as the size of the playground apparatuses. One of the importance of having playground is to keep children off the streets. The number of children is certainly larger that the size of the playground. So by finding the playground apparatuses that can function efficiently in managing children play in groups, it will make the function of the playground more appropriate. Other than the efficiency of the apparatuses, the children safety is also of

importance on the design of the apparatuses. These apparatuses are not just to 'keep children off the street' but also to keep them off the street 'safely'. On the ad for the Junglegym, they mentioned 'expert play leaders' and 'physical educators' giving their 'approval' that the Junglegym "solve[s] the problem of keeping the children safe and contented" also "[t]he graduated bars, many of which are always within reach of the hands and feet, prevent the children from the danger of falling" (p.46).

Home Play, "Learning How to Play"

There is "Home Play Week" in Waco, Texas, happen on February 8 to 24. Many publicities on games and activities through local newspapers and bulletins are sent by the civic clubs, school principals, and teachers, regarding the campaign of this Home Play Week. Games and stunts are also broadcasted through radio. Also "slips" are given to the school children to bring home to give to their parents. These "slips" ask the parents to sign up for a half hour of play with their children each day during the campaign of the Home Play. The slips come with suggestions on various activities to do for the children and their parents.

Another Home Play is in San Diego reaching 600 families and had been applied for over a period of five years. The Home Play program includes the aircraft work, dramatic and handcraft clubs, hikes, front lawn theaters, and singing. Homes are visited in an effort to show the families how to have home play without special equipment (such as the playground apparatuses mentioned in the previous section), and how to familiarize the family members with many activities they can participate as a group.

The article, *Do We Know How to Play?* in the Playground mentions that one of the characteristics of American people is their inability to "get any real pleasure from their leisure hours" (p. 36). It further points the roles of parents and teachers to teach the young generations the ambition to succeed and that for the attainment of success, all habits of pleasure must be sacrificed to doing the work. The focus of the young generation education here is heavily on the generation duties. The people need to be taught how to spend their leisure time away from spending it "dutifully" focusing on the attainment of success. How children or young generation spend their leisure time becomes important commodity. Home Play program brings new realization of the meaning of leisure. Home Play program and other play activities mentioned in the Playground publication are geared towards the attempt to govern the leisure time, to make meaning of these leisure time. Playgrounds are built especially to provide some other place than the streets for the children to spend their leisure time. The article suggests that people need to learn "how to play", how to use their leisure time, not by performing work or duty, but through activities with family.

The more detailed articulation of Home Play can be found in the Home Play Campaign in Hibbing, Minnesota. One of the underlying basis of the belief on Home Play is that home is the real recreation center. The purpose of the Home play is to encourage play between parents and children. The campaign is to raise that consciousness in play at home. The campaign was able to gather the support from parents, teachers, businessmen, and the community leaders. The Home Play campaign slogan is "The family that plays

together stays together”. The slogan suggests that play can save the family to stay together. In other words, play is the essence for the success of the family and thus a city and a nation.

Schools play an important part in leveraging the Home Play program. Schools distribute Home Play Pledge Card. These pledge cards are given to parents. This pledge card is similar to what is called as ‘slips’ in Home play in Waco, Texas. In these cards, parents are asked to sign the card and in doing so agreed to spend at least three and a half hours of active recreation with their children during the Home Play Week. There is also the Home Play Essay Contest for the third to sixth graders. A silver cup is presented to the winner in each grade. Schools also carry on Home Play Survey. The students are asked to answer the following three questions:

- 1) Should you like to have your mother or father play with you at home?
- 2) Does your father or mother play with you regularly (sometime during the week)?
- 3) If your father or mother play with you sometime during the week, would the time amount to more than one hour or less than one hour?

Some schools also ask their male students to write an essay on ‘Why I like to Have My Dad Play with me?’ and the female students to write the essay on ‘Why I like to Have my Mother Play with me?’ The Home Play campaign also includes the Home Play Night program. For the night program, parents are suggested to play with their children at least one hour that night. Parents are suggested to play the games they used to play when they were a kid, or to tell stories around fireplace, or to sing songs or have the members of the family to perform some kind of entertainment feature.

M. H. Hodge, Superintendent of Recreation in Illinois, in his article titled Home Play, suggested the importance of backyard in each home, and utilizing any possible space at home such as the spare bedroom or the attic to be provided for the child's play. He also suggested certain playthings or toys (for younger children) that are worthwhile the kind that stimulates child's imagination, for example playthings that can be taken apart and built into any other objects. For the older children, physical exercise or athletic activities in the backyard or a workshop with tools is more appropriate. He believes that parents should play with their children, should enjoy the 'family play night', and should always show interest in their children activities.

There is also Home Play Institute for mothers organized through the parent-teachers association at schools. Similarly, Home Play Institute for mothers is also organized at churches. Churches cooperation is integral. Various church pastors endorse the Home play Campaign and present information to the congregation regarding the value of home play at their churches. Churches seem to be also taking part actively in the Home play campaign's interest to "save the family" or to "make the family stays together". Churches along with the schools and the city Home Play organizers produce and disseminate the knowledge expert on play and its influence on family togetherness.

Meanwhile, the Hibbing Public Library creates special display on books, articles, and magazines about Home Play. The city's newspaper, The Hibbing Daily Tribune publishes each day, play suggestions, two games for home use, and the Home Play news stories. The Play Week Bulletins, created by the recreation department, also cover games, stories, and handcraft suitable for home play. Many merchants exhibit home play materials in their windows and mention the home play in their newspaper ads.

Home Play does not only govern the children and their play, but also what family should be, what they should do as a family or how they should spend their time and leisure time, and also what it means to be a good parent. Home Play details the specific family play practices with certain specific knowledge about family, parent, child, family health, and family happiness. Home Play defines the role of various city or public institutions and disseminates certain kind of knowledge about play and its practice in relation to saving the family, saving the city and the nation.

Play Space Standards

There is also a discourse on how much space is adequate for each child and the population. The right for each child to play requires the city to provide as much needed space for its population. During this time, the American cities refer to the report of the National Playing Fields Association of Great Britain for the standards of play space. That is five acres of Public Open Space for every 1000 of the population, in which one acre should be available to team games and recreation. This play space standard also enters schools. Dr. Strayer of Columbia University makes a recommendation regarding the play space for the school sites. His recommendations: five acres for Elementary School sites, ten acres for Junior High School sites and twenty acres for Senior High School sites for average cities.

Nature Study, Music, Drama

Going Outdoors is strongly promoted throughout the archives. One of the popular activities created in the playground is Nature Study School. There are also different kinds of natural study activities encouraged for the children, for instance courses on physiography and field geology, field botany, zoology, natural history and study.

Similarly, there is also “Playground Garden Week” in Elmira intended to teach the children the value of beautification and learning about plants and cultivation.

Musical activity on the Playground is also an important activity. There are music instructors visiting the playgrounds and give violin and piano lessons. Music and/or speaking of music is at its best is play, Zanzig (1929) wrote in his article on the Playground (v. 23 no. 1) titled A National Music Study. In responding to a question by a prominent public school music supervisor on music: Is music recreation or play or education? He argues that “recreation at its best is education at its best, that it is a way of realizing capacities and qualities in ourselves that have had no opportunity to be realized in our workaday activities. It is a way of knowing what we are at our best” (p. 11). In that regards, he thinks that recreation will include music, and whatever else the loves and faiths of human nature at its best. He says play is “what anyone does when he is following freely and fully a whole-hearted desire and purpose of his own, without thought of reward of what he is doing, or the virtue of it, or the social value of it, or anything else of it, except the doing of it” (p. 11). This description of play fits to any activities of worth while music performance, including the community music, when everyone into the space together.

There are other myriad of ‘play’ activities described and encouraged for the children to engage other than mentioned in the previous paragraphs. These ‘play’ activities include: drama (high school drama and community drama), golf courses, field ball game, horseback riding, art and handcraft, model boat contest. One of the major publications is Handcraft Book. This book contains more than forty patterns with directions for making kites, cardboard, lanterns, flowers, and wooden toys. The archival

texts describe in details how the activity should be done, the rule of play. In the article on field ball game, there is emphasis on how the game requires many great skills for the body such as running, jumping, catching, throwing, bodily contact, team work, and also provides many other bodily activities. The emphasis on the training the body through the playing of a game is often articulated. This repeats itself again on the importance of physical exercise of play to creating strong healthy body.

“Let’s Go Out-of-Doors!”

Being in and interacting with outdoors is essential for the children physical development and for the children to learn the laws of nature. “Spending some time in out-of-doors each week with the children” is also “one of the best ways” the parent can learn to know their children, to learn their desires, to gain their confidence, and to teach them about life. ‘Out-of-Doors’ can be in the open country, woods, or the mountains, a place where the bond of fellowship, mutual sharing of experiences will be created. The archival text describes what would the “spending time with the children” is like. This reminds us again on the Home Play Program, in which play practice in the family, between parents and children are governed and articulated in minute details. Not just the play activities at home are governed and ‘supervised’ but also the “out-of-doors’ activities.

Recreation and Juvenile Delinquency

The relationship between recreation and juvenile delinquency is also strongly mentioned in the Playground archive. The president of the village in Wilmette, Illinois, states that the activities arranged by the Playground and Recreation Board are able to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency in Wilmette. The Board opens two school gymnasiums for recreation for all children all day until 10 o’clock. The activities

arranged include basketball, swimming classes, gymnasium classes, and folk dances. With the establishment of these facilities, children use and attend the activities regularly and thus kept them occupied in their leisure time. In *Crime and Recreation* article in the archive, the Crime Commission of New York City says that the 145 offenders they studied were not involved in any type of supervised clubs or organized and supervised spare time organizations. The commission suggests that recreation might be able to be used as a preventive effort for delinquency acts.

In *Ten Commandments for Parents*, issued by the Advisory Council on Crime Prevention, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is believed that “[t]he home’s most important product is the child” (p. 192). The Ten Commandments represent an investigation of 10,000 homes as judged by normal children in Massachusetts’s school and the homes of several hundred youthful criminals. The fifth Commandment is about play. It says “Give your child equipment with which to play: toys, pets, tools, materials with which to make things, instruments to play, goods to sew, food to cook” (p. 192). Here, play is enforced in the family practice and is strongly argued as a ‘preventive tool’ for crime or delinquency.

In 1920, there was a publication of *Outdoor Recreation Legislation and Its Effectiveness*, which extends the State and Federal provision to public recreation. This legislation dictates and further defines the objectives of the nation towards its recreation plan and thus influencing in governing play. Included in this legislation publication are published studies in an attempt to measure objectively the effectiveness of recreation program specifically the supervised play areas on the incidence of juvenile delinquency. The publications discuss the relation between the provisions of playground and play

practice with child delinquency. Many publications claimed that whenever there is playground and play practice exist, the number of children taken to juvenile court is reduced significantly. These publications argue that the main factor the delinquency is reduced significantly is because the opportunity afforded to children to play, especially in the most congested city. Evidence from the map studies showing the location of the play areas and the addresses of the juvenile delinquents also support the argument. Mr. Eslick, the chief Juvenile Officer of the District Court of Iowa at Des Moines finds through the map studies that the delinquency dropped off in relation to the proximity to the play areas. The similar map studies on recreation and delinquency are also conducted in other cities such as in New Orleans and Manhattan, with the same kind of result. In the article, *Recreation as Preventive of Delinquency*, the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations also compiled many references regarding the relation of recreation and delinquency. The compiled sources suggest that “lack of play facilities undoubtedly leads to the letting off of energy in undesirable ways which may even become anti-social.” (p. 405). In the same article, the reports from Journal of Social Hygiene are also mentioned regarding this matter. The reports are gathered from four cases: cases in England, America, German, and France on delinquency. The British report states that the delinquency is closely related to the use of leisure time. It means the kinds of opportunities children have for pleasure, exercise of their physical and mental after school. These afforded opportunities influence in determining whether these children are to be law abiding young citizens or juvenile delinquents. In American report, it is generally believed that the delinquency reduced in proportion as the facilities for children to play provided.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America (PRAA) has collected from various parts of the country and published three large numbers of statements from juvenile judges, probationary officers, social workers and others, which show that properly directed recreation has reduced juvenile delinquency from twenty five to seventy five percent in areas of much delinquency. Playgrounds is said to diminish: “idleness, delinquency, exclusiveness, unfairness, gang-spirit, selfishness, rowdyism, temptation, social barriers, reformatories” (National Recreation Association records, “Playgrounds Develop, Playgrounds Diminish,” n.d.). Further, in School for Play (1912) article, recreation is described as an anti-vice, anti-saloon, anti-cigarette, anti-gambling influence and a positive training in morals. Play Congress, in Chicago 1907, emphasizes on the important themes such as democracy, citizenship and morality to guide the ‘recreation’. Speeches included “Relation of Play to Juvenile Delinquency,” “Play as Training in Citizenship”, “Social Value of Playgrounds in Crowded Districts”, and “Public Recreation and Social Morality.”

