

UNIVERSITY OF LA VERNE

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MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISOMORPHISM:  
AN EXAMINATION OF CONVERGENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL  
ORATORY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Public Administration

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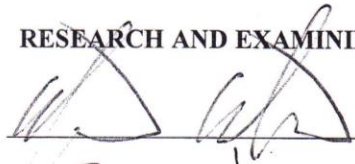
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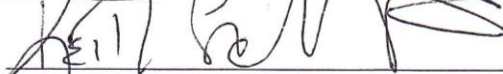
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## ABSTRACT

### Military Preparedness, Educational Policy Isomorphism: An Examination of Convergence Between Presidential Oratory and Educational Policy

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University of La Verne: 2010

**Purpose.** The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the ongoing policy isomorphism between military doctrine and American education policy at the federal level. The study examined six educational policy epochs after identified American conflict periods. Presidential speeches were examined to calculate the frequency of military terminology and education terminology during conflict periods.

**Theoretical Framework.** This research implemented garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium theory, and rational choice theory to explain the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy in America.

**Methodology.** The study was conducted through a mixed-method approach. A quantitative examination of presidential oratory through Nvivo 8.0 statistical software tracked presidential oratory and correlated military terminology to educational terminology. A qualitative examination of key presidential addresses and speeches was carried out hermeneutically. Observational-level data included presidential oratory, military doctrine, executive orders, and federal educational policy.

**Findings.** The results of this study demonstrate that (a) specified conflict periods correlate, in time, with identified presidential speeches between military terminology, as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense's (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms*, and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007); (b) over time an increase in convergence between military terminology and educational terminology exists; (c) military terminology precedes the initiation of educational terminology; and (d) spatial "proximity" is evident between military and educational terminology and is significantly closer for speeches during conflict periods.

**Conclusion.** This dissertation adds to the body of knowledge examining the federal government's involvement with public education in America. The research examined major events, both militarily and legislatively, that relate to educational policy. A major focus of this dissertation was to determine whether the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, with regard to the incorporation of military doctrine, were exceptional cases or parts of a long-established pattern of convergence of military doctrine and federal educational policy in America.

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## DEDICATION

For my wife Lauren, my parents Djoko and Zorka, and my brother Brian.

*res ipsa loquitur*

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

**Introduction**

The purpose of this dissertation was to determine for how long presidential oratory has aligned military doctrine and American educational policy. Through the usage of theory, current literature, presidential speeches, and brief histories of both American military conflict and educational policy, this dissertation challenges current scholarly consensus about the convergence of American military doctrine and educational policy. Specifically, this dissertation specifies that the convergence of American military doctrine and federal educational policy was neither drastic nor abrupt in a post-Sputnik America, as presumed to be the case by Telzrow (2007), but instead occurred through incremental merging that is measurable by significant epochs throughout American history.

While substantial literature supports the argument that American military doctrine and educational policy began converging in the late 1950s in conjunction with the launch of Russia's Sputnik in 1957, this dissertation hypothesized that convergence originated much earlier in American history. This research examined the available evidence that regardless of political party and despite continued educational advances, militarization of

American education has persisted almost since the nation's founding. Several policy implications can be derived from this trend.

Specifically, the militarization of public schools in a civil society is addressed. Saltman and Gabbard (2003) suggest that public K-12 education in a post-Columbine and post-September-11 America resembles military prisons. Within public schools are now armed military personnel, increased power for search and seizure, laws prohibiting any public gathering(s), and zero-tolerance policies designed in military language (Giroux, 2006; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). Yet, with the perceived "immediate" militarization of American education that Saltman and Gabbard (2003) and Giroux (2006) propose as the catalyst, as with the similar militarization in a post-Sputnik America (Clowse, 1981; Dallin & Lapidus, 1995; Flynn, 1995; Telzrow, 2007), establish the origin of educational militarization with single, nationally traumatic incidents. This dissertation examines whether a single event, political party, or presidential regime caused American schools to become indoctrinated with military doctrine.

### **Dissertation Overview**

The purpose of Chapter I is to present an overview of the dissertation. The chapter includes a brief assessment of the importance of presidential oratory, specifically with regard to military doctrine and American educational policy. This chapter includes a statement of the research problem domain, the purpose of the study, the statement of hypotheses, definitions of terms, and the delimited scope of the study.

In Chapter II, a review of pertinent literature and educational epochs is presented. Through an examination of the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, 1862 Homestead and Morrill Acts, and the 1944 GI Bill, Chapter II demonstrates how American legislation in education and military doctrine have been converging for some time. The chapter then details the most recent educational shifts that incorporate military doctrine, including the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA), 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB).

Chapter III presents the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Through the example of NCLB discussed in Chapter II, Chapter III draws upon three critical theories in framing the importance of this study, including punctuated equilibrium, garbage can theory, and rational choice theory. The combination of these theories informs a framework that addresses the issue of convergence between military doctrine and education in the United States.

Chapter IV presents the methodology and procedures of the study, including the research approach, hypotheses, research design, measurement, data collection tools, an explanation of how data were analyzed, and the limitations of the study.

In Chapter V, the findings of the study are presented and analyzed. The chapter begins with an overview of the findings, succeeded by a chronological assessment of Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and Bush's speech portfolios. The chapter concludes with a discussion addressing critical findings and conclusion that introduces Chapter VI. The dissertation concludes with Chapter VI and an overall conclusion and scholarly recommendations for future research.

## Dissertation Design

The purpose of this research was to examine presidential speeches to identify whether military doctrine has converged systematically with educational policy prior to the 1950s, and if so, how. There is substantial scholarship pinpointing the late 1950s and the launch of Sputnik as the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007), but little research examines evidence indicating that there was a convergence between these doctrines in place well before the Cold War era. As such, this dissertation poses the following hypotheses:

1. Over a specified conflict periods there shall be correlation, in time, within identified presidential speeches between military terminology, as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense's *Dictionary of Military Terms* (2009), and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007).
2. Over time an increase in convergence between military terminology and educational terminology exists.
3. Military terminology shall precede the initiation of educational terminology.
4. Spatial "proximity" will be evident between military terminology and education terminology and will be significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise would be the case.

The study, through an examination of the listed hypotheses, posed that convergence between military terminology (doctrine) and educational terminology



(leading to policy) exists, that the convergence increases over time, and that the military terminology found in the speech examination will cause innovation of educational policy over time.

The study was conducted through a mixed-method approach. A quantitative examination of Presidential oratory through Nvivo 8.0 statistical software was used to track Presidential “language.” For the purposes of this study, “language,” “doctrine,” and “terminology” are used interchangeably and represent Presidential oratory that identifies military and/or educational terms. A qualitative examination of key Presidential addresses and speeches was carried out through a hermeneutic analysis of presidential rhetoric.

