POLITICSNOW CLASSROOM:

EPILOGUE AND PROLOGUE

Melvin J. Dubnick — Rutgers University, Newark

Christopher C. Long — New Media Consultant

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Introduction

What follows is both epilogue and prologue -- in that order -- for an ongoing "endeavor" to construct a civics curriculum on the Internet. The endeavor itself should be perceived as a series of distinct projects and proposals undertaken by two professionals linked by circumstance and commitment to revitalizing civic life through the joining of education to information technology and of journalism to academe.

Our reflections are rooted in both experience and hope. The experience was a relatively short-lived proprietary effort to construct and maintain a web site (www.pnclassroom.com -- "PNC") devoted to bringing the resources of several major news outlets into the political science classroom. In corporate terms, PNC began as a partnership between PoliticsNow (itself a corporate partnership between Times Mirror Company and The Washington Post Company) and Houghton Mifflin. On a personal level, PNC was also an editorial partnership between the two authors -- Chris Long as editor in chief and Mel Dubnick as academic editor.

On-line, PNC had less than a full eight-month life span: from January to mid-August, 1997. The gestation period could be dated from the time the editorial team came together several months earlier -- or perhaps from the very first discussions about the site in 1995 at PoliticsUSA (one of the web sites from which PoliticsNow emerged). The fact that PNC itself went dark on August

15, however, did not mean the death of the concepts and commitments that gave birth to the site. Those survive intact -- and somewhat strengthened -- through the experience afforded by PNC. This paper offers our individual and collective musings on the web-based civic education endeavor.

EPILOGUE [1]

Upon reflection, one of PNC's most valuable aspects was the "synergy" between journalism and academia that the project successfully relied upon. While the corporate partners of the site regarded it as a business proposition first and foremost, the editorial partners developed a relationship based on the perceived shortcomings and promise found in our respective professional arenas. On the academic side, there was the realization that political science had all but abandoned its historical mission in civic education over the past several decades.[2] On the journalism side, there is the growing sense that the enormous information resources of the press could -- and should -- be used for more community-relevant purposes.[3] For both, the Internet and other information technology (IT) advances provided an obvious opportunity to develop solutions to those problems.

Reinforcing our attachment to the joint endeavor was growing evidence that information technology is making substantial headway among college students. The Internet phenomenon among students on U.S. campuses is really real. The Washington Post in late August that recent market studies indicate more than 7 million of the nation's 9 million students at four-year colleges use email regularly and almost 6 million of them use the Internet. The story also pointed to market research showing that, in no particular order, among college students 80 percent access the Net, 62 percent access the Net at least once a week, 85 percent have an email address, 50 percent have a PC. In terms of access, the same study said, 12 percent use their own PC, 16 percent use someone else's, and 73 percent use a college computer.[4]

These are very impressive numbers and should be of interest to any publisher with a stake in this market.[5] They should also interest university administrators who are administering tuition revenues that include fees paid by students and their parents for computer learning opportunities.[6] Of course, the fact that the campus is a stronghold for Net use is nothing new. What is news is that it is now the students, and not the faculty, who are driving the adaptation process.

The steady growth of Internet use in the U.S. and overseas, and the extraordinary penetration of the Internet into campus and academic life, coincides with a related and larger trend: the mounting and widespread concern in our country over the quality of our civic life. That there is concern is evident in many arenas of public discourse. A Washington Post-ABC poll also published in late August showed most Americans are "pessimistic about the direction of the country and deeply mistrustful of the federal government's ability to solve the problems that most concern them." As a matter of context, the writer notes that the survey results "suggest that money is not everything and that prosperity alone will not return the 'rosy glow' of optimism and national trust that political scientists say Americans have lost in the last three decades."[7]