President Roosevelt, in *The Playground* (1907), says “if we would have our citizens contented and law-abiding, we must not sow the seed of discontent in childhood by denying children their birthright of play” (n.p). He further says that school may develop culture, but the playground is crucial for action and importantly the development of personality and the only method of physical development for city children to build “strong and law-abiding children” (Roosevelt, 1907, p.5). With these, playground should be provided for every child as much as schools. Reports on play in 1924 also articulate the needs for play against “delinquency and crime” (p. 14). The report says “play solves the problem” (p. 14).

Play and American Settlement

Many of the organized recreation programs are built close to the American settlements. This organized recreation programs are linked to the concerns of health, character, and democracy. Andreson (2006) argues that the development of organized recreation programs in the American settlement and playground movements during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was part of the progressive reform response to industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, and reflected concerns about the influence of the physical and social environment on the individual. Recreation or play activity for children and youth is a serious subject of social reform. I've seen this throughout the Playground archives and others archives in this study. Health and physical activities of the individual are viewed as the "national assets". Recreation or play is a means for the immigrant children to be molded into law abiding Americans prepared for citizenship.

Play, American Life, Desirable City

According to the Playground and Recreation Association of America (PRAA) report for 1926, play is stated as a type of power. As a type of power, play governs physical, mental or moral. Play, if harnessed and rightly used, "can vitalize American life" (p. i). In vitalizing American life, the report further mentions play is to "build up" and "beautify" life. In this focus, two questions arise: 1) How does play build up American life? And 2) How does play beautify American life? The answer on these two questions is discussed in the following paragraphs.

The report first opened up the discussion on the city problems and concerns, such as increasing amount of crime, bribery, and also vice. The cities need to “clean up” (p. 3) these problems or concerns and make “immediate improvement” (p. 3). The cities then voted, with the help of PRAA’s campaign, a tax levy for play and recreation, which manifested through city wide program of games, music, athletic, drama, and other recreational or play activities. The state recreation legislations were subsequently passed by twelve states in the effort to “provide for playground and recreation purposes” activities for the population. Here, play has transformed into statewide project and a “national work” (p. 3). The project is a beautification project with play as a technology of city cleansing. As a national work, cities throughout the country were accepting recreation and play as “a definite, legitimate responsibility of the city government and are providing municipal funds” (p. 3). Previous to this city government responsibility, the recreation and play work were supported by the private contributions. Here, the shift from play as a privately supported matter to city government responsibility along with the invention of that responsibility marks important shift of the emergence of play.

Part of the “national work” project is the Playground Beautification Contest. Many awards, one by the Harmon Foundation, are given to cities showing the most progress in beautifying their playgrounds. The report statistic shows three hundred and twenty one playgrounds in one hundred and eighty nine communities entered the contest. According to the report, many individual citizens contributed to the playground beautifying for the contest, such as individual donated \$7,500 worth of material and labor, schools boys and girls scraping bricks and washing second hand lumber to be used in the play center building, and many other locals who work tirelessly to the successful

contest of beautifying play areas. It is interesting how play project encourages much free labor among the locals and generates “a sense of communal work and responsibility” in supporting the national work.

Another part of “national work” project is “how to make America physically fit” through play and build the health foundations. First, it is through the state legislation. Thirty-three states created their physical education legislation with the focus that every school boy and girl between the ages of six and eighteen years will participate and benefit from these physical and health education program. Second, enforcing the state legislation is the awards of the Association’s Physical Fitness Badges. These badges capture the interest of the boys and girls in physical fitness. The badges were given to those boys and girls who passed the physical requirement. Awards and physical fitness competitions among the cities youth have become an efficient tool to encourage play and vice versa, which didn’t exist before.

States creates play and recreation expertise and “field workers’. These are experience person, who will visit and study all state departments in regards to these physical fitness, recreation or play. These individual experts will pass on information and train the necessary personnel, usually full –time, year-round, trained leader to be in charge and run and develop the play center to serve the objective of creating successful play program for the population.

Throughout the report, play is deemed to be important aspect of the city life, “to produce happiness, character and physical fitness” (p. 5), and “to help prevent crime, and accidents and to develop health and work habits” (p. 5). And in order for play to be able to successfully achieve these, “[t]he right kind of play program” has to be made. This

suggests that there is a certain kind of play that will serve the purposes of the city. The cities start to 'define', 'classify', 'plan', 'structure' the play and its operations. The cities "securing funds", adopt "best business methods for problems of administration", demand "technical help on buildings and equipment", and also on "advice" to find the right "recreation leader". These open up the opportunity for service by the locals, called 'national service to a local community' (p. 5) and the creation of "recreation executive" (p. 5) as the "community recreation is fundamental" (p. 5).

Play also reached rural areas, which are believed as having "scarce opportunity of play and recreation". People live in the rural areas, including mothers, teachers, leaders of boys and girls, officials or county agents, pastors, rural ministers, began to correspondent with the Association in the city and ask inquiries and help regarding: games that will interest their children and keep them at home more, community building, a list of games that the students can play (a request by the teacher), and a trained leader for their recreation work. Extension departments of universities and colleges also work in rural districts to train recreation workers to support the dissemination of play in rural areas. They believe that this play effort makes significant enrichment to small town and rural life.

Recreation and play are continued to be institutionalized and professionalized through the creations of jobs, training schools, courses, etc. such as: directors of recreation and community centers, play leaders, play supervisor, also the National Recreation School for professional graduate training first established in New York City. This professional graduate training offers intensive courses on anything related to recreation and play management, games, dramatics, music, nature study, handcraft and

other play activities. Colleges and universities start to develop their own courses in relation to these as well. Expertise, skills, knowledge on play are circulated and institutionalized through the many publications such as: bulletins, Playground magazines, periodical handbooks, pamphlets, manuals, Playground Year Book, Holiday celebration bulletins, religious drama bulletin by churches, Community Drama Handbook, Play Course training book, Rural Recreation, Handbook for Playground Workers, and Special Play Activities. These publications are also part of the archival texts used in this study. In addition to these, there is also Recreation Congress, where demonstrations of music, folk dances, drama, games, handcraft, and other play activities are exemplified and the training to playground workers. Also there are meetings discussing “common concern in recreation and play”. The theme for the Recreation Congress in 1926 was “The Use of Leisure, A National Problem” (p. 9). Also, there is a Vacation Guide for the employees, listing hundreds of vacation places (along with play activities) for the employees and their family to do in their ‘vacation time’. Cities begin a more aggressive effort to set aside a land for park areas and build program to face issues with park problems. All of these govern not just the family and its members, but also the schools, city officials, employees and employers, religious institutions taking part in the play and recreation efforts, and many more. Play becomes everyone’s matter, everyone’s concern, and leisure time is a commodity.

Throughout the report, the words kept occurring in relation to “play” is ‘children’, ‘happiness’, ‘citizenship’, and managing ‘leisure time’ for American life. America’s use of leisure time is said as one of the greatest problems faced during this time, and

recreation and play provide the means and the solution to it. Therefore, play is structured in a way to manage the population properly to create happy and fit citizens for American life.

In his letter in favor of public playgrounds (1907), president Roosevelt promoted playground for the national capital. He argued that playground development is one of the most important steps toward making Washington the model city. At the Play Congress, August 19, 1908, a thousand children sang a Playground Marching Song:

Make way for the children!

We are flinging high our banners bright,

Make way for the children!

Who come at last to claim their right.

Sons of the future,

The hope of the time that is to be;

Open the city gates,

For the children come in equity.

From every land

Is the strength of the nations come;

With mighty voice the nations cried,

“Make room, make room for our children.”

Long did we wait
While the city forgot the children,
And we wondered with tears
At the strange wasted years,
For ye had need of the children.

We are the builders,
We will build the homes of the city;
Gaily fly the hammers, for our hearts and our hands are strong.
Tall is the forest tree—
None so valiant or so proud as he,
Yet we'll conquer him and make him serve us well,
For builders brave are we.

We are the builders,
We will build the greater city;
Standing as the living stones in her stately palace walls.
Sons of the future we,
Children born of love and liberty,
Marching onward with our trumpets and our songs,
We claim to claim our own.

The song indicates the demand for space to play for children, that the city needs to care for its children as they are the “sons of the future” who “build the homes of the city”.

Play and Therapy

Play has been also used therapeutically in convalescence and subnormal health conditions (Brush, 1929, p. 163). Brush describes the methods, means used, and the recreational activities successful for various cases. Some of the play activities include baseball, football, handball, Tether Ball, basketball, any play with ball, quoitennis, ring-toss, dancing, gold, and horseshoe pitching. Therapists use play activities also in physical and neuro-mental reconstruction, and personality testing for adaptation to social-industrial living in the city. The field of recreational therapy is also introduced.

Play as Medicine

Lee (1911) says “Air, water, carbon, enter the human body and in a few hours or seconds become character” (p. 3). The body is “not a collection of material but a process through which material passes every moment” (p. 4) and that “[m]an is not a mass of matter in a certain state, but a vortex, a flame, controlling matter that comes within its reach.” (p. 4). Lee focuses on how to enhance life. He says enhancing one’s vital energy and moral excellence can enhance life. What is the way to health? The body grows not so much by taking in as by putting forth, and that the way to accumulate strength is not by conservation but by using what you have. Further he states “[y]ou cannot get strong by doing nothing” (p. 5). According to this, “the way of health is action” (p. 5). It mean one has to do something, meaning using the strength one have, by exercising, gymnastics, using the muscles, moving the arms and legs. Rest, sleep and relaxation do not build up. He adds, “[t]he pursuit of pleasure is proverbially one in which the pursuer falls constantly behind” (p. 6) . Evidently, there is something in having to do the thing not for the pleasure there is in it, but for some other reason much be done. Subordination to a

purpose will be a standing quality in the activity that gives life and health. However, it is not any kind of subordination that will make one is well. The best kind of subordination that is healthy is one that is conforming to the conditions of some kind of service, like work. Work that is recognized, respected, through which a person takes his/her part and does his/her share. Another is competitive and group play.

Free People and Self-Government

Gulick (1907) believes that “[a] fundamental condition for the permanent development of a free people is that they shall in childhood learn to govern themselves” (p. 7). Self-government in his ideas is to be learned as an experience. This self-governance can be learned through the various play activities in adequate playgrounds provided for all the children. The House Bill No. 536, which was passed by the House and in the Senate of Massachusetts Legislature, makes the playgrounds of Boston as part of the public school system. Playground is recognized as an “educational institution” and should be connected as close as possible with the public schools. Lee (1907) argues “[t]he school will never perform its true function, will never get at the whole child, so long as it leaves the most vital part of him, that which is developed and expressed in his play, outside of its influence and observation” (p. 7).

Play Schools

Play School is built for elementary education in character building by training the children in happy forms of life expression. I include in the appendix A, a diagram of a Rationale of Play Schools that shows an analysis of character building. There are seven principles in the sensibilities of the individual, seven habits or intellectual elements, and seven dominating elements.

“Policing”

The idea of having playground is to have as few restrictions as possible; but get in close touch with the people in the neighborhood. This is a different kind of policing system. “Uniformed police should be kept away from all playgrounds” (Proceedings 2nd Playground Congress, 1908, p. 111). The police presence in the playground shows “incapable custodians, inefficient administration, and lack of playground organization” (p. 111). However, there is such thing as “playground officers” who should be an integral part of “truancy and parole and factory inspection systems” (p.111) as part of the bigger intelligent operation of playgrounds. Another play management is to organize the young people to develop into “thinking men and women, into good citizens” (p. 116) as a way to be self-governing.