### **Definitions of Terms**

For the purpose of this study, the following terms are defined:

**API.** Academic performance index.

**AYP.** Adequate yearly progress.

**Bully pulpit.** A prominent public position (as a political office) that provides an opportunity for expounding one’s view.

**Diffusion.** The spread of cultural elements, policies, procedures, or ideas from one area or group of people to others by “contact.”

**Education code.** Referring to federal, state, or local policy written into law, or agreed-upon rule.

**Epoch.** Specified time with regard to educational policy. Signifies a continuous era.

**Executive order.** Directive issued by the President.

**Hoi polloi.** Ancient Greek (οἱ πολλοί), translates directly as “the many” in Greek or “the masses” in English.

**Individualized Education Plan (IEP).** Designed for one student at a time; tracks progress and defines agreed-upon objectives.

**Innovation.** Creating or doing something new; creating a simple change to an existing policy or idea; creating drastic change to an existing idea or policy.

**Isomorphism.** A one-to-one correspondence between two defined sets.

**Language.** A dynamic set of sensory symbols of communication and the elements used to manipulate them. For the purposes of this study, “doctrine” and “terminology” are used with “language” interchangeably.

**Military doctrine.** The concise expression of how military forces contribute to campaigns, major operations, battles, and engagements.

**Military educational state (MES).** The relationship between the federal government, the national armed forces, education corporations, and the federal policies that link them together.

**Military industrial complex (MIC).** A concept commonly used to refer to policy relationships between governments, national armed forces, and industrial support they obtain from the commercial sector in political approval for research, development,

production, use, and support for military training, weapons, equipment, and facilities within the national defense and security policy.

**Orator.** A person who delivers an oration; a public speaker, esp. one of great eloquence: Demosthenes was one of the great orators of ancient Greece; Law. A plaintiff in a case in a court of equity.

**Period.** An intermittent amount of time.

**Policy.** A course of action adopted and pursued by a government, ruler, political party; a document embodying a contract of insurance.

**Program.** A plan of action to accomplish a specified end; a plan or schedule of activities, procedures.

**Rhetoric.** The art of making persuasive speeches; the ability to use language effectively.

**Sputnik.** Any of a series of Soviet satellites sent into Earth's orbit, especially the first, launched October 4, 1957.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter first presents an overview of the debate between incremental and drastic policy change. Next is made an examination of the federal government's involvement in education through an exploration of critical epochs in American Education, which include the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, 1862 Homestead and Morrill Acts, the 1944 GI Bill, the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA), 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The chapter concludes with pertinent literature examining presidential oratory convergence with the militarization of schools.

#### **Policy Isomorphism: Incremental vs. Drastic**

Within the field of public administration, substantial debate with regard to incrementalism has occurred (Bendor, 1995; Hayes, 1992; Sabatier, 2007). Countless studies, specifically within the United States, suggest that policy change occurs for the most part incrementally on the margins of established stakeholder consensus and commitments (Lindblom, 1965). In some instances, incremental policy development is considered subject to “punctuated” dramatic shifts (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Sabatier, 1998).

Authors including Clowse, (1981), Kingdon (1984), Berry (1990), Saltman (2002), Saltman and Gabbard (2003), Dallin and Lapidus (1995), Flynn (1995), Giroux

(2006), and Telzrow (2007) dispute the policy incrementalism doctrine, postulating instead that multiple streams—for example, a problem stream, policy stream, and politics stream—are independent of each other until a “window of opportunity” (Sabatier, 2007, p. 9) presents itself. Kingdon (1984) poses that, fundamentally, the role of the entrepreneur and/or policymaker is to successfully create major policy change at the moments of these “windows of opportunity,” which is exemplified by the urgency in which the NDEA, following Sputnik, and the Patriot Act, following September 11, were signed into law.

These opportunity events may often be seen as crises or major problems within an organization or system (Lindblom, 1965). Thus, there has arisen a schism among policy scholars on whether policy change is viewed as a slow and steady process, completed over a fairly long period, or if change is instead a drastic, immediate change in response to a calamitous societal shift (Beaumont, 2000; Kiewe, 1994).

The punctuated-equilibrium theory seeks to explain both stability and change in American policymaking. According to Sabatier (2007), “Political processes are often driven by a logic of stability and incrementalism, but occasionally they also produce large-scale departures from the past” (p. 97). Punctuated-equilibrium theory explains both stasis, or dormant legislative change, and punctuations, or abrupt alterations, in policy change (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

Schattschneider (1960) explains connections between theories of conflict and agenda setting; specifically, a stress placed upon disfavored groups and the establishment of policymaking through drastic change or triggering event(s) (Lindblom, 1965; Sabatier,

1998). Kozol (1992) finds direct correlations between public K-12 institutions that are predominantly African American and/or Hispanic and the exploitation of low socioeconomic status schools by educational entrepreneurs. The research by Kozol identified that military recruitment has specifically targeted public K-12 institutions that were predominantly African American and/or Hispanic (McColl, 2005).

The theory of drastic, abrupt change is in direct opposition to the notion of even, sensible change, over time, as a result of a changing America (Cobb & Elder, 1983). This is not to state that stasis or punctuation exist independent of each other and therefore exclude one another. Rather, when explaining policy, researchers must consider both incremental change and dramatic shift. With regard to American educational policy, scholarship often pinpoints 1957 and the launch of Russia's Sputnik as the "trigger" for federal educational policy shift in commitment in America. Opportunity windows such as Columbine and September 11 served as "causes" for dramatic legislative shifts with regard to education (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). The purpose of this dissertation research was to advance understanding of an incremental explanation of military doctrine and American educational policy convergence well beyond the scope of current scholarship.

### **Federal Involvement in American Education**

Within the language of the Constitution there is no mention of public education. States were specifically delegated the power to educate their youth under the 10th Amendment. As a result, public education as a function of the state was legally

recognized in the Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 (Ornstein, 1984). From the actual framing of the Constitution to the middle of the 20th century, states were in primary control of education, with the federal government cautiously lending assistance in order to not overstep its bounds (Clowse, 1981).

However, since 1957 and the launch of Sputnik, the federal government has had a more vested interest in American education (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Flynn, 1995). Until the launch of Sputnik, the federal government required very little compliance when financially supporting state-level education (Ornstein, 1984). This accountability relationship changed substantially in a post-Sputnik America; few strings were replaced with multiple strings as well as targeted foci on improving education for the disadvantaged, which included, but was not limited to, underrepresented populations, women, and the handicapped (Telzrow, 2007; Zerilli, 1994).