The widespread unease about the health of the democracy focuses not only on the apparent decay in civic commitment, and participation, but also on the evident decline in influence of our two traditional channels for mass civic education--newspapers and classrooms. The traditional

political structures, as well as the journalistic establishment they nurture, have failed to keep pace with the revolution in communications technology and therefore no longer engage vital constituencies. And by failing to recognize, much less incorporate, the real world into their teaching regimes, civics-relevant classrooms in both the public schools and the universities[8] have succeeded in turning off a generation of students who have only to hit the "on" button and click the mouse to engage a world of unprecedented immediacy. Likewise, newspapers are struggling to respond to reader complaints that reporting, and especially political reporting, lacks context, significance, meaning.[9]

Citizenship and its obligations are the focus of a growing number of discussions in the popular media and at conclaves called to examine the state of civil society in the United States as the millennium approaches. A movement for "civic renewal" has taken root in an explicit effort to counter the growing cynicism and apathy evident to many observers of community life in this country.[10] The most successful, or at least most widely observed, activities of the civic renewal movement and related efforts have been at the grassroots, where citizen resources have been mobilized to accomplish specific objectives.[11] An aspect of these campaigns has been the emergence of so-called civic journalism as a response to criticism that the press can merely criticize and not cure.[12] This attempt at a form of journalistic endeavor other than hard-hitting reporting implies a closer relationship between the press and government than historically has been seen as in the public interest, and the votes are still out within the journalistic community as to whether this is the right road. That is not to say there is widespread self-assurance among editors and publishers that the press, and especially the political press, is really on the right track at a time when confidence in government is declining and voter turnout alarmingly low.

But relatively unexplored is an alternative partnership in the public interest and this is a collaboration between the professions of journalism and education. With the emergence of the World Wide Web as a consumer information medium, it is now possible to create an open and dynamic civics education curriculum offering students and members of the general public a learning environment where the fundamentals of government are linked to current events in a way that engages, informs and provides avenues of active citizen participation at all levels.

From the beginning, users from the .edu domain were a core constituency of PoliticsUSA and later PoliticsNow. At both sites, .edu users accounted for about 25 percent of the regular traffic and we fielded a steady stream of correspondence from political scientists who used the site and were interested in its development. The attraction was obvious: here was the Internet made easy as a teaching and research tool for professors and students. The site served as daily monitor and filter for a significant assemblage of top-flight political journalism, as well as an outlet for highly prized content not available elsewhere on the Web and in print only at subscription costs prohibitive to students. And from the beginning, in keeping with our hopes of not only doing good business but doing civic good, we were working on plans to spin off a politics classroom -- a standalone, open, dynamic civics curriculum designed for the consumer audience but also compatible with the needs of advanced placement high school and introductory-level college courses on government.

A detailed plan for PoliticsUSA Classroom was on the table as early as August, 1995--a month before the alpha version of PoliticsUSA itself made its Web debut. The economics of the classroom project--what would be a feasible revenue base for the staffing necessary to develop

and maintain such an ambitious site--remained a matter of internal debate until PoliticsNow and Houghton Mifflin partnered last summer to produce PoliticsNow Classroom as a subscription-supported site sold primarily in conjunction with new HM texts referenced by the site. The goals that PoliticsNow Classroom was intended to achieve were to: complement selected Houghton Mifflin texts; service faculty using Houghton Mifflin texts; draw faculty and students using other texts; engage student interest in the subject matter; set the standard for such sites; and long term, serve as a standalone introduction to political science for a wide audience of students and interested citizens alike.

We also were working from an agreed upon set of values that we felt the site must embody to succeed in the marketplace. First of course was currency in the form of news and current events-driven lessons and assignments; HM text updates; current links to other relevant Web resources; and a program of interactive events featuring, within the confines of the Classroom's syllabus and calendar, newsmakers and experts. We were also aiming for utility and one-stop efficiency; scope and nonpartisanship; interactivity and communication; quality and exclusivity of content, and community. We considered it of crucial importance to establish the Classroom site as a medium for peer-to-peer communication and resource-sharing in a manner the Internet uniquely enables. To help achieve the latter, we created the Faculty Lounge, a portion of the site password-restricted to registered faculty subscribers and intended as a professional forum and resource center.