Chapter 5

FREE SCHOOL AND PLAY (1960 TO PRESENT)

This chapter will proceed in a similar way as the previous chapter (chapter 4). This chapter describes various discourses that emerged at the crucial moment of the period of 1960s, 1970s in Free School movement, and the present Free School, and put these discourses into play regarding governing student populations within the play practice. The discourses discussed in this chapter is assembled from various archival texts such as numerous Free Schools archives in 1968-1978 and Teachers Drop-Out Archive

Field Trips, School Picnic

One of the popular school activities in free schools is the field trip. In Highland Free School (1972), parents are expected to participate in all school affairs, including accompanying children on field trips. Children at the free schools spend the play time both with their parents and by themselves. Highland Free School is for children between the ages of three and six years old.

In addition to gathering for field trips, the community of students, friends, and family gather several times a year for school picnics.



Figure 8. Children Playing at Highland Free School



Figure 9. Children Playing at Highland Free School

Pictures of children running up and down hills and playing in open space or in school ‘playground’ space seem to be shared among all free school s pictures/photo throughout the archive.

Other activities shown in the archives of a free school in Benicia, California include walking, bicycling, and car-riding field trips each week. The Benicia school is for children between the ages of five to fourteen. The “Benicia Children’s School Report On Activities” (1972) describes diverse school activities including overnight trips, lifting and rolling a very heavy tractor tire, walking friends’ goats to a river, a long ride through a farm, a jungle ride, creating a folk rock band, gathering chicken eggs, hiking around a lake, playing in the snow, swimming practice, playing in a fountain, building a spooky

haunted house, bicycling, walking in industrial park as part of an historical tour, making a funny tape recording, and building a special animal cage. The cage mentioned was built big enough so the students could get inside to watch and play with Cyrano, a coati mundi raccoon the school got from the local zoo.

Self-regulative and Self-disciplining

The free school children are guided into learning experiences through: “frequent field trips, animals, gardens, an innovative playground, educational games, music”, and various other interests such as “arts and crafts, creative building areas, housekeeping and dress-up, manipulative toys and games, science and math, language arts and reading, carpentry area” (Highland Free School pamphlet). Children choose from these activities and more. They are considered responsible for their decisions so as to become “self-regulative” and “self-disciplining”.

Wilhelm Reich coined a term “self-regulation” (Green, 1982) in the 1930s when working with A.S. Neill (the founder of Summerhill Free School) and others to formulate “a model of healthy psychological development” that he believes would prevent the future need for psychotherapy for neurotic adults. In line with Reich, Neill believes that children must be self-regulated, which prompts his publication “The Free Child”, with its focus on the development and rearing of young children. Within this self-regulation concept lays the idea that individual psychological therapy is not the best tool for treating problem children. Instead, freedom cures as well as therapy, much better so than harsh discipline (Green, 1982). Learning experiences through the activities mentioned earlier in are aimed at creating a “self-regulative” and “self-disciplining” child body.

“Sit on the Kids”

One of the archival texts on Benecia Free Schools', mentions a practice of “sitting on the kids”. The two teachers at the Benecia Children’s School don’t “sit on the kids” and no higher ups “sit on them”. Another Free School book (Mercogliano, 2003) also references “sitting on each other” as a punitive or disciplining practice. As described in the text, one of the older students sit on William (one of the students in Albany Free School) when he is very disrespectful to the other students and refuses to do his chore of cleaning the lunch table, a task shared by all students. This sitting on each other practice is a technique that the free school founder, Mary Leue designed as a way for children to set limits with each other without anyone getting hurt. The practice is not an everyday occurrence, but it happens. Sitting on each other is “a technique of last resort employed only with inordinately willful children who are in the habit of overstepping any and all reasonable bounds and is an effective alternative to the kinds of adult intervention to which such children quickly grow immune” (Mercogliano, 2003, p. 9-10).

Socio-emotional and intellectual Growth, Developmentalism

Free schools put emphasis on “the socio-emotional and intellectual growth of each child, and on helping him [them] to develop self-confidence, respect for others and the ability to cope successfully with people, ideas and the changing physical world around him” (Burke, n.d., n.p.). These schools are geared towards a “child-centered” approach and on each “individual’s development”. The equipment in the children’s yards are designed specifically to meet the developmental needs of the children, especially

those under seven years old. Parents with the help of craftsman build the play equipment. The school focuses on the continuous study of playground equipment, design, and materials. As mentioned, playground time is an important part of the school's day-to-day practice.

Play and Playground

At the Creative Children's School, children are not assigned activity during the school time. Etty, the teacher at the school said, "...Each child decides for himself what he wants to do. Some children may decide to work together on some project while others may choose to work or play alone" (Pollye, 1972/1973). The school focuses on building equipment and playground design and does continuous study on this equipment's ability to meet the children's needs. Another free school, named Free To Be School, builds their own playground equipment as part of the children's activity at the school. One of their projects is to build a tunnel of tires. To bolt the tires together securely, children need to learn some measuring process, as each tire is not the same size. It takes about an hour to build it. There are three eight year olds and one school guest in the project. The boys "stayed with the project with enthusiasm to its completion" (Free To Be School, n.d.). After the tunnel of tires is built, another boy makes a moveable swing out of one tire. Another boy also builds a tire fort, while another boy makes a motorcycle –although the wheels do not work properly at the end of the process, making it a project for the next day.

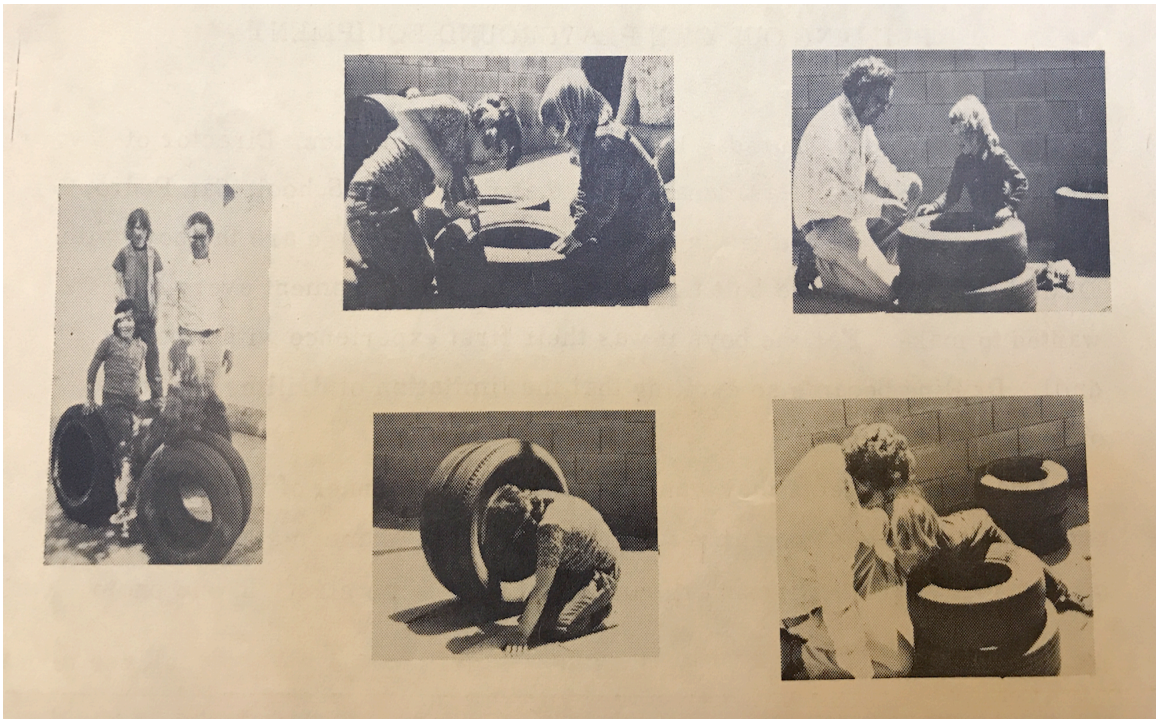


Figure 10. Children at the Free To Be School school building their own playground equipment

Free Schools' Population

Free Schools serve various kinds of child populations. One kind of group I will discuss further in the next section is what Mercogliano calls “Ritalin boys and girls”. Free Schools have accepted and worked often with children who come from unique backgrounds and are often kicked out of public schools or considered ‘not suitable’ for public schools. Many free schools in the archive mentioned that they accepted and accommodated students population such as those with special learning conditions, including those having communication problems, Dysphasic, speech disability, low-income families, or students considered “children with special problems” such as

“jumping students”, children from “ghetto homes and tenements”, runaway children, school drop-outs, students who are out of school at least for 3 months, or “high school students who can’t cope with restrictions, regulations and irrelevancies of public school”.

Therapeutic School, Play is Therapeutic

‘Toxic’ Body, ‘Straighter’ Body

Archival texts show how Free Schools are like “laboratory” for “developing “ways to help children” who don’t conform to conventional academic and behavioral norms to relax, focus, modulate emotional expression, make responsible choices, appreciate themselves and others, and forge lasting friendships” (Mercogolino, 2003, p. ix-x). The Free School refers the family in America has fallen and in the sad state of disrepair. There is increasingly “social toxicity” (p. 103) in American culture. It is now more and more “dangerous” to the health and well-being of children and adults whose life experiences, characters, temperament make them especially vulnerable to live in the current society. The current society considers it is a crisis when children do not read or write or on the road of literacy by certain age and when they behave certain ways that is ‘unmanageable’. As a response to that crisis, the children body is toxicated with numerous medicalization processes happening at school and at home. One that is very common is the Ritalin prescription to children at schools and at home. The children body becomes toxic.

In another archival text, following a psychologist Wilhelm Reich, Mercogolino said that metaphorically the troubled children are like the ‘bent tree’. This bent tree will never grow straight. Therefore it is very important to prevent the damage to children’s psyche before occurring. The toxic society produces this ‘bent trees’ because of the

school hostility. Mercogolino suggests that the role of the Free School staffs/teachers are to “tend” and “mulch” and “fertilize” these children to become “beautiful” and “healthy” ones. In his words, “we can help them grow straighter” (Mercogolino, 1998, p. 41).

The labeled and/or drugged and Play

In Albany Free School case, a half of the students come to the free school after “experiencing serious academic and/or behavioral problems in their previous schools” (p. x). From that half of the whole school population, about seventy five percent of the male students labeled as having ADHD from the previous schools (Mercogolino, 2003). A few are the girls, who are referred in the texts as “Ritalin girl”. The text discussed the “treatment” the school has done in several cases of “labeled and/or drugged children” (six boys and three girls) at the free school. Instead of believing that these children have ADHD or claimed as having supposedly ‘organic disorder’, the free school schools staffs believe their dysfunctional and antisocial behaviors are signals of (childhood) distress of unmet needs and emotional turbulence.

The core principles of the school in working with these ‘unfitted, distressed, and challenging students’ include belief in unique child development trajectory, school as a community with students governance, the importance of child’s emotional health, and special attention through love and touch. All these principles manifested into children’s work and play together will create happy and ready-to-learn children. Children learn while they are playing. Play develops physical, social, and cognitive skills. In addition to

these, a great deal of language development and imagination occur through play. With these in mind, any developmental problems, learning disability, academic and social issues the children come with can be navigated through play among other supportive efforts.

William, the first case, labeled ADHD in the previous school, is “inattentive, restless, impulsive, disruptive, at times combative” (p. 1). Following the rules at the free school, William is said to be free to set his own agenda in school. William is attracted to play. First visit at the school, he come to large wooden jungle gym, jump and climb to play with other children. The schools believe that children like William with a big amount of energy and acumen “need ample opportunity to be physical” (p. 4). The school intentionally builds several play apparatuses such as “indoor climbing structure, with a double layer of queen-size mattresses underneath the horizontal ladder section for safety, and an even bigger structure in the backyard”, and “a big mat for tumbling and wrestling, and also a punching bag”, “a woodshop”, “an art room” (p. 4-5). The children’ so-called “hyperactivity” will disappear as the children can be as active as they need to be and take advantage of the play apparatuses available at the school.

Other than the built play apparatuses, Chris, one of the staff at the school (or teacher (keep in mind that the Free School often do not use the word teacher but staff to loose the hierarchical relationship between teacher and student as applied in other non-Free School structure)), brings his dog pet, a gentle, high-energy eternal puppy, to school to be introduced to William. William spends the first hour roaming the building and play at the backyard playground together (with Chris’s dog pet). When Chris didn’t bring the puppy at school, William noticed it and asked Chris where the puppy is and both of them

went to see the puppy together. Later, they visited the school's farm animals nearby. Other than Free School community appreciates that the children can learn basic animal husbandry through the school animal farm, they also believe that "angry, flighty, antisocial kids are especially drawn to animals. The children feel safer with them [the animals] and then are slowly able to transfer the affectionate connection they establish with the animals over to human beings" (p. 13).