In 1960, federal funding of K-12 education-based programs totaled \$1.7 billion; by 1964 this funding increased to \$3 billion. With the passage of the 1965 ESEA, the federal education budget ballooned to \$6 billion. Less than 10 years later, in 1972, the figure doubled again and hit \$12 billion and again doubled in 1980 to \$25 billion. Ronald Reagan, who was known as a “streamlining” president, cut the budget from \$25 billion to \$23 billion. Nonetheless, second only to military spending, federal expenditure on education has become one of the costliest discretionary expenditures in American history (Bose, 1998; Dallin & Lapidus, 1995; Telzrow, 2007).

Table 1 arrays key points of American military conflict and major educational change from the late 1770s to 2005. Evident from this chronicle is the increasing

progression of military involvement in American education beginning in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

### **The Role of Government**

The federal government's policies regarding education have played an important role in determining the outcome of the "American student" (Bose, 1998; Dallin & Lapidus, 1995). The research of Bose (1998), Dallin and Lapidus (1995), and Telzrow (2007) examine how the Cold War, and specifically the launch of Sputnik, impacted American educational policy. More recent scholarship has investigated the September 11 attacks as a trigger event for the continuing convergence of military doctrine and educational policy (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). However, while each attempt at explaining the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy is valid as a critical marker (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003; Telzrow, 2007), these stochastic analyses fail to explore if "moments of opportunity" like Sputnik and September 11 are not better understood as data points across a long arc of policy isomorphism merging military and educational doctrines. As such, this study examined the relationship between military doctrine and American educational policy over centuries, not decades, in order to determine whether the "moments of opportunity" that scholarship has determined as definitive in policy change were part of a longer, discernable pattern.



Table 1

*American Conflict and Major Educational Change*

Conflict/change	Year	Major educational change
Revolutionary War begins	1775	
	1779	Jefferson proposes a two-track system for the “labored and the learned” based on a Greek method of enlightened leadership.
	1787	Northwest Ordinance passes, stipulating that the United States would expand westward through the addition of new states.
War of 1812	1812	
	1827	State of Massachusetts passes a law that requires towns of 500 families or more to have a public high school.
U.S. Civil War	1861	
	1862	First Morrill Act (Land Grant Act) passed, which essentially donated public lands to states, the sale of which would be used for the “endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.”
Spanish American War	1898	
	1911	First Montessori school is opened, creating an opportunity for underrepresented populations to seek education.
National Defense Act (Woodrow Wilson)	1916	a. Created/placed JROTC into schools to help recruit students; b. “The Movement of National Defense” occurred in Greece at the same time.
	1916	John Dewey’s <i>Democracy &amp; Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education</i> is published, establishing doctrine that students should be involved with education the revolved around real-life tasks.
	1917	The Smith-Hughes Act is passed, establishing federal funding for Agricultural and Vocational Education (essentially the opposite of Dewey’s free thinking and progressive paper calling schools to become “effective agents of democracy”).

Table 1 (continued)

Conflict/change	Year	Major educational change
WWI	1917	Army Alpha & Beta tests are designed in order to properly identify what additional training military recruits would require. The Beta test was specifically designed to test nonverbal abilities and was given to those who performed poorly on the Alpha test. During the following decades, the average performance level of military recruits was at the mental age of 13, a mild level of retardation.
	1919	Progressive Education Association is founded with the “Goal of Reforming American Education” from teacher-centered education (also referred to as curriculum-centered) to child-centered learning.
	1926	The Scholastic Aptitude Test is first administered (based on the Army Alpha Test), intended by proponents to replace the recently abolished College Board examination post WWI.
WWII (begins)	1941	GI Bill opens the door for servicemen to go to college (nearly 2 million did and about doubled the nation’s college enrollment. This broke the notion that college was for the rich. A total of 238,000 of the servicemen became teachers as a result of the GI Bill).
WWII (ends)	1945	
U.S. sends military advisors to Vietnam	1950	
	1954	Court rules in <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> that “separate and equal” doctrine established by court precedent in 1896 ( <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> ) systematically disadvantages American Blacks and other minority groups.
Federal troops enforce integration in Little Rock	1957	
Sputnik is launched	1957	
	1958	NDEA authorized funding for scientific research and science education (from a posed threat from Soviet Russia).
Vietnam War begins	1959	
JFK assassination	1963	
	1964	Civil Rights Act becomes law.
U.S. sends combat units to Vietnam	1965	Voting Rights Act becomes law.
Malcolm X assassination	1965	ESEA passed, through a “War on Poverty” waged by President Johnson; provided funds for low-income students.

Table 1 (continued)

Conflict/change	Year	Major educational change
Bloody Sunday (March 7)	1965	Higher Education Act (Pub. L. 89-329) passed and established a National Teacher Corps.
	1965	Project Head Start begins as a continued effort of the War on Poverty and towards Lyndon B. Johnson's goal of a Great Society.
	1968	The ASVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery) is used in high schools to test students, essentially gathering information on students—still used today (often called the “career test”).
Vietnam continues (543,482 soldiers deployed)	1968	College enrollments swell as young men look for deferments from the draft. *Grade inflation becomes an issue; instructors realize that if students failed they would be sent to war.
Grenada is invaded: U.S. President Ronald Reagan invades the Caribbean island nation of Grenada to overthrow its socialist government, which has close ties with Cuba. A U.S. peace-keeping force remains until 1985	1983	
	1983	The National Commission on Excellence in Education calls for “sweeping reform” in public education.
Gulf War (Kuwait & Iraq)	1991	Teach for America is formed (reestablishes the idea for a National Teacher Corps).
Afghanistan (9/11 response)	2001	No Child Left Behind authored and signed into action (House 2001, Senate 2002).
	2001	NCLB title is very close to Leave No One Behind (a military slogan).
	2001	Title IX of NCLB (2002, section 9528): schools are required to release the names, addresses, and phone numbers of high school juniors and seniors to “military recruiters,” “post secondary educational institutions,” and “prospective employers.”
Patriot Act	2001	Sweeping violations of Fourth Amendment rights.
National Defense Authorization Act	2002	
Iraq War	2003	Higher Education Act of 2003.
Bob Stump National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003 (Pub. L. 107-314)	2003	
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004 (Pub. L. 108-136)	2004	

Table 1 (continued)

Conflict/change	Year	Major educational change
Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year (Pub. L. 108-375)	2005	

*Note.* Data from “A Military History Timeline of War and Conflict Across the Globe, 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1999,” by The War Scholar, 2000-2008, retrieved from <http://www.warscholar.com/Timeline.html>; “Homepage,” by U.S. Department of Education, n.d.a, retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/index.html>; *Public Education in the United States: From Revolution To Reform*, by R. F. Butts, 1978, New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston; *Introduction to the Foundations of American Education* (6th ed.), by J. A. Johnson, H. W. Collins, V. L. Dupuis, J. H. & Johansen, 1985, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Bose (1998), Dallin and Lapidus (1995), and Telzrow (2007) are among the authors that suggest several recent legislative decisions spurred the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy. These decisions were (a) the NDEA (1958), in response to the launch of Sputnik; (b) the ESEA (1965), in response to an American War on Poverty, that provided funding for low-income students; and (c) NCLB (2001), which fundamentally changed the ESEA of 1965 and required schools to surrender personal contact information of their students in exchange for federal funding.