The core components of the Classroom site were its Chapter Explorers, an online reader organized around a syllabus generic to introductory American government courses and consisting of readings chosen from the archives of our news partners and surrounded by a pedagogical apparatus of exercises, discussion questions and keywords and definitions prepared by the Classroom's academic editors exclusively for the Classroom. The Chapter Explorers would be updated prior to each semester, drawing heavily on new material first featured the previous semester in The Current, the site's current affairs section.

Critically important to the success of the Explorer concept was the partners' agreement to allow the Classroom to embed hypertext links within the articles and to warehouse articles indefinitely in an onsite archive. This meant that, in time as the archive developed, professors would have the choice of bypassing the Chapter Explorers if they chose and assembling their own, customized course readers.

Fortunately for academics--but perhaps unfortunately for the PNC site--we are still living in the good old days on the Internet in terms of the wealth of high-quality news content currently available for free. The minority of instructors who have the time and the technological savvy to utilize the Internet efficiently can build an impressive Web dimension into their classrooms using this material. But that is not the future. Don't expect publishers of highly valued content to continue to give it away no strings attached once the numbers of consumers using the Internet grows to something respectable.

The trend among major news outlet publishers, beginning with the Wall Street Journal's very closely watched experiment with a subscription-only site, is away from free content. Already major news publishers are limiting their free Web offerings to the publication's current edition, and charging fees to access their archives. Of course, there will be an alternative approach in which the content will be free but encased in a dense network of advertising messages. One

approach or the other, or most likely combinations and permutations, will be necessary to pay for the staffing required to operate high-quality news operations, whether in print or online. All of this means that the strong resistance in the academic community to proprietary content on the Web is, in the not distant future, bound to meet the immovable object of publishing economics and business interests. Meanwhile, pushing from the rear, will be the burgeoning number of students impatient with instructors who just don't seem to "get" the Web.

This is not the occasion for a substantial discussion of the present and future of copyright enforcement on the Web. Sufficient to say that the trend away from free content is running parallel with a move toward aggressive copyright enforcement by publishers.[13] The subscription-based PNC anticipated what might emerge to bridge the gap between the desires of educators for open and free access to information and the goals of those who "own" and operate news for profit.

Despite an enthusiastic reception from users and rave reviews from Internet devotees, economic realities prevailed and PoliticsNow Classroom was shut down. Some say the death certificate of the site should read "ahead of its time." In the absence of a publisher with pockets or patience deep enough to wait for the economic quandary to resolve itself, the establishment of a comprehensive online civics curriculum will depend on foundation money or corporate sponsors to underwrite a not-for-profit operation.

And perhaps the timing is right for that to happen. The "civic renewal" movement continues to gain momentum and public support. The year 2000 elections are just over the horizon. And, in the wake of the Communications Decency Act ruling, it's important to set positive standards for the new technology. With the approach of an epochal moment in the nation's political life, an online politics classroom would serve as a signal demonstration of the value of the Web as a civic medium.

PROLOGUE

Most of the lessons derived from our experience with PNC focused on the production side of the educational equation. The short-term limitations of PNC as a business venture ultimately caused its early demise. But while the economic realities dominated, they could not obscure issues raised on the consumption side by the medium of the Internet. Had the business partners continued their support, questions related to the form and format of civic education on the Internet might have come to the fore. Since we regard the economic setback as a temporary one for the civic education endeavor, the balance of this work is offered as a prologue to the next part of the venture.

Consumption side issues should begin with the question: can any form of civic education succeed in light of the deepening distrust and disaffection among U.S. citizens? Recently published empirical studies confirm that education in general is positively associated with creating and sustaining a democratically enlightened citizenry, and that civics education in schools also seems related to greater knowledge about and engagement in the political system.[14] Questions of whether those lessons turn out complacent or critical citizens remain central to the academic debate over civic education.[15] But the growth of anti-political feelings among U.S. voters -- creating what one author terms "angry Americans"[16] -- has put such controversies on hold. As have many others, for the moment we accept both the value of and

need for greater attention to civics education.