Play with animal is also something that Free Schools often practice throughout the archives in 1960s through 1970s. This not only opens the emergence of animal farming based Free Schools and many field trips to zoos or animal farm and petting activities, but also animal play as therapeutic and strategic practice to work with troubled children.

One of the foremost goal of the Free School is "to help children learn how to manage themselves and structure their own experience" (p. 12). This is part of the reasons why the school's space and time is loosely structured. It is intended to promote "self-direction", "personal responsibility", "to encourage cooperation", and "stimulate creativity and self-expression". Free play accommodates all of the loosely structure and yet is able to give some "self-direction", "personal responsibility", "to encourage cooperation", and "stimulate creativity and self-expression" for the child and thus is able to "manage" and "structure" the child.

Other utilized method of 'helping' William is through the play at the woodshop. The rule for the woodshop use at the school is that only children who can be trusted are allowed to work and play at the woodshop; when one does anything unsafe, he/she will loose the privilege for that day at the woodshop. There is also no at-all-time shop teacher

at the woodshop. The school applies the rule of children “police each other” (p. 15) when one of them starts to get out of line. The school believes that it is necessary for the children, including the young children, “to have moments when they’re *not* being watched, *not* being monitored” to learn to act responsibly. Also at the same time, children, particularly prone to being labeled these days, “need to be able to hammer and bang to their hearts’ content” (p. 15). Woodshop play just does right about these. William has spent many hours at the woodshop and busies himself with another student building some sort of odd contraption. He seems to build some kind of “new friendship” with his fellow student at the school, something he hasn’t been interested to do before.

Another case is Damian, who has been medicalized with Ritalin and Clonidine to augment the “effectiveness” of the Ritalin, following the advise of the school psychologist and the school officials in his previous schools. Damian’s parent come to Free School in hope that Damian will be saved and no longer needed to be drugged and will learn better. To begin the Free School trial, Damian is asked to come off the drugs entirely. Free School holds the “No Medications” policy. Coming to his first day visit at the school, Damian quickly bounces on the mini tramp next to the big mattresses, with an overload of energy. Damian, having difficulty concentrating, being impulsive or aggressive, having dark circles underneath his intense eyes suggesting he hasn’t been sleeping well, doing everything at a very high rate of speed, is though articulate and reads well.

At the Free School, he spends time at the woodshop with his own project, plays toys, games, and Pied Piper with the younger children in the pre-school groups at the school, and romps on the jungle gym. Damian is let free to play at the school. Along with

the other children, Damian also joins a local goat dairy visit, to breed one of the school's. During the visit, although at the beginning he is anxious and demands to go back to school, eventually when he sees the goats, he is excited with high spirit with the activity. Again, playing with animal, as used in William's case, works in the case of Damian as well. Chris, the staff believes that by exposing Damian with small dose activity like going to a goat farm will help with Damian's coping with his fear or trauma. Being in an environment where there is no external pressure on Damian to socialize only with other children in his age or to succeed in certain activity, will "slowly enable him to be more at ease, both with himself and with others" (p. 41).

Damian is also a Dungeons and Dragons (D&D) devotee. One day he brings his D&D materials and begins to play at the school and many other children at the school and the school staff crowdedly join him in the play. The play goes well through passing the lunchtime. The rage of the play remains for a few weeks. This leads to Damian's next action: he is opening a class on D&D. He seats in front of the group of six students, talking about various medieval creatures and entities of the game. Another time, after Damian is allowed to be near younger children again (referring to the incident at the school when Damian mistreats the younger children and because of that he is not allowed to be near the younger children until he is committed to change his ways – which he did later), he set up a puppet theater by converting one of the younger children's staff worktable and begins to ad-libs his way a rendition of slapstick comedy. The next thing, he makes friend with one of the school's intern, who works weekends as a professional clown and collaborates in writing scripts for the next puppet production. The way the school is organized, children are allowed to decide their own schedule or activity

throughout the day and this allows Damian to do his play project while gives him an opportunity to build trust and relationship with other students as well as working on his own self-image. The school focuses its effort with the children like Damian by “helping them learn how to deal with their own emotional selves”. Through the activities at the school, the school staffs are attending closely to the emotional lives of the children.

The other case is Brian, seventh grade and has been diagnosed with ADHD and has taken Ritalin for more than a year. In the previous school, he is not able to concentrate in class, obsessive about the homework, when at home often bounce around the house for a long time, seldom eat, jittery, irritable, and ready to explode in anger. However, at the free school, he is seen as playful, and likeable: many younger kids find him very funny and he often plays with the younger kids. He is very energetic and athletic. At the school, he often play basket with another child and put a weird stunt: playing with bumblebee. The free play method by the school allows him to release his energetic energy and slowly enjoy his experience at the school.

Another case is Mumusatou, the “Ritalin girl”. She spends her time at the Free School alternates between group play and private pursuits or studies.

Another case is Jesse, who came to the school at the age of twelve years old. He has a long history of school troubles, academically and behaviorally. At the school, he spends much time doing the activities that excite him such as gymnastics and playing with the computer. He is told at the beginning “he was free to do as he pleased in the school, as long as he was respectful and didn’t violate the rights or sensibilities of others” (p. 40). In this principle, he doesn’t need to do any schoolwork, as the children will decide what they like to learn and commit in their own time. Later in his time at the

school, Jesse spends a lot of his time in the woodshop. He asks to be involved in an apprenticeship with one of the members of Free School community, named Frank, a craftsman, who co-owns an woodworking shop in traditional wooden boats and cars. Jesse spends time watching, observing, and helping Frank works on cars and boats. He also does some chores such as stacking woods, putting away tools, cleaning, and other things. Apprenticeship is one practice that Free School usually has. Usually, their older students spend parts of their week in an apprenticeship or internship in the area that they are interested with various professionals such as artists, writers, veterinarians, cartoonist, boat builder, pilots, horse trainers, chefs, lawyers, and engineers and they will choose a specific project to share at the “Apprenticeship Night” with the school community. Jesse picks to restore his desk, a desk that he broke himself. Mercogolino mentions that Jesse has a unique relationship with his school desk. For Jesse, the desk is anything but a place to do schoolwork. For Jesse, the desk is “the concrete symbol of his years of frustration and failure in school” (p. 68). The staff observes Jesse carved the desk, scribbled on it, rocked it, kicked it, knocked it over, and broke it while he sat on top. Throughout Jesse’s apprenticeship with Frank, the staff asks Frank to write a journal of his observation working with Jesse. At the end of his apprenticeship, Jesse is determined to finish his desk project and share his project at the Apprenticeship Night at the school.

Another case is Billy, who comes to free school with “his emotional and social problems” (Mercogolino, 1998, p. 52) with a history if “academic failure and no apparent interest in learning” (p. 52). His preferred activity is sitting all day and disturbing other children, until someone donated an old-track tape player with a big box of working tapes from 1960s and 1970s. He plays the tapes and nothing else. Eventually he finds himself

interested in holding a dance at the school and becomes a disc jockey and later joins an apprentice at the local radio station. Not long after, he starts his own radio station in his neighborhood.

Allan, other case, comes at the age of eleven, “had suffered emotional abuse and neglect as a young child” and “had tremendous nervous energy and rarely liked to sit still for long” (p. 55). The school treatment as usual, like in other previous cases is “to give him the freedom” to do whatever he wants. Later, the school arranges the five-day trips to a farm. During the trip, Allan spends most of his time trying to catch small animals in homemade traps. His attempts are not successful. When he is at the school, he shows up with the book on animal trapping from the library and spends several weeks reading the book and builds the traps with his own designs, at the school workshop. Later, he comes across with baby animals that fall at his feet. He begins to spend a lot of time investing the energy into nurturing the animals’ offspring. In his efforts, following the suggestion of the teacher/staff, he contacts the wildlife rehabilitator at the State Conservation Department, who instructs him in the offspring’s care. He then visit and volunteer in there a couple of times per week. Another time, Allan came across to abandoned pigeon that is in a bad shape, malnourished and cannot fly. Allan takes care of it and play with it. Interaction with animal and animal play ‘help’ Allan to find his interest and ‘gets better’.

Setting One Free and The Surveillance Mechanism

In dealing with all students, including the troubled children, first course of action taken by the Free School is “setting the children ‘free’. It means “free from the pressure of an academic timetable and its endless performance assessments, from constant behavioral monitoring and adult intervention..., free to think his own thoughts, to choose

his own activities, and to associate freely with a wide range of other children – not just alleged problem ones” (Mercogliano, 1998, p. 40). This “freeing” practice opens space for the children to grow into and look for possible other way to unload their pain, and other concerns. This “freeing” practice has been used to all troubled children cases in the previous section.

Along with “freeing” practice, the school set a certain kind of internal surveillance mechanism. In the case of Jesse, another trouble child described in one of the archival texts, Mercogliano says, that the “medicine” Free School administer to Jesse is called “the truth” practice. The mechanism of “the truth” is “[w]hen he was behaving like a moron, someone would tell him – straight and to his face. And when he acted courageously or insightfully, the same was true. When his jokes were funny, people laughed at them; when they weren’t, they didn’t. And when his language or behavior exceeded acceptable limits, someone – not necessarily the teachers – would stop him in his tracks” (p. 41-42). As also mentioned in the previous section, in the case of William (and in general rule of the school), the school applies the rule of children “police each other” (p. 15). There might be no “constant adult monitoring” on the troubled children as understood in the traditional schools, but there is a “policing each other” or “telling the truth” practice among children as the more efficient surveillance and disciplining mechanism within the Free School. Mercogliano (1998) says that the children grew to count on this telling “the truth” or in his other words being “real” at all times practice at the school.

Brain and Mental Health

Free Schoolers, citing the work in the field of neuroscience, believe that “emotions have a great deal of actual, and not just metaphorical, impact on human mental and physiological function” (p. 43). In the archive, there are many citation references to the body of work in Mental Health, cognition and memory, and brain studies. MacLean, a researcher at the National Institute of Mental Health, conceptualized a triune model of the brain. In his conceptualization, brain consists of three layers in which one enfolded around another. The innermost layer is the reptilian brain that provides information about the external world through the senses. Then, surrounding the reptilian brain is the emotional brain that monitors the interior environment including the emotions and the immune system. The outermost layer is called neocortex, which receives input from the other two brains incorporating data into overall growth and survival strategies. Recent studies states that the emotional brain “maintains a constant neural relationship with the other brains and provides us with a sense of self, of reality, and of the continuity of ongoing experience” (p. 44). In addition to this, researchers in the field of Neurocardiology discover that “emotional brain also has a massive and direct neural connection to the heart” (p. 44), which presupposes that heart is connected to the brain and “is an actual neural source of our emotional experience” (p. 44). Therefore, the emotional brain has an important role in the overall mental development. The staff at the Free School refers to this particular study in reading Damian’s inner emotional states and their outward patterns of thought and behavior. In their view, Damian is “a genuinely

distressed child with the history of family violence, ongoing power struggles in his relationship with his single mother and isolation with his mother the majority of his childhood causing lacking of experience with peers or siblings presence/relationships.

The Logic of “Standardized Discipline”

Throughout the archival texts, in their practice of disciplining the students, Free Schoolers believe that “standardized discipline”: preset rules and punishments, such as “time-out” chairs or detention rooms, as practiced in traditional schools, is not effective. These practices do not bring the real change in child’s overall character or attitude:

[t]hey reinforce anger, resistance, and resentment instead of fostering personal responsibility. While they may reduce certain out-of-bonds behavior in the short run, over time they create students who feel they have no share or ownership in the school or the educational process. It turns what could be an important source of teaching and learning into a control issue, and in the end it creates alienated students who simply don’t care anymore (p. 49).

The disciplining practice at the conventional schools put heavily on a large amount of coercion attached to the learning process. Because of that, teachers and parents are trapped in a vicious circle if dealing with the reaction of the children. At the Free School, they eliminate a half of the problem by “removing compulsion from the learning process altogether” (p. 49). Then, they try to stay out of “behavioral management” instead allowing the children to learn from their own mistakes when at all possible and open for self-discovery. In their words, they prefer “natural” consequences to fixed predetermined behavior management. In the case of Damian, when he is mistreating the younger children, the staff tells him that he could not be around the younger children anymore

until he is committed to change his ways. In this way, he is asked to reflect on his actions (self-examination), which leads to self-governing. After the self-examination, the staff makes sure to follow up with a caring presence to Damian to give him a chance to reestablish trust. The school states not to confuse “guidance” with “management, control, surveillance, and indoctrination” like in other conventional school model.