While each of these changes in policy are important in understanding the isomorphism of military doctrine and educational policy, little attention has focused on the decades and centuries prior to these landmark events. For the purposes of this literature review, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the GI Bill of 1944, as described by Hyman (1986), were examined, as well as the 1958 NDEA, 1965 ESEA, and the 2001 NCLB. The following section arrays these epochs into distinctive periods of convergence for military doctrine and American

educational policy. This section will establish prima facie basis for the systematic analysis this dissertation undertakes with examination of presidential oratory and other documents.

### **Educational Epochs**

In late 1957, Americans were confronted with a series of traumatic events. Internationally, Dwight Eisenhower's administration was questioned as Polish students waged open confrontation against police in Warsaw, essentially mocking his administration's support for the *liberation of the captive peoples* hidden by the Iron Curtain. During the summer, Governor Orval Faubus (of Arkansas) and President Eisenhower were at a standoff over the implementation of the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School. Meanwhile, an Asian flu epidemic hit New York City and had bedridden approximately 250,000 school children.

On October 4, 1957, Moscow released a statement, via teletype technology, informing the world that the USSR had launched a 184-pound artificial earth satellite nicknamed Sputnik, shortened for "Artificial Fellow Traveler Around the Earth" in Russian. This accomplishment was met with applause and praise from American scientists at first, followed by fear and a growing belief that Americans were falling behind in the highly ideological and symbolic "space race." Many researchers suggest this moment was the tipping point for the federal government to dramatically and historically become involved in American education (Bose, 1998; Dallin & Lapidus, 1995).

The launch of Sputnik in 1957 has been deemed by Bose (1998), Dallin and Lapidus (1995), and Telzrow (2007) as the moment where the federal government infused itself into the fabric of American education, incorporating major elements of military doctrine, as well as formal military training, into public schools in exchange for federal funding. Dallin and Lapidus (1995) and Telzrow (2007) pinpoint the NDEA as the convergence of military doctrine and federal educational policy. The primary concern of this chapter is to detail the events that led up to the convergence of military doctrine and federal educational policy, identified by Dallin and Lapidus (1995) and Telzrow (2007), in order to examine a potentially greater trend.

According to Hyman (1986), the three most critical moments that current scholarship overlooks in the discussion of military doctrine and educational policy are the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the GI Bill of 1944. These predecessors of the 1958 NDEA, the 1965 ESEA, and the 2001 NCLB legislation demonstrate a convergence of military doctrine and federal involvement in public education unlike what has been previously argued.

By examining these epochs in history, the premise of a slow and gradual pattern of isomorphism becomes a plausible counter-thesis to current theories of a punctuated, cataclysmic convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy. Through a greater understanding of these precursor events, the purpose of this chapter is to dispute that military doctrine converged with federal educational policy from any single event and to argue that it has instead emerged over a long period. This conclusion challenges that Sputnik and/or September 11 were single events that caused a convergence of

military doctrine and educational policy in America and suggests that the convergence has occurred over centuries in an incremental, orderly manner.

### **Epoch I: The Northwest Ordinance of 1787**

The U.S. Constitution grants no responsibility or oversight of education to the federal government (Finn & Petrilli, 1998). However, through the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the establishment of land-grant colleges in 1862, traces of government establishing itself in the fabric of education are evident (Hyman, 1986). The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which replaced Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, was created 7 years before the Bill of Rights and "increased individuals' access to ownership of land, subsidized public education, and stabilized property rights in the territories as preconditions to the enhancement of liberty" (Hyman, 1986, p. 20). Initially, the implied intentions of federal involvement with regard to education were for the benefit of the youth; the legislation explicitly linked the "pursuit of happiness" with broad access rights to education.

While passage of the Northwest Ordinance was new, some of its modus operandi for dispersing lands had been borrowed from the Romans and Chinese centuries before. As with practices of the ancient Romans and Chinese for war veterans, the American Congress reserved one-seventh of approximately 2,660,000 acres for Revolutionary War veterans. However, in order to not segregate military families from the general public, legislators predetermined that the remainder of the Northwestern Territories be open for sale to the public at one dollar per acre. This essentially caused military families, who

had received land from the government, to sell much, if not all, of their land to prospectors (Finn & Petrilli, 1998). Thus, a spike in selling and reselling land caused an increase in prices, which resulted in the pricing out of families who otherwise wished to acquire land in the Northwest Territory (St. John, 1987).

These events were in stark contrast to the stated intentions of the ordinance. In Article III the Northwest Ordinance states, “Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged” (Northwest Ordinance, 1787, p. 2). Similar to the monarchs of Britain, the United States had supported religious educational institutions through land-grant acquisitions. Through government taxes on local lands and earned monies from fees and tolls, universities such as Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale (previously known as the Collegiate School of Connecticut) benefited greatly by adapting to the changes in government (Wiebe, 1984). While research exists (Mills, 2000; Shore & Nugent, 2002) examining nonprofits such as Harvard and other elite institutions as tax havens, for the purposes of this study, the financial gains available to institutions willing to abide by current legislation (Mills, 2000; Shore & Nugent, 2002) will not be examined.

With the intentions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 came great controversy. In granting freedom of education and access to land, slave laws superseded any debate with regard to land disbursement during the late 1700s (Matthews, 1985). The millions of Blacks that lived in substantial propinquity with a controlling White class created a scenario that could only have been solved by one of the longest and most violent



incidents in American history—the Civil War. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the U.S. westward expansion caused both educational and military conflicts to emerge.