This shifts our attention toward the questions of content and form. That is, what should be included in a civics education course and how should it be delivered? Perhaps more than in any other educational endeavor, it is extremely difficult to separate issues of content and form in civics education -- especially when the intent is to sustain democratic values. "Not being simple," argues Jean Bethke Elshtain, "democracy does not afford us a straightforward answer to the question of what education in, and for, democracy might be."[17]

At the risk of stereotyping, there are three major approaches to the subject of civic education. For those committed to instilling in students the basic patriotic "truths" reflected in U.S. history and the American constitutional system, nothing short of methods of indoctrination will do. In contrast, those committed to stressing the flaws in the U.S. political system will use rhetorical means to present a hypercritical (often "radical") perspective. Between those two extremes stand a range of methods that promote reflective and open discourse. It is in that third approach that a web-based civics course holds the greatest promise. The Internet thrives on interaction -- and in so doing it provides a poor setting for the relative passivity required by either indoctrination or hypercritical rhetoric. Its ability to engage makes it the obvious vehicle for the reinvigoration of civics education in the best sense.

Or so it seems until one reads the growing chorus of anti-Internet critics. For these (often self-proclaimed) neo-Luddites, the computer and its related technologies are at best a poor substitute for traditional classroom instruction -- and at worst a teaching tool that will in fact undermine the educational system (and much more) in the long run.

Given his credentials as astronomer, hacker-sleuth and media personality, Clifford Stoll is perhaps the most credible and visible of these critics. In his widely cited Silicon Snake Oil as well as in many op-ed pieces, Stoll argues that computers and the Internet are merely contemporary electronic gimmicks -- fancy "flash cards" or today's "film strip projectors" that do little more than add to the boredom that plagues today's classroom. "Suppose I accept that students should spend a lot of time behind computers. What's the limit?" he asks.

> If computers, online networks, and interactive video are so important to modern classrooms, why not eliminate the classroom entirely? Students of all levels could sit behind their computers at home, and receive quality instruction from their finest teachers. Electronic correspondence courses.
>
> A silly proposal, reminiscent of the matchbook covers that told us to enroll in their home-study course and "get a good education and step up to higher pay." Home study drop out rates often exceed 60 percent; it's hard to believe that an electronic version would do much better, despite the gimmickry.[18]

Theodore Roszak sees more serious challenges arising from what he terms the "cult of information." Those who would bring computers into the classroom threaten to subvert education by depreciating and "cheapening whole areas of intellect" by elevating the value of information processing logic to a level above human thinking.[19]

On the other side are those who see salvation in the use of computers in the classroom -- or

even as the classroom. "We may be a society with far fewer learning-disabled children and far more teaching-disabled environments than currently perceived," contends Media Lab guru Nicholas Negroponte. "The computer changes all this by making us more able to reach children with different learning and cognitive styles."[20] For Don Tapscott, the future of education depends on moving instructional strategies from teacher-centered to learner-centered -- an adjustment requiring the widespread use of the computer and other digital technologies.[21]

As is typical of such debates, neither side captures the reality of their subject. To the degree that Stoll and other critics correctly envision how the new information technology is being applied in the classroom, their critiques and warnings are right on target. Those who use IT as just another medium for delivering prepackaged and highly structured instruction are travelling down the wrong road toward educational reform. Where Stoll misses the mark is in his assumption that it is the new IT-based technology that threatens efforts to improve education. To the contrary, it is the misapplication -- or better yet, the "missed" application -- of the new digital media that poses the greatest challenge. Rather than adjust our educational strategies to the opportunities afforded by IT, most educators who bother using the new technologies[22] in the classroom seem committed to forcing our preferred instructional model -- what we will call the "talking head" model -- onto the new media.