Ritalin and Play

As mentioned previously, Free School holds the “No Medications” policy. Citing the works of some psychiatrists, the most significant affect of Ritalin for the children is that “psychostimulants suppress a whole range of spontaneous, self generated, exploratory, playful, and social behaviors. They produce docility, passivity, social isolation, and sometimes a robotic or zombie-like conformity” (p. 77). It “reduce[s] a child’s interest in social interactions” (Barkley cited in Mercogliano, 2003, p. 77). In addition, the drugs allow the adults to have control over the children without attending to the children basic needs for “play, exercise, rational discipline, unconditional love, and engaging, individualized, and developmentally appropriate education” (Breggin cited in Mercogliano, 2003, p. 79).

Teachers/Staff as Therapists

In one of the archival texts, Mercogliano (1998) considers the Free School as a “therapeutic school” (p. 48), that will “help” the students find the “real solutions” (p. 48). The school helps with “the healing of emotionally wounded children” (p. 49). Teachers/Staffs act as any “therapists” (p. 48) would do: “encourage and invite the inner rumblings of the psyche to “come up”. Then we work together, or struggle alone as the case may be, to take the drama all the way through to its logical conclusion” (p. 48).

Teachers/staffs also “often attempt to influence students in one direction or another—sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly; sometimes gently, sometimes not so gently. It all depends on the individual” (p. 58). The school is not a special school for “special” (problem) children. However, every year, the school admits some very interesting characters of students (some are discussed in the previous sections). Some are just students who eager with learning and are drawn to the school unique approach to education and democratic students governance. The school gives the children more room to roam and experience their own mistakes as a way of learning of themselves and others. The school expects that the so-called problem children, “to take full advantage of the available freedom and begin setting into motion a highly accelerated and imaginative course of study based entirely on personal trial and error” (p. 49). The school believes that when one of their troubled children stirs up the pot at the school, it is an opportunity for everyone to learn something about himself or herself. In two instances, the school actually voted the “chronic troublemakers” out of the school, after repeated warnings. The school puts so much attention to emotional and interpersonal issues of their students because once these issues are resolved, academic learning tends to get better. Also when the children have the freedom to know themselves, like themselves, and belong to themselves, other learning will go naturally.

Juvenile Delinquency, Free School

The archive also includes a large amount of texts discussing Juvenile Delinquency. The texts from the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency discusses on the prevention of delinquency through alternative education programs, including free schools. It mentions specifically

the initiative “to support demonstration programs which prevent delinquency through development of alternative education options for youth whose educational and social development needs are not being met in traditional classroom settings in school districts where there is a disproportionately high rate of dropouts, suspensions and expulsion” (p. 1, n.d.). These ‘alternative education’ includes those educational opportunities that are provided by either public or private schools that respond to individual needs of youth using non-traditional learning practices according to the situation or differences of these youth.

Problems: Out-of-school Youth

During the period of 1970s, the nation is in crisis in various problems. Nearly two millions schools age children according to The National Education Association (p. 2), mostly residing in large cities, are not in school. Of those who are in schools, especially in urban inner cities, more of them spend some portion of their lives at the correctional institutions than those who attend in higher education. Other than that, “minority students are twice as likely to be expelled from school as nonminority students” (United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, n.d., p.1.). Very few schools have devised effective alternatives for “handling problem behavior” to try to “keep the youth in school” and “channel behavior into productive ways”. These school problems have been correlated to the delinquent offenses. The report from survey in Massachusetts from The Children’s Defense Fund attests that 98 percent of the incarcerated youth have history of school problems. It is interesting to see that the text discusses the comparison between the cost of providing services in a progressive educational center per student per year and the cost of incarceration for each youth each

year. Following Missouri case, the cost of providing services in a progressive educational center per student per year is \$3,300 and the cost of incarceration for each youth each year is 11,000. This cost apparently is also the trend in other places across the country. This suggests alternative education, including free school is used as a viable solution and prevention strategy for the problem of out-of-school youth and juvenile delinquency. It is used to “keep the youth out of the streets”.

“Treating Juveniles in the Community”

Senator Bayh Birch, who was a chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency since 1970, says that “[s]ome youthful offenders must be removed from their communities for society’s sake as well as their own” (1977, p.1) and that “the incarceration of youthful offenders should be reserved for those youth, usually the few violent offenders, who cannot be handled by other alternatives” (1977, p.1). Here he differentiates the youthful offenders, those who can be helped from alternative programs and others who are violent offenders and cannot be handled by other “alternative” and should be incarcerated. He introduces the bill to extend for five years the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, known as the Juvenile Justice Amendments Act of 1977, to “strengthen and revitalize the juvenile delinquency prevention efforts of the Office of Juvenile Justice” (p. 1). This bill makes it possible for the emergence of delinquency prevention programs that have a big potential for reducing crime and delinquency. This bill supports “strong incentives for State and local governments to develop community-based programs and services as alternatives to training schools for many youngsters” (1977, p. 2). He believes that no new major institutions for juveniles should be built. Instead, many delinquents, the noncriminal

status offenders and neglected or dependent children, who have previously been institutionalized, can be helped through the community settings. The State officials insist this need to “treat juveniles in the community” (p. 2). Important to note here that this mechanism of treating the juveniles is different that the way the Federal approaches juvenile delinquency before, which is by incarceration even to the non-criminal offenders or youth runaways. At this period of time, the treatment happens or is centralized in the community. The concerning youths are those in elementary and secondary schools as the frequency, seriousness, incidence of crime increases in these schools (p. 21).

From the survey of 757 school district across the country, conducted by the subcommittee staff, there are many various serious crimes found in escalating rate: teachers and students are being murdered, assaulted, robbed in the hallways, playgrounds, and classrooms. The juvenile justice has failed to meet this problem and even worsen the situation as the system allows the first offenders become hardened criminals. They refer the reformatories and training schools as “schools of crime”. The recidivism among youth offenders below 20 years old is between 75-85 percent. James Q. Wilson, the distinguished Harvard criminologist cited in Birch (1977) states that there are limited and declining supply of detention facilities. Many that exist are already over crowded, decrepit, and unsafe. He suggests rethinking on how to allocate the spaces that exist than improving the decency of the places. According to a survey in 1966 of over fifteen juvenile correctional institutions, “30 per cent of the inmates were young person who had been committed for conduct that would not have been judged criminal were it committed by adults. They were runaways, “stubborn children”, or chronic truants-problem children” (p. S4236). This means that the young people are unnecessarily incarcerated,

just because there are no workable alternatives. Hruska suggests that since the juvenile procedure and system are ineffective and inappropriate for the youths, “a viable diversion mechanism for dealing with these youths” is needed. He explains further on this viable diversion mechanism, which is alternative program that is “utilizing resources other than the police, courts, and corrections” (p. S4237) and can “provide necessary rehabilitation without the harmful stigmatization” (p. S4237). The highest attention is to prevent the juvenile delinquency by minimizing the involvement of youth offenders in the juvenile and criminal justice system and integrate the youths into the community. This is the national strategy to reduce crime he states. The 1974 Act opens the room for the vital role of the communities, public or private agencies, private non-profit organizations in treating the youths. The ultimate purpose of these whole efforts is to produce “productive citizens” (p. S4237) and “responsible, law abiding citizen” (p. S4237). “[J]uvenile delinquency constitutes a growing threat to the national welfare” (p. S4237). “[J]uveniles under the age of 18 presently account for 45 percent, or almost one-half, of all serious crime committed in the United States” (p. S4237). Of all serious crime in the US, 75 percent are by youths under the age of 25 years old and 23 percent of all violent crimes are by youths under the age of 18 years old. In other words, the texts articulate that America’s best hope for reducing crime is to reduce the juvenile delinquency and youth crime. Hence, it’s said as “a national priority”.

There are various texts on the Statements at the U.S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency (1975). Many juvenile delinquency cases in major cities such as New York, Richmond (Virginia) (p. 4), Atlanta (Georgia) (p. 5), Dallas (Texas) (p. 6), Los Angeles (p. 6), Tampa (Florida) (p. 8), Tacoma (Washington) (p. 11)β

to name a few are discussed at length. During the school year (1974-1975), in New York, it's reported "31 incidents", "474 assaults on teachers and other professional staff members for the first five months", which accumulate to close to a thousand assaults to teachers in school building by the end of the school year. There is dramatic increase of the number of public school arrests: from 313 during 1973 to 1974 to 612 arrests in 1974 to 1975. It's an increase of 95.6% (Shanker, 1975, p. 2). According to the statistics from the Juvenile Division of the Los Angeles Police Department regarding juvenile crime: (1) Juvenile arrests made up 35% of all arrests in the city of Los Angeles; (2) Juvenile arrest for possession of deadly weapons increases 51% in 1972, 84% in 1973, and more in the following years; (3) a total of 222 students are expelled in 1973-1974; (4) total reported criminal incidents involving students increase from 7,813 in 1972-1973 to 10,041 in 1973-1974, which is over 20% increase; (5) an increase of 100% of property loss and damage. These statistics are presented in the text as part of the nationwide pattern of "increased juvenile crime". Not just the delinquency against the school community but also to school facilities: the building, schools pets, house plants, teachers' desks, typewriters, supply closets, windows, televisions, school machine and recorders (p. 10). These damages put enormous pressures to principal and teachers as well as school staff who must attempt to function without their resources. Students who do stay in school cannot concentrate and be in school in fear. The cities try numerous efforts to face this juvenile crime epidemic. Some efforts done include installation of intrusion alarm system, personal alarm system, truancy reduction program, a joint effort of Police Department and school district consisting pupil services (students interviews and

counseling) and attendance with police patrol cars which bring thousands of students from the streets to return to school, and also police undercover agents who enrolled as students in some high schools specifically regarding issue of narcotics in schools.

Aside from these, in Los Angeles, there is resurgence of violent gang activity in the 1970's (Halverson, 1975). One of the suggested factors contributing to the existence of these gangs mentioned in the archival text is the limited recreational program and facilities. The ages of juvenile gang members range from 11 through 25 years. There are junior high school students and elementary age children forming sub-gangs with the primary gangs operating at the senior high school secondary level. Gangs is also one of the two serious problem mentioned by the chancellor of New York City Board of Education in his testimony on violence in New York City schools for the US Senate Subcommittee to investigate Juvenile Delinquency (Shanker, 1975). The resurgence of street gangs in New York has been restricted to ghetto areas which in the 70's, the original spawning ground of gang activity was the South Bronx. However, it has proliferated to "the north Bronx, Central Brooklyn (Bedford Stuyvesant, Brownsville, East New York), and finally to the lower east side and lower Manhattan (Chinatown)" (Shanker, 1975, p. 8). The members of the gang range from 11 to 18 years old. A juvenile gang is "one in which members perceive themselves as part of a gang. They have a name, a formal organizational structure with a martial or quasi-military chain of command, a uniform or "colors", distinctive insignia, and an acknowledged war lord or leader" (p. 9). However, some (the ones in Chinatown) have no discernible structure. One of the actions that has been taken in facing the gangs problem with the school children is by opening the additional recreation and activity centers and to keep them open after school and into

evening hours. This is done “to provide young people with an organized supervised program of constructive activities” (p. 11). Another action is through the “alternative schools which depart from traditional methods, procedures, curriculum and structure” (p. 11). Irving Anker states that these problem with the juvenile delinquency, drugs, gang warfare in the school and beyond create “fear for future of the great cities of this country and all of its proud institutions” (p. 14).

Social alternative program ranging from transcendental meditation to poetry publications is one of the activities used within school-based program in dealing with the drugs in school issue. The poetry publication reminds us of the use of art activities in the playground in the Playground movement in 1920’s as described in the previous chapter.

Throughout these various Statements texts, the solution suggested is not expulsion of the students, rather “a different educational setting – one that caters to his [the students] special needs”, an “alternate facilities where his [the students] individual needs are given sympathetic and skillful attention” (p. 4); “an alternative which will identify his [their] problem...whether it be physical, psychological, curriculum or home environment. So the problem can be treated” (p. 20). Halverson describes this juvenile violence and vandalism taking place in urban schools as catastrophic and is like a disease that needs “many forms of treatment in its attempt to arrest and cure” the spread of violence and destruction by juveniles just like hoe “the medical professional applies”

In addition, the unemployment rate among teenager is high. “[S]treet crime has become a surrogate for employment and vandalism a release from boredom” (p. 2). The American households are also suffering. The unemployment of parents deprives a family of income and instability. Many youth are running away from home.