### **Epoch II: The Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862**

During the Civil War in the United States, legislators continued to press for access to education and land for Americans (Hyman & Wiecek, 1982). As a result, the 1862 Morrill and Homestead Acts were signed into law. However, since the Union was split, the Morrill Act gave approximately 13 million acres of federal land only to loyal states (Rainsford, 1971). Within the text of the Morrill Act was language requiring the following:

The support . . . of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other subjects, scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, . . . agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the State may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life. (First Morrill Act, 1862, sec. 4)

Symbolically, the United States thereby became the first national power to obligate vast resources to the support of higher education (Hyman, 1986).

The Morrill Act stipulated, assuming a Union emerged from war, that state control over colleges and universities would supersede federal involvement (Wiebe, 1984). Nevertheless, the federal government and legislators “tried to precommit [*sic*] the beneficiary states to make their universities serve the contemporary needs of a swiftly changing society” (Hyman, 1986, p. 36). This included, but was not limited to, advanced mathematical and scientific training and military tactics (St. John, 1987).

The training within educational institutions for advanced sciences, which included mechanical training, resulted from the nation's dissatisfaction with its current educational environment (Axt, 1952). Ineffective efforts to create the people's college resulted in an unqualified workforce. Conversely, within the embedded language of the reintroduction of the Morrill Act in 1861 was the addition of military doctrine (Rainsford, 1971).

According to Axt (1952):

Mr. Morrill . . . added "military tactics" to the list of subjects that the colleges were required to offer. This addition in part reflected the growing belief in the North that some of the South's military successes were due to its military schools. It had earlier roots, however, in the belief that the new institutions should inculcate and prepare for "citizenship," including service in the militia. (p. 42)

There was thus initiated the first American federal program of higher education that supported national defense (Matthews, 1985; Wiebe, 1984). The passage of the Morrill Act was a critical departure from the extant (1800s) state of American policy with regard to education, which had conferred states predominant authority over educational support and policy and kept explicit military doctrine outside the province of federal mandate for state education.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States never mention the word "education," which seems inconsistent with the founding fathers and their favorable belief toward a free-thinking and educated society (Axt, 1952). However, founding federal authority was never intended to include public education, which was a states right and responsibility (Hyman, 1986). In 1786, Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter to then-General Washington summarizing his contention about the linkage between government and education. In it he stated, "It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can

never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction” (as cited in Axt, 1952, p. 20). With even language such as this, the Constitutional Convention only recorded one instance of discussion on the topic of education. Rumors of federal control of education caused states to defend their sovereign rights and, as such, the 10th Amendment, which declares that powers not granted to the United States, nor prohibited by it, are reserved for the states. The 10th Amendment passed the power over schools, and overall education, directly to the states (Axt, 1952; Honeywell, 1931). During this time there were several federal attempts at a national university or federally run educational institution. None were enacted.

Educational policy, as a topic during the 1830s and 1840s, was contentious. Authors such as Tocqueville (1862) suggested that education be refocused: “It is evident that, in democratic communities the interests of individuals, as well as the security of the commonwealth, demand that the education of the greater number should be scientific, commercial, and industrial, rather than literary” (p. 66). Tocqueville suggests that institutions of higher education were too focused on liberal education, literature, and higher level thinking. He suggested that a refocus occur that placed more effort toward a working class, essentially a vocational focal point versus classical educational acculturation as that which the elite experienced. Tocqueville’s work coincided with an Industrial Revolution/Movement. As a result, Tocqueville’s work was critical in raising awareness with regard to the relationship between working-class education and American industrial productivity. For the purposes of this study, Tocqueville presents an infancy stage in American education pertaining to technical training.

While Tocqueville's suggestion warranted debate, few universities attempted to incorporate technical training into their curricula. Both Yale and Harvard created programs designed for technical studies, but the departments, once created, found turned shoulders and unsupportive faculty from more liberal areas of study (Mills, 2000; Shore & Nugent, 2002). American universities became increasingly aware that technical training had long avoided traditional institutions and had thrived in other environments, like within the agricultural community (Axt, 1952; Honeywell, 1931; Tocqueville, 1862).

The establishment of the U.S. Military Academy in 1802 created an educational system where the educators of "agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufacturers" (Axt, 1952, p. 32) learned their trade, and the system of technical agricultural training was exceptionally successful (Axt, 1952; Honeywell, 1931). Once agricultural training was completed by students in the U.S. Military Academy, graduates took their knowledge and applied their learning by training current persons in the fields of "agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufacturers."

The U.S. Military Academy's approach to education, specifically in the field of agriculture, was successful for several reasons, including field-based training, the use of real-world examples, and an effective linkage made by connecting real students to research and practice. However, none of the learned aspects of students' training were more influential than the instilled belief system that inhabitants of the earth must understand the composition of natural plant life in conjunction with how the government regulates the people (Axt, 1952). Nevertheless, the central question raised by this

research is, How had the U.S. Military Academy focus on agricultural training impacted federal educational policy?

### **Epoch III: The GI Bill of 1944**

Debate exists over whether or not the GI Bill of 1944 was a wartime law that had educational implications (Hyman, 1986). Historians propose that Roosevelt's administration worked to "link veterans' benefits with general policies" (Hyman, 1986, p. 62) but that these linkages were unsuccessful. Other historians suggest that the GI Bill was a measure specifically designed for veterans' needs and not, in any manner, supportive of education (Axt, 1952; Miner, 2004). Greater questions arose from legislators and the general public as to whether or not military veterans should be rewarded for their service, expressly with regard to being considered a "separate" part of society, with special privileges, discounts, and services (Axt, 1952; Hyman, 1986; Miner, 2004).

**Rewarding military service.** Tales such as Homer's *Odyssey*, the valiant return of Ulysses, and the grand accounts of Roman warriors and special rewards for valor and bravery make poignant the historical support into retirement for military service. Until 1944, the United States did not follow suit as history had foreshadowed a global power might. For example, World War I veterans were only allotted minor preference over applicants for specific civil service positions, and physically disabled veterans were given limited vocational rehabilitation; in fact, every president from Wilson to Hoover "blocked money bonuses for them" (Hyman, 1986, p. 63). Roosevelt went so far as to state "that

no person, because he wore a uniform, must thereafter be placed in a special class of beneficiaries over and above all other citizens” (Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986, p. 64) in a speech given to the American Legion in 1933. The United States had distinguished itself from the military analects and glorification of soldiers—until 1944.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s (FDR’s) tone changed dramatically as a second world war loomed. The federal government began to support Article III, Section 8 of the Constitution to Congress, which states that it can “raise and support armies.” In 1942, which is considered militarily “the darkest time in American history since 1862” (Hyman, 1986, p. 64), Roosevelt supported what eventually was to become the GI Bill of 1944 (Axt, 1952; Miner, 2004; Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986).