The attachment of academe to the talking head approach is well documented. In its most standard "lecture" form, the model was noted as the "principal instructional method" by 73 to 83 percent of 1800 faculty surveyed in the late 1970s. "Give . . . faculty almost any kind of class in any subject, large or small, upper or lower division" noted the study's authors, "and they will lecture."[23] It was an approach born of the industrial age and nurtured in a society where "broadcasting" through one-way communications was the dominant media format. It is not surprising that the talking head model and its variations were the instructional format of choice when educational materials were first designed for use on computers.[24]

However, it would be a mistake to conjure up a scenario where current educational formats are abandoned to a learning environment without the structures and guidance offered by teachers and other purveyors of formal knowledge. Even Negroponte's strategy of education through a curriculum of "hard fun" requires someone to set the rules and context of the challenging games through which students learn.[25] Marshall McLuhan, whose insights remain amazingly prescient, realized that the role of teacher would in fact become even more salient in a world where electronic media becomes pervasive.

> The electronic age is literally one of illumination. Just as light is at once energy and information, so electric automation unites production, consumption, and learning in an inextricable process. For this reason, teachers are already the largest employee group in the U.S. economy, and may well become the only group.[26]

Learning, McLuhan argues, will become central to life as both producer and consumer in the electronic (i.e., digital) age. Teaching thus becomes a task of instructing people on how to "learn a living."

In the same way, citizenship becomes a learning experience in a much broader sense than traditional views of civic education allow. What this citizenship-as-learning involves cannot be confined to a body of knowledge or, for that matter, a particular focus of attention. Knowing

about the three branches of government or limiting one's political life to intermittent elections would not define civic enlightenment in McLuhan's "cybernated" society. The segmentation of public from private life would no longer govern a person's actions or thoughts, nor would authoritative sources (e.g., textbooks, newspapers, T.V. pundits, lectures) have sufficient legitimacy to stand as a sole fount of political information. Citizens would become "nomadic gatherers of knowledge"[27] capable of seeking and finding relevant information on the multitude of complex issues and topics that emerge on the civic agenda.

The implications of this transformation of citizenship are enormous, to say the least, and they await fuller exploration. Thus far the experts have ventured little beyond noting that IT will change the way governments relate to their constituencies,[28] and some commentators have noted the potential (and likely) impact of enhanced citizen involvement in the "global village" on the way governments relate to each other.[29] For our purposes, however, the issue is what the emerging citizen-as-learner requires from a civics education curriculum.

Educators are facing not merely the challenge of adapting to the realities of the new media, but more urgently to the realities of a different type of student.[30] Educating nomadic knowledge gatherers poses a challenge to the educational establishment in general, and in that sense designers of civics curricula are in good company.

The most direct implication is that under the emerging civics life the tool for living as citizens is also the tool for learning how to live as citizens. Whatever form the access to information takes tomorrow,[31] today the Internet-linked computer is the modal medium for citizenship. With access to the Net increasing at exponential rates, we need to assume that the citizen-as-learner is empowered with access to information prior any exposure to structured or guided knowledge about civic life.

This access provides more than information, however; it also places the student in a pivotal situation in the educational process. The role of the student in traditional formats was to consume the information and knowledge generated by teachers who had primary control over the production process. But the lines between production and consumption are blurred -- if not erased -- in the McLuhanesque educational universe. Primary control over the production of knowledge -- or at least the decision of what will be consumed -- is shifting toward the student.[32] This is the "new reality" that teachers must face, and the challenge lies in creating appropriate (i.e., effective) learning environments to take advantage of that shift.[33]

> A common response to changing conditions, whether in education or other domains, is one of passive reaction that arises with the failure to perceive that any new possibilities arise with the changes. The classic instance of this reaction was the way in which early printers crafted books that looked exactly like illuminated manuscripts. Passive reactions attach a timeless necessity to arrangements that are historically contingent. Passive reaction by educators amount to an inert effort to employ new information technologies to make the existing educational system work better, without significant changes in the structural features of that system. This course is fraught with ironies. Applying new technologies to current procedures, expecting them to work better but to remain essentially unchanged, does not lead to significant improvements. Rather, it forces fundamental change from within, without providing a vision of where that change should lead. In this way, educators risk being caught unawares in a cascade of unexpected innovation. We can do better in our extended present by recognizing that the task facing educators is to reconstruct