The making of “labeled” students

The crisis with youth and school population, and school itself provide rooms to various labeled students: “under achiever”, “problem students”, “trouble maker”, “potential drop-outs”, “non-interested student”. There are certain approaches mentioned in the text from the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency for the initiative to alternative education. The target population for these alternative education may include “youth who have dropped out of school, those suspended, truants, those identified as making a poor adjustment, those who elect by choice to participate in a different kind of educational experience, or any combination of these” (n.d., p. 4). The alternative schools from the area with higher drop-out rates and delinquency are strongly supported.

Chapter 6

GENEALOGY

In the previous chapter, specifically in chapter II, Free School scholars argue that free schools are conceptualized around the calling for a rethinking of the basic assumptions about schools, learning, teaching, education, and all other facets in relation to these various assumptions, including assumption about the nature of a child, what childhood or adulthood is and any other developmental quality of human, how children learn, what they are capable of doing, and the stages of human development and growth. Free school is fundamentally a moral critique of schooling in the modern society. It pursues “a total transformation of American society” (Miller, 2003, p. 39). The established schools are “oppressive institution that thwarted young people’s social, emotional, moral, and even intellectual development” as Miller (2002, p. 39) stated in his book, *Free Schools, Free People: Education and Democracy After the 1960s*, one of the main Free School movement history publication. The body of knowledge around 1960s, 1970s until present on Free Schools show how people (students, teachers, and others) form Free School as a response to how they feel about the public schools that increasingly become irrelevant to the students and their freedom. At the established school there was “lack of freedom to be themselves, a lack of space to follow their [students] individual interests, and lack of adults to listen to their passions and fears.” (Miller, 2002, p. 43). Further, Gitlin cited in Miller (2002) said that the young people were trying to save “the natural, the primitive, the unrefined, the holy unspoiled child, the pagan body” (p. 40), their personal autonomy (p. 41) that are “repressed” by the culture

of mainstream America. In other words, these youth look for “wholeness” and a “genuine experience”. Therefore, free school means “finding ways to free our children from the controls that wrap their growth” (Tyack and Hansot cited in Miller, 2002, p. 40).

One of the core values in Free School is the value of freedom. Freedom is essential to the development of personal responsibility (“Independence: Creating leaders”, n. d.). One condition for individuals to be able to learn is the provision of “an atmosphere of freedom” (Mercogliano, 2006, p. 65). The freedom here enables children to learn in ways, times, and places of their own choosing. With this idea, students learning spaces are broadened, not confined within the school building or school programs. Marin (1996) said, free school is “guilt-free environment” (p. 70).

Through play as one of the core free school practices, free schoolers exercise their freedom and are in charge in their own learning without being prescribed by others. As shown in the literature of free schools, children are curious by nature and they know how to learn. Play allows them to exercise their freedom necessary to flourish in their own learning and pursuit of happiness. Peter Gray (2013) in *Free to Learn*, argues that unleashing the instinct to play will make the children happier, more self-reliant, and better students for life. In free play, Peter said, “children learn to make their own decisions, solve their own problems, create and abide by rules, and get along with others as equals rather than as obedient or rebellious subordinates” (p. 17-18). During the outdoor play, as the children swing, jump, twirl, or slide on the playground equipment, they deliberately dose themselves with some amounts of fear and thereby learn how to control their bodies and their fear. In social play, children also learn “how to negotiate with others, how to please others, and how to modulate and overcome the anger that can

arise from conflicts” (p. 18). Free play helps them to discover their passion, what they love as the predominant emotions of play are joy and interest. Throughout the literature, play is described as activity with freedom, non-competitive one, as what matters is how children play the game, how much fun and how much joy they have, instead of winning the game. Play is exciting process, fun, democratic, as well as part of the active experiment in optimizing the creativity of the whole child. Hence play creates ‘free’ and ‘happy’ subject. However, this genealogical study shows differently about the practice of play and its subject production. Play is not free from other knowledge/power forces. In this chapter I organized and analyzed chapters IV and V in several themes and include in these, the more detailed discussion of five points of power analysis (systems of differentiations, the types of objectives, the means of bringing power relations into being, forms of institutionalization, and the degrees of rationalization) I explained in chapter III in an attempt to describe, “who we are now” and our ability to “refuse who we are”. These genealogical power analyses allow us to see the opportunity to open up the taken-for-granted spaces of free play to see what and where the possible change is and to learn the effects on the studied body to determine where the change should take.

Play And A Concern On The Schooled Children Body

The archival texts in 1890-1929 bring with them discourses that try to determine what the schooled children body should be, how they should be trained, what they should do, and how teachers and schools should organize themselves in relation to building these schooled children body including what it means for the school to educate the children, as well as governing the relationship among the city, the school, and the parents to create sufficient space for bodily exercise.

The texts differentiate what successful city entails and what not. The notion of successful city is related to the city's ability to care, invest, and provide for its 'children population'. The specific care and attention meant in the archive is in creating space to physical training of the body of the schooled children. This notion of a space for the physical training is described as 'well-equipped gymnasium', 'schoolyards', 'playground', "school recess", and "excursions". Cities and schools are to provide these spaces and are responsible for organizing the physical training activities for their children and the children families.

The archive tries to determine the "limits" of the construction of the schooled children bodies through 'ideas of correct postures', 'corrective practice', "very instructive and highly moralizing games", 'supervised play' in which supervising teachers 'advise, teach, inquire, and participate' in the play practice to mold, shape, and organize the movement of the bodies. Tensions also existed within the school curriculum in deciding what kind of schooled children body they want to build: the athlete-body or the soldier body. One side, the discourses lean towards 'military drill' which purpose is to build 'the habit of obedience to command' and 'discipline' through soldierly attitude and rhythmic movement of the military drill. Here the power/knowledge is disciplinary of the schooled children body. Play as manifested through the physical training is to develop the soldierly quality of any man and that play is to mold and discipline the 'peculiarly tempered and easily bored American youth' to be 'obedient' body like 'soldiers' or 'boy-soldiers' that the country needs. In the 1960-present archival texts, there is a reference on 'straighter body' but it speaks more on the concern to create whole children who are free from the 'toxic society' and become 'beautiful' and 'healthy' one. The straighter body reflects the

mental health of the children. In addition, the 1890-1929 archives also reveal the power to produce competitive self as manifested through various institutionalizations of youth contests at the playground and school festival play.

There are several body apparatuses, such as ‘hand appliances’, ‘schoolyards grounds’ which is arranged systematically for ‘running, jumping, throwing of pilum and discus, and for wrestling’, ‘free floor’, ‘climbing apparatus’, and ‘jumping and swinging apparatus’. The discourses on physical training in school try to locate efficient way to shape or mold the bodies. These body apparatuses also structure, train, and govern particular kinds of movement of a child. The body apparatuses also appear in 1960-present archival texts. Free Schools intentionally build several apparatuses for ‘climbing’ both for indoor use and outdoor school backyard use, ‘tumbling’, ‘wrestling’, and ‘punching’ for students for their free play. However, the objective of these apparatuses are more therapeutical in 1960-present archival texts than is shown in 1890-1929 archival texts. This therapeutical play apparatuses will be explained further in the next theme on play as medicine.

The 1890-1929 forms of institutionalization appear in several ways. First is by determining the minimum square meters of yard space for each child to play. Second is requiring the teachers to take the course of physical training. During the four years of student teacher study in the normal school, teachers-to-be have thorough course of physical training. Third is requiring the two to four hours of physical training at school and making it compulsory for each child. The role of physician in school is also defined and made. Physician decides students’ participation in the physical training and in which condition the schooled children are allowed to not participate. Fourth is through the

production of school play event including the competitive play youth contests. Fifth is the making of the physical training as a well-organized training at school. During this time there is no well-organized gymnastic trainings for the American children in any city in the US.

Play as a Technology of School Hygiene

As mentioned in chapter IV, there are three main keys for the school building and rooms. They are less noise, best light, and best ventilation. In between every successive school hours, the schools create ‘recess’. All students and teachers have to leave the classroom to move to the schoolyard. All class windows and doors are opened for a thorough airing of the schoolrooms. During this ‘being outside in recess time’, students are encouraged to ‘play’. ‘Play’ means to ‘move their bodies’ and ‘not stand still’. The movement of the bodies is to ‘cleanse’ the bodies from any possible ‘non-hygiene’ materials on and around the bodies. Recess is as a means of institutionalizing ‘play’ as a technology for school hygiene. Play is not just a practice that the children do freely during recess, but it is a practice meant for the school hygiene. Students were instructed to move their bodies or to play games or event to march. As the schoolrooms are thoroughly aired, the students are also ‘exercised’. ‘Moving the bodies’ is seen as a kind of ‘airing’ the body, ‘de-attaching’ the body from possible germs or ‘non-hygienic’ materials that can attack the body’s health.

The Birth of Play and Proper Use of Brain

The birth of play practice within the Free School occurs within a focus on proper use and development of brain. The archival texts in 1890-1929 show several systems of differentiations. The categories of ‘the lazy’, ‘the savage’, ‘the stolid’, and ‘the stupid’ are

drawn. These categories refer to 'physical laziness' as it relates to 'motor cells of the brain'. The lazy, the savage, the stolid, the stupid are those who do not exercise their muscle and hence do not develop their brain. To not exercise the motor cells affects significantly to the proper function of the brain and causes deficiency. There is also 'the hand of the idiot' distinction. This separates the 'untrained hand' and the 'trained one'. The untrained hand is like the untrained eye or untrained ear. The 'untrained hands' cannot acquire skills. The absence of the training causes the brain center controlling the hand is defective, therefore the brain center is not able to develop accurate motor ideas. Vice versa, the 'trained hands' are able to perform well-coordinated muscular movement of the body because the brain center develops the motor function properly and thus is well-organized.

The type of objectives in 1890s to 1929s in relation to this power/knowledge of play is to produce well-organized, well-coordinated with properly functioned brain subject. Schools this period would be to "furnish brains" of their students as early as the Nascent periods (four to fourteen years old), to properly develop the brain into fully functioned brain, to avoid deficiency that will result in creating the lazy, the stolid, the stupid, the idiots, or in other words, the problems.

The literature technology in the publication of the American Physical Education Review is one of the "primary" means of producing the well-organized, well-coordinated, and properly function subject. Several experts such as neurologist, physiologist, nutritionist, and medical doctor contribute to the building of the body of knowledge of the manual training through the American Physical Education Review publication.

In the 1890 – 1929 archival texts, there is a great desire to “institutionalize” the pedagogical practices by emphasizing the production of variety and accuracy in manual skills to form “good” manual training. “Good” manual training is one that involves a great “variety” of movement in which these movements need to be “accurate”. As mentioned in chapter IV, motor ideas form the basis of the manual skills. The only way the accurate motor ideas can be developed is by means of accurate muscular movements. The element of accuracy in forming “good” manual training create the need to “carefully grade” manual training exercise as a form of play. The concern in the 1890-1929 texts is to produce “clear and accurate thinking” subject by means of “good” manual training that emphasis on variety and accuracy. As shown in the archival texts that the clear and accurate thinking is never a result from vague and inaccurate sense perception, whether of the eye, of the hand, or of the ear. This “clear and accurate thinking” subject is the opposite of the lazy, the stolid, the stupid, the idiots, or the problems.