The GI Bill of 1944 resembled Homer’s work, as well as the Romans and other military states in history. The bill included sweeping changes and “provisions for reemployment, unemployment compensation, social security, education, and loan guarantees for homes, farms, and businesses” for military veterans (Hyman, 1986, p. 64). Incentives were abundant, but no success was greater than that of the encouragement and subsidization of education (Miner, 2004; Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986).

In the end, nearly 8 million veterans pursued education (Hyman, 1986). University education that was once considered only for the educationally elite and socially endowed was now within the grasp of those who were willing to serve their country. Institutions such as Chicago and Harvard fought to not allow students within their schools unless they were exceptionally qualified and had previously applied, and the schools argued that the war had in effect “interrupted” their studies. The argument of

universities such as Harvard, Chicago, and others was that the underprepared students would place a severe strain on libraries, faculty, and the entire system and eventually lower the quality of discourse, work, and overall education (Hyman, 1986).

**Military policy impacting social climate.** Recent authors have suggested that the GI Bill altered American social stratification (Berube, 1991; Bose, 1998). In a system where low-income populations were set into a cyclical mechanism of low-pay, labor-intensive positions, the GI Bill made possible human capital development for working-class people, promising access to improved employment opportunities. As a result, a vast proportion of veterans moved up the income ladder in a post-1944 America. However, during what were racially volatile times, the impact of the GI Bill tended to favor White males with regard to educational acceptance and employment opportunities (Geisinger, 2004).

The GI Bill of 1944, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 were each moves toward federal involvement in, if not increasing control over, American education. And while the epochs detailed above focus on federal control of education, national security and defense are intricately entwined in the fabric of the legislative language (Axt, 1952; Geisinger, 2004). Federal involvement with regard to education and defense is not, however, commonly expressed previous to the late 1950s and the launch of Russia's Sputnik (Telzrow, 2007).

#### **Epoch IV: The National Defense Education Act of 1958**

The momentum of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the GI Bill of 1944 paved the route for increased federal involvement with regard to education in America. The “launching of the sputniks—Earth’s first artificial satellites—in the fall of 1957” (Clowse, 1981, p. 3) gave the American federal government cause to continue a trend toward federal militarization of public schools (Bose, 1998). With technological competition at record pace during the Cold War, the United States seemingly fell behind with the launch of the Russian satellites in a highly ideological “space race.”

Knowledge of Russia’s Sputnik was greeted with joy from the scientific community as well as a sense of crisis for news media and political pundits (Dallin & Lapidus, 1995). It was because of this sense of crisis, and portrayed urgency, that swift and sweeping changes in education were ordered in America. While the effects of Russia’s Sputnik are far-reaching, for the purposes of this study, only educational and military effects are examined. Critics of progressive education were beginning to gain power as American education was threatened in the area of the sciences (Flynn, 1995). Issues and fears of centralized education, religion, and integration could no longer be left to another generation or another president—education had become a national interest (Clowse, 1981).

Adlai Stevenson was quoted as stating (in reference to the U.S.), “We needed *Sputnik*” (as cited in Clowse, 1981, p. 9). In 1958, the NDEA was passed into law. The



launch of Sputnik was seen as a technological defeat, one to which the American federal government was obligated to respond (Kiewe, 1994). The nature of the Cold War itself was rooted in the rhetoric of survival. There was broad consensus among policy elites that if Americans didn't respond swiftly and grandly, they may have lost more than the war itself; they may have lost a sense of being atop the world's greatest and most powerful nations. An educationally unprepared population in America was therefore deemed unacceptable (Ornstein, 1984).

The placement of blame upon schools and universities for the failure of advanced technology resonated with the American public (Telzrow, 2007). Facing mounting pressures, President Eisenhower suggested that the problem with America had nothing to do with the military and everything to do with education (Clowse, 1981). This educational defeat was worsened after the launch of Sputnik II, nearly six times the weight of the initial satellites; American's were startled to hear that a canine, wired for heart-rate monitoring, was sent within the satellite. It was only a matter of time before Russia sent a man to the moon and left the United States in a distant second with the rest of the world (Bose, 1998). Local, state, and national media sources were booming with dark commentaries, eerie forecasts, and crisis-laden language that fueled a growing domestic fear in America.

On January 20, 1958, *Newsweek Magazine* ran as its front cover, "A World at Stake—In Science, Education, Diplomacy, Economics, Defense." Within this nationally published text read,

To every civilization, at some moment in its existence, the mortal challenge comes. Now Red Russia's dictatorship has thrust such a challenge upon the West. The challenge is not simply military; it is total—intellectual, spiritual, and material. To survive, the free world, led by the United States, must respond in kind. Amid a clamor of alarm and self-criticism, America is preparing to shoulder this burden of great historical responsibilities. Technical problems which were long the province of isolated specialists have become the concern of a whole citizenry. (p. 53)

Education, which was once considered a state responsibility, had been thrust into the realm of the federal government (Geisinger, 2004). Through powerful language of the news media, American government, and everyday citizens, the American educational system was required to carry the burden of technological advancement for military defense (Flynn, 1995). However, with the understanding of previous legislation (e.g., the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the GI Bill of 1944), the 1958 NDEA resembles more of a growing trend versus an isolated incident.

The NDEA was filled with controversial language (Finn & Petrilli, 1998); for example, in Title X, Section 1001(f), of the NDEA (1958) it requires as “a mandate that all beneficiaries of the act complete an affidavit disclaiming belief in the overthrow of the U.S. government.” This was an austere reminder to universities that compliance was required to receive funding in an era of communism and global revolution(s). The language of this section of the law was repealed several years later by John F. Kennedy in 1962 (Finn & Petrilli, 1998).

The major shifts in education, in effect, shifted with the presidency and military conflict (Finn & Petrilli, 1998). The 1787 Northwest Ordinance preceded and was adopted by George Washington after the Revolutionary War. The 1862 Homestead and

Morrill Acts were accepted by President Lincoln a year after the Civil War began. The GI Bill of 1944 was written and enacted during World War II under Roosevelt, and the NDEA of 1958, under Eisenhower, was in response to the Cold War and Sputnik. Each of these major shifts in ideology, national defense, and education coincide with a national threat and were supported by presidents. If there is, in fact, a pattern indicated by this convergence of national ideology, defense concerns, and education, then the following two epochs, the 1965 ESEA and the 2001 NCLB legislation, should reveal a similar pattern.