> the whole system in ways that will allow it to use new communications resources to overcome the inherent, structural deficiencies of the current system.[34]

It is one of the ironic implications of the Information Age revolution that it requires that we reconsider the potential value of classical approaches to education, especially in our efforts to enhance civic life through education. Historically, we might be repeating the process that radically altered education at the time of the Reformation in Europe. The history of that watershed period is reflected in the biography of one of its leading intellectuals, Desiderius Erasmus. Born a decade after the invention of the printing press, he would provide the intellectual foundations for the Reformation through his *Philosophia Christi*. Challenging the formal dogma of the Catholic Church and the autocratically pronounced teaching of the Schoolmen, Erasmus edited printed publications of the Bible and other works for Christian men and women to read and interpret for themselves.

> After all, thanks to the new art of printing, the Bible need not any longer be withheld from the Christian world; thanks to the new scholarship of Italy, the text could be cleaned of all excrescences and incrustations and presented widespread in its original form. The message of Christ, he wrote, was not either complex in itself or a mystery of state which princes, out of prudence, must conceal: it was simple, and should be spread. "I would have women read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul; I would have the ploughman and the craftsman sing them at their work; I would have the traveller [sic] recite them to forget the weariness of his journey. Baptism and the sacraments belong to all Christians; why should knowledge of doctrine be reserved to a few men only...."[35]

For Erasmus, his role as a teacher was informed by the view that learning was a lifelong endeavor. The goal of the educator is to provide the student with the materials and motivation for learning -- to deal with what we today term the "learning environment" so that individuals can claim control over their own education.

This model of education faded into the pedagogic background in the modern classroom, but its relevance for the "Net-Generation" has not been lost on some. Robert McClintock at Columbia's Teachers College has been urging a more student-controlled and study-based approach to education for decades,[36] and the potential of the Internet and other IT for realizing that approach is at the heart of his efforts at the Institute for Learning Technologies. "Formal education must adopt a new pedagogy," he argues, "oriented not to text-bound subject matters, but to dynamic operational skills and collaborative modes of inter-disciplinary thinking."

> Students will require new languages to interact with information systems -- they will require a multi-modal literacy involving video, audio, graphics, animation, and simulation, as well as text. Further, students will require a more refined ability to handle the language of inquiry, knowing where and how to formulate and frame their questions to obtain useful information and create empowering ideas. They will require the capacity to produce new knowledge by discovering, selecting, and combining previously unrelated data in novel ways. Education will increasingly be judged, not only by what the educated know, but also by what they are empowered to do in fulfilling their lives and contributing to the greater social good.[37]

The experience of using PoliticsNow Classroom reinforced that observation for one of this

paper's authors. PNC was used as part of an American government course curriculum that integrated it with traditional textbook and lecture formats, as well as an elaborate grading system that promoted student assignments on the Internet.[38] With more than forty students, the course setting was not conducive to discussions or other more individualized instructional formats. Student evaluations at the end of the semester indicated a positive experience overall, although there were clearly exceptions. But the surprising outcomes were two. First, by traditional measures -- such as the performance on exams designed to test standard "textbook" knowledge about U.S. government and politics -- the course did not succeed. Student scores on the final examination were as low as any in the instructor's experience of twenty-five years in the classroom. Second, by less traditional measures (comments on evaluations and post-course interviews) the outcome was more positive for students and (eventually) the instructor. The typical student response to questions about the effectiveness of the course was very positive, and focused on their enhanced capacity to use the Internet as a source of information and influence. The instructor's disappointment in their lack of the traditional knowledge was qualified by the realization that there is a new dimension to civic life in the future -- and therefore a new dimension for civic education to engage. The lessons learned from that experience were fundamental to the redesign of the PNC site being undertaken when the plug was pulled this past summer.