Institutionalizing the pedagogical practice also entails to institutionalizing “what counts as educational”. The archival texts in 1890-1929 approach “what counts as educational” by means of differentiating the work of large group of muscles and the small groups of muscles. The “skilled labor” involves small group of muscles and the accessory muscles with their finer adjustments. The “skilled labor” develops accurate motor sensations and ideas as well as fine coordination of muscular movement, that eventually build the proper development of brain. On the other side, the “unskilled labor” involves large groups of muscles and the fundamental muscles with their coarser adjustments. These heavy manual labors do not help the development of the brain properly. In fact they create “stolid man”. Now that the “skilled labor” is said to be educational, the

experts try to visualize the skills training by deciding tools that are appropriate for building these “educational” skills. This ‘determines’ what is allowable and what is not allowable in schools, and also what is allowed and encouraged to use to nourish or ‘furnish’ the human brain, mind, and body. Tools that appeal to small groups of muscles are allowed, defined, and rationalized and the manual exercise is designed in accordance to this materiality of “educational tools”. These institutionalize “educational trainings (or play)”, “educational tools”, “educational pedagogical practices”, and certainly “educational experience” of the children. In addition to these institutionalization, the knowledge on ‘nascent periods’ makes way for the ‘educational manual training’ to be available for children below the high school, in particular, at the age of four to fourteen. This is responsible for institutionalizing the manual training in below high school curriculum as well. This particular knowledge expert believes that during this period, the brain centers, which conduct the muscular movements of the hand, develop into functional activity and if properly trained, they can reach a degree of efficiency. The discussion around the importance of Nascent periods for the below high school children also demonstrates how various forms of power were rationalized. These Nascent periods are also crucial to determine one’s character and life. The success of the manual training (one of them in the form of play) for the children determines the moral character development of the children as well. The texts rationalize the strong relationship between the movement of the body, to the proper development of the brain, and one’s ability to effectively control one passions and desires, hence the self-control trait. The archival texts in 1890-1929 mentions that those who cannot inhibit their muscles, cannot efficiently develop their self-control trait. In 1960-present archival texts, the discourse on

the relationship between the movement of the body and one's ability to develop self-control trait reemerge in the practice of play for 'problematic students', or the "labeled and/or drugged children' or the 'unfitted, distressed, and challenging students' admitted at the Free school. Play is part of the 'treatment master plan' of freeing the students and towards the project of becoming 'healthy and happy' children, 'non'labeled students'. Also, in 1960 to present archival texts, there are many references from the field of neuroscience on brain and mental health, cognition and memory, and brain studies when working with the problematic students. The brain is connected to emotion. Emotions impact mental and physiological function, which explain the condition of the problematic children. The power/knowledge here tries to define, read, analyze the children's 'symptom' of their emotional states in relation to their behavior and in thinking about the practice of play in mediating this condition.

Play and a Concern on the Population and Play as a Governing Tool to Good Citizens

In both historical times: 1890 to 1929 and 1960 to present, play occurs within a concern on the population, including school children, hygiene among girls, boys and young men, and general population. In 1890 to 1929, the concern on the population is particularly the massive numbers of incoming immigrants and the effort to 'cleanse' the population into the 'desirable' body of American people. These massive incoming immigrants occupy the great cities of US such as New York, Chicago, and Boston areas.

In 1890 to 1929, various systems of differentiation are drawn. First is 'the poor'. The poor are those whose condition needs to be improved, needs to be 'cleaned' from impure, filthy, and unhealthy water of docks if bathing facilities are not provided. These

poor populations are located in the crowded tenement house districts and in an industrial center. Second is the ‘unwashed children’. This refers to the admitted school children who are dirty, with all kinds of infectious germs. Third is the ‘unbathed girls.’ girls are the least group to follow bathing practice. The archival texts show the problem with the greater portion of the children, especially those above ten years old, who are unwashed. Hygiene becomes a problem, and the children and population in general are at risk.

In 1890 to 1929, the city is also in a state of chaos. There are defined problems of the city that affect the ‘city population’. The city is crowded, yet the tenement rooms are small, prohibiting the thorough fresh air circulation and sunshine needed for the population, as well as place for their children to play and spend their time. These ‘problematic city populations’ turn to ‘the streets’ as there is no other better place to go. However, the streets are seen as ‘the site of problem’ for the population. ‘The streets’ is described as something dangerous, indecent, and unhygienic site of learning, living, and growing. Streets are crowded with busy vehicles and are not constantly cleaned. Gambling, indecent practices, bad language are on the streets. Streets are as ‘schools of crime’ and that the children should be kept “off the streets”. Hence the population needs to be saved from the danger of the streets. All together, the children and the population in general need to be saved from the danger of the streets, the poverty, the impure, filthy, and unhealthy water, and various kinds of infectious germs.

In 1960 to present archival texts, similar systems of differentiations as those in 1890 to 1929 are also drawn. First is ‘toxic children body’ or ‘labeled and/or drugged/medicated children’ or ‘Ritalin boys and girls. The archive texts also refer these as ‘unmanageable’ children with certain behaviors, or ‘the unfitted, distressed, and

challenging students’, ‘the angry, flighty, anti-social kids’, “children who have difficulty concentrating, impulsive/aggressive, lacks of sleep, does everything at very high rate of speed”, “children with history of school troubles academically and behaviorally”, “children who have emotional and social problems”, “children with history of failure and no apparent interest in learning”, “emotionally abused and neglected child”. These children are ‘academically challenged’, as they grow ‘without being the ability to read, write, or being literate.’ These children live in a ‘problematic family’. This condition refers to the falling of American family. As the knowledge around children and children body are made, gathered, and known, certain characteristics of families are also drawn. There are some knowledge about families who abuse children emotionally, neglect their children, have social problems, have the history of family violence, have ongoing power struggles in family relationship, and have parents issues.

Both in 1890 to 1929 and 1960 to present also bring with them the knowledge about the streets that differentiate between the “safe space” and “dangerous space” for the population. Both times refer streets as the schools of crimes. In 1890 to 1929, there is a significant increase of crimes, bribery, vice in both times. In 1960 to present, there is also a nationwide pattern of increased juvenile crime, delinquency, public school arrests, fear at being in school, and street and juvenile gangs. At both times, the nation is at risk. In 1890 to 1929, there were juvenile delinquents. In 1960 to present there are also juvenile delinquents, incarcerated youth with school problems, youthful offenders, violent offenders out-of-school youth, the dropouts, runaways, and the stubborn children or chronic truants-problem children.

There are several types of objectives in 1890 to 1929. One is to create the populations who have 'perfect cleanliness'. Cleaned population is one that have more elevated mind and morals, and healthier and free of disease. The cleaned school children are said to be able to learn better in class. The objective of perfect cleanliness leads to the introduction and institutionalizing bath practice in public schools. Teachers' role is also added: to supervise the work of bathing the students. Not only that the school is to 'cleanse' the children as they are admitted unwashed or dirty, the school needs to cleanse them 'quickly' and 'economically', in a cheapest possible way. Hence, the ring or spray bath is chosen. The ring or Spray bath can accommodate as many students as possible with the least amount of time. With this system, 280 children can bath in about one hour with one-eighth of the quantity of water used compared to the older bath system. This shows how the cost efficiency creates the condition in which play practice emerges and used. Not only that the poor needs to be cleaned, they also need to exercise. Swimming or swimming bath is then popularized as the recreation of the poor. Swimming is to encourage or increase 'productivity' of the laborers. Swimming energizes the body to 'enter again on the work one has to do'. As a result of swimming or swimming bath, the body is ready to work and be productive. Swimming practice is popularized as a 'recreational' practice but actually is responsible to create the subjects, who are not the burden of the city, but rather the productive and healthy citizen who benefit the city. Here, play through recreational swimming and public bath is a technology of public hygiene.

Different kind of power/knowledge also tries to take part on the swimming practice for the population. Swimming practice is also to encourage the citizens to help or save themselves from any danger, specifically in relation to the increase of drowning incidents among the population. It is to encourage entrepreneurial-self help. It is to create the citizens who are not the burden of the city and who also solve the their own problem.

Lectures and exhibitions of methods of swimming and different strokes, the best practice, common faults, best methods of saving life are the methods to make the swimming power/knowledge institutionalized. The competitive swimming championships institutionalize the swimming or swimming bath practice further. There are also openings of swimming class, life saving class for general population and policeman. In addition to these, the public bath-houses, shower rooms, and swimming pools are built. There is a significant appropriation of public funds for the building and the maintenance of public bath facilities and activities for the children. The city establishes efforts in popularizing bathing as a hygienic and training procedure among boys and young men. They promote the nature and value of bathing as a means of public hygiene, build the baths in the crowded tenement house districts and adjacent to an industrial center, where many mechanical and laboring population are constantly employed, and build the ring or spray bath at schools, maximizing the school basement.

Another thing, through these development of bathing and exercising facilities, the body of the population is also disciplined. The body is disciplined as well as modernized according to the space curriculum of the bath-house that includes cleanness, ventilation, and order. Certain order is in place inside the public bath house. Children follow these order as they participate in the bathing and exercise activities.

Both in 1890 to 1929 and 1960 to present have similar type of objective that is to cure, manage, and govern the problematic population as mentioned in the previous system of differentiation in each historical times to create a “desirable citizens”. Here, play is a governing tool to good citizens who will not commit to “idleness, delinquency, exclusiveness, unfairness, gang-spirit, selfishness, rowdyism, temptation, social barriers, reformatories”.

In 1890 to 1929, playground is created as a solution to the problems in the cities and the nation. First, playground keeps the children off the dangerous street, which means keep them off the problems. Playground is said to be ‘safe’, the opposite of street. Playground creates the differentiation on what is safe space for children and what is not safe for children. Second, playground becomes a controlled, managed, and supervised space for children to spend time outside schools and homes. Play and playground are part of the effort to manage children leisure time. Spending the leisure time outside school and homes at the playground is considered educational for the children. Streets are difficult to monitored, but playground is fenced in and thus is more manageable to be supervised. Playground has the ability to gather groups of children in particular space, mold them into certain subjects desirable for the city and the nation while and supervise them at the same time. Play apparatuses placed at the playground are efficient technology to keep a group of children occupied at one with the least possible amount of space. For example, one Jungle gym can accommodate a hundred children at once. With this system, children can be managed and supervised more efficiently, in relatively smaller space, while socializes them with other children. Different kind of power/knowledge tries to

make meaning of the children leisure time through the practice of play and the playground. Children leisure time becomes important commodity for the nation and governing it means to save the whole population.

Play at the playground is also disciplinary. Children are taught too play inside the fence at the playground. Children learn what is allowable and not. Children learn to abide by the rule in the playground and obey the playground staff even playground police at the playground.

Play is not governing the children but also governing the parents, the family life, and school. Through playground movement, knowledge about a child, and family practice are generated and analyzed or studied. A system of children and family surveillance is organized through the Home Play program. The Home Play program allows for home visitation in which play experts visit homes in order to gather 'data' about family life in relation to play, showing the families how to play at home without play apparatuses as available at the playground and familiarize family with various kinds of play activities they can participate. Schools also take part in generating data, knowledge about their children and their families in relation to play and how they spend their time and leisure. Schools use Home Play Survey to gather data on children play at home with their parents and family. Schools use the technology of essay writing to gather more data. Children write their play time with family in their essay. This is a pastoral power within the play practice. Schools also disseminate play slip to their children to bring home to give to their parents. The play slip asks the parents to sign up for a play hour. Home Play does not only govern the children and their play, but also: what family should be, what they should do as a family or how they should spend their time and

leisure time, and also what it means to be a good parent. Home Play program details the specific family play practices with certain specific knowledge about family, parent, child, family health, and family happiness. Home Play defines the role of various city or public institutions and disseminates certain kind of knowledge about play and its practice in relation to saving the family, saving the city and the nation. Play, as a result, governs the whole population. As stated in Home play campaign, family that plays together stays together. Play saves the family. Play cures. Play is the medicine. Play is the essence of the success of the family and thus the success of the city and a nation. Play is the salvation.

Similarly to the mechanism of therapeutic play in 1890-1929 through the playground and play movement, in 1960 to present, play cures the ‘toxic children body’ or ‘labeled and/or drugged/medicated children’ or ‘Ritalin boys and girls at the Free School. The free play accommodates the loosely structure and yet is able to help the children to manage and structure themselves. Free play functions as the self-help for the problematic children. Free School negates the practice of the other conventional schools that turn the teaching and learning into a control issue and behavioral management. While in fact, Free School works in the same kind of type of objective. However, it is with different governing technology. At the Free School, surveillance and control management do exist. I explained part of these in chapter V as well. While there is no constant visible adult intervention on the troubled children, there is a “truth telling” and “police each other” practice, in which the students tell directly, react to whoever ‘create’ chaos or problem at the school. Punishment of some kind is established to those who commit the ‘misbehavior’. The practice of sitting on each other, in which a student sits on another

troubled student, is also part of this control management. It is very disciplinary.

Ultimately, through play practice, the Free School produce docile, obedient, law-abiding subjects.

Play at the Free School as a strategic practice to save the troubled labeled and drugged children is at most urgent for the nation who cannot handle these ‘troubled’ children in the public schools and alike. Play becomes a salvation technology to bring back the children mental health, happiness, and help the children behave acceptably.