#### **Epoch V: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**

Although the U.S.-led military involvement in Vietnam began in 1959, combat troops were not authorized until 1965, coincidentally the same year that the ESEA was passed under Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency. Under the title of a "War on Poverty," the executive branch of the American government took action quickly to bring about educational reform. In the wake of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Congress passed ESEA in under 90 days and with little debate (Carleton, 2002; Finn & Petrilli, 1998).

Kennedy had attempted to follow up the NDEA of 1958 with his own comprehensive bill; however, it was beaten due to "intense conflicts over race and religion" (Carleton, 2002, p. 135). The primary purpose of ESEA was to provide educational opportunities to underrepresented populations—an issue Kennedy felt strongly about. Johnson took Kennedy's bill and, for all intents and purposes, passed the

first federal program guaranteeing funding and general financial aid to both primary and secondary education. In the January 8, 1964, State of the Union Address, Johnson stated,

Very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom. The cause may lie deeper in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities, in a lack of education and training. (As cited in Berube, 1991, p. 70)

The ESEA was, at its core, legislation during wartime. Johnson and his cabinet had waged war upon *poverty* and, in the mindset of Kennedy, had understood that race stood at the heart of the issue of education in America (Kuypers & King, 2001; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003).

Similar to the epochs detailed previously of 1787, 1862, 1944, and 1958, the ESEA of 1965 had domestic support explicitly linking education with national security. The continued trend of presidential concern for national security through educational reform has seen steady convergence over the past centuries. It continues today (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003).

### **Epoch VI: The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001**

NCLB was signed into law on January 8, 2002, following its passage through the House of Representatives on May 23, 2001, and the Senate on June 14, 2001. The act gained momentum in a post-September-11 America and specified that public secondary schools must grant equal access by military recruiters to both facilities and students' personal information, which has been the practice of institutions of higher education. Failure to comply would result in the withholding of federal funding (McColl, 2005;

Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). NCLB was wartime legislation that followed military conflict in America.

Kenneth J. Saltman and David A. Gabbard (2003) refer to citizen acceptance with regard to the inclusion of military terminology within all aspects of U.S. life, specifically within K-12 education. Saltman and Gabbard's work details current public education institutions. The significance of Saltman and Gabbard's (2003) work lies within a broad understanding that by militarizing public schools, American society would drastically shift toward a federally backed military system. For all intents and purposes, this shift would result in the altering of broad social, cultural, and economic movements for citizens and destroy public democratic power (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004; Greider, 1999; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003).

Initially, few policymakers questioned the intentions of NCLB. The bill received unanimous bipartisan support and was initially fueled by lobbyist Sandy Kress, a Democrat, who worked diligently to create support for the document by working with Democratic lawmakers Ted Kennedy, George Miller, and John Boehner (Ascher, 2006). In his article, "Creating Difference: Neo-Liberalism, Neo-Conservatism, and the Politics of Educational Reform," author Michael Appleby (2004) described the bipartisan coalition as building linkages, a coalition in which highly unlikely interest groups worked together to create a common goal. He viewed this support—the support of liberals and conservatives finding common ground—as an example of a hegemonic ideology or, in other words, a common culture and/or traditional values for White Americans that had penetrated all levels of the U.S. society. As a result, embedded within this ideology is the

understanding that neoliberals, neoconservatives, authoritarian populists, and the managerial (professional) middle class were all agreeing upon the same document (Appleby, 2004). In fact, not all branches of government had to agree upon a specified issue or bill, but rather aspects of something greater with regard to federal control (Terry, 1993).

Target populations of minority and low-socioeconomic-status (SES) students were overlooked by lawmakers perceiving the educational realm through lenses of their hegemonic ideologies (Appleby, 2004). One example of such ideology occurs with Secretary Margaret Spellings, of the U.S. Department of Education, who authored, *Building on Results: A Blueprint for Strengthening the No Child Left Behind Act*. In January of 2007, Spellings posted this report online at the U.S. Department of Education website to encourage Americans to continue to support NCLB. She stated that “this conversation [with regard to academic standards, testing, and accountability] would not be occurring without *No Child Left Behind*” (Spellings, 2007, p. 3). The *conversation*, according to Appleby (2004) and Arce (2000), requires more of a debate of ethics, accountability, and privatization than merely student achievement on standardized tests.

Spellings (2007) claims that the achievement gap is narrowing between Hispanic and White students “across America” (p. 2), and she cites four individual schools where student test scores had improved. Several sentences later, she states, “Between 1999 and 2004, reading scores of 17-year-olds fell three points, and math scores fell one point. . . . Achievement gaps between Hispanic and white 17-year-olds actually grew wider in both subjects” (p. 3). Secretary Spellings did not give details as to the actual numerical variant

of the increased gap. Moreover, she did not reveal whether the target population of minority or low-SES students had increased in the improved schools or if simply an increase had occurred in already successful students.

The language usage in Spellings's report massages the facts to soften the impact of a failing program. While the statement above was only a single line in pages of reports, it illuminates a major concern. Within the text of NCLB (2002), of which there are 670 pages, two of the first three titles explicitly detail instructions for the achievement of disadvantaged and limited language learners. Title I states, "Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged," and Title III states, "Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students," in sections 101 and 301, respectively.

With the sweeping changes of the ESEA of 1965, the new education code's title was amended to read, "Title I-Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged," and in section 1001 of NCLB (2002), its statement of purpose currently reads,

The purpose of this title is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging state academic achievement standards and state academic assessments. (p. 15)

Yet, Spellings's report suggests that the gap, during at least the first 2 years after the bill was passed, had significantly increased with regard to Hispanic and White students.

This is difficult information for many California districts to address when, in many districts, a large majority of students are Hispanic. NCLB attempted to increase

student success for low-SES and disadvantaged students. Appleby (2004) and Arce (2000) argue that the design of NCLB was flawed and laden with private financial opportunity. The windows of opportunity created by NCLB for private businesses, including military corporations, are discussed in greater detail in the conclusion of this research.

### **Conclusion**

As detailed in the six epochs contained within this chapter, military conflict, both perceived and real, prompted federal policy changes with regard to education in the United States. A pattern of convergence between military doctrine, stemming from conflict, and education indicate similar patterns over the centuries. However, as discussed within the epochs, military presence within public schools has become standard practice in the United States. The question of when the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy occurred becomes increasingly important as the implications of a militarized society takes shape in America (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004; Greider, 1999; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003).

When questioning the isomorphism of military doctrine and American educational policy, an examination of key legislation must be considered in order to identify critical markers throughout history. The six epochs detailed in the literature review exemplify the convergence between military doctrine and American educational policy.