The purpose of civic education -- to help in the education of citizens-as-learners -- must become the defining theme of course development in the future, and the emerging tools of citizenship must play a central role in that education. A civics education curriculum based on the Internet should be designed to provide students with the abilities to survive and thrive as citizens. The design of that curriculum must accept the assumption that primary control over the learning process is in the hands of the student, and that the role of teaching is to influence the learning environment in which these nomadic knowledge gatherers operate.

The PNC experience is truly past as prologue, for in its partnership between the resources of academia and journalism lies the connection that will be at the heart of citizenship in the future. Just as educators must adjust to the new student, so journalists must adapt to the new citizenship. The control over what is produced as news is also in the process of shifting toward the consumer, and self-interest alone should bring the media's "powers that be"[39] to their senses. The development of a civics curriculum on the Internet would not only fulfill the academic community's responsibility for improving civic education, but might also show the way for journalism's future as well.

1Most of the "Epilogue" was authored and presented by Chris Long at a session on "Advances in Electronic Publishing in Political Science" on August 30 at the 1997 meetings of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C.

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2 This historical fact -- as well as lower enrollments in undergraduate political science courses -- has led the American Political Science Association to create a Task Force on Civic Education in the 21st Century.

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[3] As noted below, the result has been the emergence of a "civic journalism" movement within the profession. See, for example, various articles explaining civic journalism at http://www.democracyplace.org/civicjdf.html.

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[4] "After the Degree...a Disconnection: College Graduates, Used to Free Internet Access, Find Online Costs Disconcerting," *The Washington Post*, August 29, 1997. For data on the growth of the net among the next generation of college students, see Don Tapscott, Growing Up Digital: The Rise of the Net Generation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), chapter 1.

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5 The potential has not gone unnoticed, of course. See Sandeep M. Ram Junnarkar "Publishers Are Hard-Wiring Textbooks to the Web," *New York Times - Cybertimes*, January 22, 1997.

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[6] One major university administrator who is proactively engaged in facilitating the campus-Internet connection is Burks Oakley II of the University of Illinois; see his presentation on "The Third Revolution" in higher education.

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7 "Poll Finds Wide Pessimism About Direction of Nation," *The Washington Post*, August 29, 1997. Also see the testimony of James Davidson Hunter before the first plenary session on The National Commission on Civic Renewal First Plenary Session, January 25, 1997. For a contrasting perspective, see Alan Wolfe's testimony before the same group.

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[8] Here we would include courses in American government and U.S. history that have traditionally served as vehicles for civics education. For efforts to counter the decline in civics education in the classroom, see the work of The Center for Civics Education; the American Bar Association's Division for Public Education and its Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship; CIVITAS; and the American Political Science Association's teaching resources site.

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[9] See note 3 above. For one interesting response to these criticisms, see the newly launched American News Service.

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[10] See the growing number of resources devoted to "civic renewal" projects at the "Alliance for National Renewal" web site. Also see the University of Washington's Trust in Government Project.

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[11] E.g., see visit San Francisco's "Center for Common Good"; the Cambridge (MA) Civic Network; and the "Atlanta Project".

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[12]One of the major contributors to this effort has been the Pew Charitable Trust. For example, see the Pew Center for Civic Journalism.

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[13] For example, an alliance of publishers is hard at work on a copyright protection mechanism called the "digital object identifier" system.

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[14] For example, see Norman H. Nie, Jane Junn, and Kenneth Stehlik-Barry, Education and Democratic Citizenship in America (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996); also Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 190-194; also Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 422-425.

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[15] For example, see Daniel Hellinger and Dennis R. Judd, The Democratic Façade (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1991), chapter 2. Also see Jean Bethke Elshtain, Democracy On Trial (New York: Basic Books, 1995), chapter 3.

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[16] Susan Tolchin, The Angry American: How Voter Rage Is Changing the Nation (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); also see E. J. Dionne, Jr., Why Americans Hate Politics (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).

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[17]Elshtain, p. 80.