The Forms of Institutionalization in 1890-1929 include the creation of recreational and play professionals, training schools, courses, such as directors of recreation and community centers, play leaders, play supervisor, National Recreation School for professional graduate training in play management, games, and play activities. Expertise, skills, knowledge on play are also circulated and institutionalized through various publication of Playground magazines, periodical handbooks, manuals, pamphlets on play activities for general public, playground year Book, holiday bulletin, rural recreation, handbook for playground workers, publications on Home Play, Home play institute for mothers, statistics on fit children, and recreation legislation among many.

In both 1890 to 1929 and 1960 to present, play serves as a technology to fight and prevent juvenile delinquency, and youth crimes. In 1890 to 1929, the opportunity that is afforded for children to play, especially in the congested city is able to reduce significantly the delinquency. Playgrounds are built in the areas where the delinquency most occurs. Instead of spending the leisure time with delinquent activities, children and youth are expected to spend it with play. In addition to that, the creation of Outdoor recreation legislation and its effectiveness extends the responsibility of the state and

federal to public recreation and thus takes part in governing play. Along with this development is also an attempt to measure objectively the effectiveness of recreation program on the incidence of juvenile delinquency. The increased statistic of 'fit children body' is also generated as a result of the playground development. Knowledge on a child is generated and studied and is used to manage this particular youth population further.

In 1960 to present, there are overcrowded detention and correctional facilities, ineffective reformatories and training schools as schools of crime, expensive cost of incarceration, and dysfunctional Juvenile justice make way for the alternative solution to juvenile delinquency and youth crimes. Free School emerges within these conditions, and as a solution to these conditions. Similar to keep the children off the streets, the 1960 to present archival texts show efforts to keep these juveniles off the streets, the runaways off the streets to come back to home, the dropouts off the street to come back to school, the youth gang members off the street. The method to bring back the recreational and play facilities as a way to treat these juveniles reemerge again in this 1960 to present time. Treating the juveniles in the community without utilizing resources such as police, courts, and corrections is also another method in facing this juvenile delinquency epidemic. This method is similar to treating the troubled child in Free School environment through free play along with the police each other and truth telling practice among the Free Schoolers. "The community" is similar to the "community of Free School students and staff". There is no visible surveillance or corrective mechanism as in courts, correctional facilities, and police, but community 'police' the trouble children or in this case, the juveniles. Similar to the implementation of the ring or spray bath as an economical technology for hygiene, treating the juvenile in the alternative schools, such as in free school, is cost effective.

This is shown in the archival texts on the cost comparison of treating the juveniles in the correctional facilities and the alternative school. The cost is significantly different.

Treating the juveniles in Free School or other alternative schools is significantly cheaper, three times less. Here, free school is used as a viable and economical solution and prevention strategy for the problem of out-of-school youth and juvenile delinquency. Play as the therapeutical practice at the Free School in treating these juveniles emerges within this condition.

Conclusions

This genealogy begins by locating the taken-for-granted practice within the free schools in the present moments. The taken-for-granted practice studied is the practice of “free” play or “self-governed” play. The study asks how play became a viable solution to the problem of truth (subject production) in free schooling and how play helped the state, nation, family, and school, produce “healthy” “good” citizens. The study lets us understand differently about the practice of play at the free school and its subject production. The study explores the questions asked by analyzing the “regime of practices” - “places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnected” (Foucault, 1991, p. 75).

This genealogical study shows different understanding about play than those believed in the Free School scholarships, which celebrate play in the rhetoric of freedom, liberation, human nature, and real or authentic expression. However, this study finds that play is not free from other knowledge/power forces. In fact, play is dangerous. Play pretends to be humanistic and as shown in this genealogical study, play is used as

multiple technologies of power. The word technology here means the practices and the rationalities that are used to produce truths about population or individual subject.

First, play is used as a systematic and accurate technology to shape, mold, and organize the schooled children body, as the archival texts show a concern on the school children physical peculiarities, deficiencies, deformities, and disability. Play is used to strengthen the character and build up the physique in order to create the highest type of physical manhood, developing citizens out of the schooled children. Play is done within specific conditions, spaces, and disciplinary apparatuses. Play is created through the spaces called ‘well-equipped gymnasium’, ‘schoolyards’, ‘playground’, ‘school recess’, and ‘excursion’. In these spaces, several disciplinary play apparatuses are provided, such as ‘hand appliances’, ‘schoolyards grounds for running, jumping, wrestling’, ‘free floor’, ‘climbing apparatus’, and ‘jumping and swinging apparatus’. Play has to be done in these specific spaces with specific rules, and is also scheduled. In addition, teachers play a role as ‘play supervisor’, interject with ‘advice, instruction, and inquiry on proper play’ and occasional participation in students plays enabling them (the teachers) to govern the students and their play from within. The discourses on military training at school insert knowledge to the content of play with ‘instructive and high moralizing games’, ‘ideas of corrective postures, and ‘corrective practice’. Play becomes disciplinary practice. It disciplines the hand, the feet, the muscles, and other body movement. The play apparatuses standardize and normalize the movements of the body among the schooled children molding, shaping, and organizing it into an ‘athlete body’, that will be ready to use to both strengthen and defend the nation in time of danger.

Second, the study finds that play offers the state, city, and school the means to interrupt and intervene with the children growth, making sure that the children develop ‘appropriately’. This children growth is related to brain development and normal growth of a child. Play is used as a technology to produce well-organized, well-coordinated, and properly functioned, developed, and mature brain. Play is to exercise the motor cells that affect significantly to the proper function of the brain and avoid deficiency, such as stupidity, savageness, laziness, and stolidity. Through play, children are created to not be the defiant subjects: the stupid, the savage, the lazy, and the stolid. Properly functioned and developed brain results in clear and accurate thinking which makes for ‘perfect sanity’, ‘self moral control’, ‘mental health’, and ‘good judgment’. In relation to the normal growth of a child, play is also used as a technology to intervene with other proper and effective functions of the whole body: the hearing, taste, skin, kidneys, digestion, assimilation, lungs, heart, blood pressure, muscles, height, weight, strength, and survival.

Third, play is a governing tool to help the state, nation, family, and school, produce ‘good’ citizens. The archival texts show how playground is used as a space to supervise, organize, and govern the children more easily and efficiently as opposed to educate the troubled children at the correctional institutions. The playground, strictly fenced, masked as children free play space to explore and express, actually acts to confine, lock, and secure children from any possible ‘dangers of the streets’, referred as ‘space outside the fenced playground’ and manage their leisure time outside school and home. To secure the children from the dangers means to prohibit the children from committing crimes, doing illegal activities or indecent practices, gambling, speaking bad languages, and to keep the children hygienic. There are also swimming or swimming

baths or public bath facilities at the playground and nearby, making sure the population hygiene is taken care of. The poor, unwashed children need to be cleansed from the impure, filthy, unhealthy water and various kinds of infectious germs to be the desirable body of American citizens. Swimming and swimming bath is popularized as the recreation of the poor. Hygiene increases labor productivity and elevates mind, morals, and health of the population. Through these bathing facilities, the body of the population is disciplined as well as modernized through the aspects of order, ventilation, cleanness in the bath space curriculum. The play apparatuses at the playground (such as junglegym) is used as an efficient technology to organize and supervise as well as socialize as many children as possible in as small space as possible. The playground is supervised by the playground supervisor and playground officers, who are integral parts of truancy, parole, factory inspection systems, and the bigger intelligent operation of playgrounds. Children's lives at the playground are constantly under surveillance. They internalize the rule to act or behave at the playground, learning what is allowable and not. They learn to be discipline and law-abiding citizen, and are constantly surveilled everywhere: at school, home, and outside at play. Playgrounds are also built as a therapeutic technology to deal with the juveniles and as a viable strategy to reduce delinquency in the areas where youth crimes or juvenile delinquency are common. After all, play is still a crime as play at the playground is constantly policed and supervised.

Similar to playground, free school is an intervention space to treat the problematic population in the community. Play is used as a therapeutic technology at the Free School to treat the labeled and/or drugged/medicated or troubled children, juveniles, youth offenders, out-of-school youths, runaways, dropouts, who cannot be handled at the public

schools or alike or the juvenile systems or at the overcrowded and expensive detention and correctional reformatories. Remove Free School staff (or teachers) from the position of expertise or adult supervisor and place them as facilitators who are supportive, accommodating, non-intrusive, freeing the children from the pressure of prescribed curriculum, lessons, and homework, and letting the students to explore and express or in other words, to play 'freely' puts the children as objects under study at all time. Free School practices "truth telling" and "police each other", in which students tell directly or react to whoever 'create' chaos or problem at the school. Punishment of some kind is established not by the staff or teacher but by other students to those commit the 'misbehavior' as a disciplinary control management. Various kinds of free play practice in the archival texts such as play with animals, play with indoor or outdoor play structures or apparatuses, play toys, games, play at the woodshop or art room, free play at the field trips, visiting farm, play with younger kids, group play, gymnastics, play with computer, and play tapes are used to influence and manipulate the behavior, the hyperactivity, and physical energy of the troubled children. Staff or teachers act as therapist influencing students both directly and indirectly or gently and not-gently. They identify the problem and come with treatment plan. In addition, Free School with its therapeutic play practice becomes a viable and economical solution and prevention strategy for the out-of-school youths and juveniles compared to treating the youths and the juveniles in the correctional reformatories. The cost to treat the youths in the community through the alternative schools, such as Free School is much cheaper than the cost of youth incarceration. Free School negates the practice of the other traditional schools to turn the teaching and learning into a control issue and behavioral management,

while in this genealogical study, the Free School actually also work in the same kind of objective but with different governing technology. Surveillance and control management do exist in Free School through play practice.

The play practice also allows the knowledge regarding different kinds of children, their leisure time, their families, and their families' practice at home to be generated or collected and then is used to manage them. Home Play Survey and essay assignment on play time are used to collect data about the children relationship with their parents, and family activities. Using the salvation rhetoric of play and the essence of the success of the family (Family that plays together stays together), play is imposed in family practice, governing not just the children, but also parents, and the family leisure time, their house arrangement to accommodate play activities at home, and what it means to be good parents. The free school also collects data regarding their troubled children behavior and progress through the journals, enabling the staff or teachers to monitor different kinds of aspects of the children such as physical, psychological, emotional condition, desire or interest of the students and using those data to make the decision regarding the intervention. Play at the free school intends to bring the drugged and labeled children back to be ready-to-learn subject whether to return to previous school or to stay at the free school, the dropouts to return schools, the runaways to return homes, the juveniles to stay out of the street and return to society. Ultimately, through play practice, free school produces docile, obedient, law-abiding subjects, which make good citizens.

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APPENDIX A
RATIONALE OF PLAY SCHOOL

IMPRESSION		Elements of CHARACTER				EXPRESSION			
THE DEVELOPED HALF				THE UNDEVELOPED HALF					
Present Educational ENVIRONMENT		PASSIVE		ACTIVE		Proposed Educational ENVIRONMENT			
A B C CLASS		Elementary Education		Character Building		KINDER-GARTEN			
SCHOOL	C	CARDINAL PRINCIPLES				F	O	P	
		1. LOVE	Sensibilities	4. BEAUTY (Motives)	R				
		2. TRUTH	Intellect	5. INTEREST (Distinct Sympathies)					
3. DUTY	Volition	6. EQUITY							
7. EQUANIMITY (Cheerfulness)				S	O	S	R		
CARDINAL HABITS									
1. HONESTY	Sensibilities	4. COURAGE and Skill	F						
2. DISCRIMINATION (Analysis)	Intellect	5. COORDINATION (Adjustment)							
3. ALLGIANCE (Obedience to Law)	Volition	6. COOPERATION (Association)							
7. RHYTHM (Temperance)				E	N	A	L		
PRESIDING ELEMENTS									
1. CONSCIENCE	Sensibilities	4. ATTITUDE (Loyalty and Leadership)	S						
2. FAITH	Intellect	5. INVENTION (Synthesis)							
3. HOPE (Ambition becomes AIM)	Volition	6. IDEALS in Work							
7. WISDOM				I	O	N	Y		
Above Secure	→	REFINEMENT	POWER					←	Above Develop
GRAMMAR SCHOOLS	Sensibilities		legislate					KINDER-WELTEN	
	Intellect		judges						
	Volition		executes						
THE DEVELOPED HALF		This should be		supplemented by		THE UNDEVELOPED HALF			