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[18]Clifford Stoll, Silicon Snake Oil: Second Thoughts on the Information Highway (New York: Anchor Books, 1995), p. 134.

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[19]Theodore Roszak, The Cult of Information: A Neo-Luddite Treatise on High-Tech, Artificial Intelligence, and the True Art of Thinking, 2nd edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), chapters 3-5.

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[20]Nicholas Negroponte, Being Digital (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1995), p. 198.

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[21]Tapscott, chapter 7. Also see George Gilder, Life After Television (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994).

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[22]"While distance educators have striven to overcome the perceived limitations associated with limited opportunities for face-to-face teaching arising from the 'tyranny of distance', on-campus educators appear to be basically satisfied with conventional approaches and therefore have tended to ignore the new technologies of teaching and to concentrate their energies on research and other forms of scholarly activities. Such a state of affairs wherein teaching as a process is more-or-less taken for granted stems from the 'tyranny of proximity', a frame of mind in which important issues are overlooked because they are so much an accepted part of day-to-day activities that they remain unchallenged and unquestioned." James C Taylor, "Distance Education Technologies: The Fourth Generation," *Australian Journal of Educational Technology*, 1995,11(2), 1-7.

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[23]Study by Blackburn, et al., quoted in Lion F. Gardiner, Redesigning Higher Education: Producing Dramatic Gains in Student Learning, Report No. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Graduate School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University, 1994), pp. 38-40.

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[24]For example, see Geoffrey Roberts, "Educational technology and the mass lecture: A restatement of fundamental issues," *Australian Journal of Educational Technology*, 1993, 9(2), 182-187.

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[25]Negroponte, chapter 16.

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[26]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 350.

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[27]McLuhan, p. 358.

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[28]See, for example, Michael Dertouzos, What Will Be: How The New World of Information Will Change Our Lives (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), chapter 10.

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[29]E.g., Walter B. Wriston, "Bits, Bytes, and Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, September/October, 1997, 76(5), 172-182.

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[30]Glenn Russell and David Holmes, "Electronic Nomads? Implications of trends in adolescents' use of communication and information technology," *Australian Journal of Educational Technology*, 1996, 12(2), 130-144. Also Tapscott, chapters 5-7.

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[31]Chris Dede, "The Evolution of Learning Devices: Smart Objects, Information Infrastructures, and Shared Synthetic Environments," White paper commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education Office of Educational Technology, n.d..

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[32]Peter Blakey, "Education, media and the locus of control," *Australian Journal of Educational Technology*, 1996, 12(1), 18-24. Also see Beverly Hunter and John Richards, "Learner Contributions to Knowledge, Community, and Learning," White paper commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education Office of Educational Technology, n.d..

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[33]See Som Naidu, "Definitions of Instructional Control in Learning Environments," *Australian Journal of Educational Technology*, 1995, 11(1), 12-19.

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[34]Robert McClintock, " Renewing the Progressive Contract with Posterity: On the Social Construction of Digital Learning Communities."

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[35]H.R. Trevor-Roper, "Desiderius Erasmus," from his Men and Events: Historical Essays (New York: Hippocrene Books1977), pp. 35-60; reprinted in Desiderius Erasmus, In Praise of Folly and Other Writings: An New Translation with Commentary, translated and edited by Robert M. Adams (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 267-285; quote from p. 271.

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[36]Robbie McClintock, "Toward a Place for Study in a World of Instruction," *Teachers College Record*, December

1971, 73(2), pp. 161-205.

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[37]Institute for Learning Technologies, "Educating America for the 21st Century: A Strategic Plan for Educational Leadership 1993-2001," Circulation Draft - Version 2.1 - September 1994.

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[38]The web site for the course is still posted.

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[39]See James Fallows, "Why Americans Hate the Media," *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1996. Also Eric Black, "Public enemy No. 1: The media," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, n.d.. Also visit the 20/20 Foundation's site on "Pursuing the Press: Tips on How to Use the Media Effectively".

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