The six identified epochs establish probable cause and/or incentives for policy isomorphism between American military and educational doctrine. The theories used to frame this research in Chapter III are garbage can, punctuated equilibrium, and rational choice. These three theories, exemplified by the six epochs listed above, clarify the necessary study of military convergence in the field of public education. The next chapter explicitly features theories that explain current phenomena and build rationale for this study.

CHAPTER III  
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

**Introduction: Garbage Can Theory, Punctuated Equilibrium,  
and Rational Choice**

The objective of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework of this dissertation. In Chapter I, readers were provided an overview of the dissertation, as well as foundational background and research design. This information led to a timeline of American conflict and educational policy that was presented in Chapter II. Additionally, as a result of their encompassing nature with regard to military doctrine and federal educational policy, in Chapter II six epochs were identified and discussed.

In Chapter III, several theories are used to not only explain the phenomena occurring with regard to military doctrine and educational policy, but to also preface the methodology and research of this dissertation. The theories that are examined are garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium, and rational choice. Used together, these theories aid in explaining how an idea at the executive level becomes common practice in the United States. These theories help to critically assess the isomorphism of military doctrine and educational policy and the logic driving this convergence. Each of these theories is presented in the following sections, followed by a conclusion to the chapter.

### **Garbage Can Theory: Precursor to Multiple Streams**

The foundation of the multiple streams theory is based on an understanding of the garbage can theory (Lyall & Sell, 2006). Multiple streams (MS) theory has been referred to as a “lens,” “framework,” or “perspective” (Sabatier, 2007) and is used interchangeably with garbage can theory for the purposes of this research. Garbage can theory and the subsequent multiple streams theory elucidate the manner in which policies are formed by governments on a national level under conditions of uncertainty (Farazmand, 2002).

Clowse (1981), Kuypers (1997), and Telzrow (2007) suggest that educational policy has converged with military doctrine as a result of the uncertain conditions in the aftermaths of Sputnik and September 11. Garbage can theory specifies that organizational solutions seek substantiation by attachment to problems after the fact (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972). This argument coincides with Kiewe (1994) and his work detailing opportunities for federal involvement in states’ rights. For all intents and purposes, Kiewe argues that the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy, at the federal level, was a solution created by political leaders, one seeking a “problem” to present itself. For Clowse (1981), Kuypers (1997), and Telzrow (2007), the problems of Sputnik and September 11 created opportunities to present their solution(s). These theories present a substantial share of the current belief with regard to the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy (Heck, 2004).

The NDEA, in response to Sputnik, as well as the Patriot Act, in response to September 11, are examples of governmental solutions awaiting problems (Kuypers,

1997; Telzrow, 2007). However, what has been left out of current research, with regard to convergence, is a wider ranging examination of the amalgamation of military doctrine and educational policy. While both garbage can theory and MS theory effectively explain incidents of convergence, both theories are constricted to single, explanatory events as definitive answers for educational change. For the purposes of this research, more theories that can encompass longitudinal patterns are required to properly address the issue of convergence.

### **Punctuated Equilibrium**

Some theories posit that policy change is slow and methodical, while others speculate that change is abrupt and paradigm shifting (Sabatier, 2007). Yet few theories can explain both slow, incremental shifts and dramatic, culture-shifting change within a single theory. Punctuated equilibrium accounts for how change occurs in both methodical and abrupt policy shifts. Punctuated equilibrium “emphasizes two related elements of the policy process: issue definition and agenda setting” (Sabatier, 2007, p. 97). Therefore, by identifying not only the issue but also setting the agenda, researchers can better explain more complex phenomena (DeLeon, 1993).

Schattschneider (1960) states, “Theories of conflict expansion and agenda setting have stressed the difficulty that disfavored groups and new ideas have in breaking through the established system of policymaking” (as cited in Sabatier, 2007, p. 98). Schattschneider (1960) puts forward that new ideas have difficulty establishing themselves in traditional settings. This is often the case when considering smooth,

incremental changes as the only viable option(s) for policy change. Schattschneider emphasizes the need for conflict or extraordinary circumstances to initiate major change. The six epochs discussed in Chapter II and the “opportunity windows” created during the aftermath of conflict in America fit Schattschneider’s claim that policy change shadows extraordinary circumstances.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) examine policymaking cases over a significant amount of areas and conclude

(1) That policymaking both makes leaps and undergoes periods of near stasis as issues emerge on and recede from the public agenda; (2) that this tendency toward punctuated equilibria is exacerbated by American political institutions; and (3) that policy images play a critical role in expanding issues beyond the control of the specialists and special interests that occupy what they termed *policy monopolies*. (p. 344)

Baumgartner and Jones also found that the presidency had exceptional abilities and influence with regard to change in American policymaking.

American policy is conservative by its design and is often slow to change, requiring multiple levels of approval, sessions of debate, multiple revisions, and general concordance across party lines (Windt, 1990). However, a slow and incremental shift in policy does not explain American policy in times of crises. America, when in conflict, acts swiftly and often changes major aspects of current governmental policy (Schattschneider, 1960). This is the case in each of the six epochs from Chapter II and is indicative of major policy change throughout American history (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004; Greider, 1999; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). This is what is considered true by many when examining the 1950s and the launch of Russia’s Sputnik into orbit. In 1957

Sputnik was launched, and in 1958 the United States had created and passed the NDEA in response, thus federally funding American education and placing a specific focus on the sciences in public schools.

Sputnik was the crisis necessary to involve the federal government in the education of America's youth (Windt, 1990). However, what if Sputnik's "punctuation" in American policy was part of a greater timeline? Moreover, are there other punctuations to consider? In the late 1960s America was involved in Vietnam and, in turn, in the late 1960s the ESEA was created. In 2001 the World Trade Center attack occurred, and in 2001/2002 NCLB legislation was passed. These indicators appear to be part of a greater trend and not individual cases.

These three "punctuations" created massive and sweeping reform to American educational policy and laid the groundwork for future federal involvement in schools. Yet, researchers have not examined the years prior to Sputnik to determine whether other similar "punctuations" existed. Moreover, with the power and influence of American presidents, their specific duties as commander in chief, and the requirements to continue a long-standing tradition of American power, an educated nation is critical. However, few opportunities for dramatic shifts occur in history, and presidents seek to exploit these rare windows when given the opportunity (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004). According to Sabatier (2007), "Punctuated-equilibrium theory includes periods of equilibrium or near stasis, when an issue is captured by a subsystem, and periods of disequilibrium, when an issue is forced onto the macropolitical agenda" (p. 101). Education was, in 1957, 1968,

and 2001, forced into the macropolitical agenda through military conflict, thus resulting in federal educational policy change.

As a consequence, there must be consideration of the decades, and possibly centuries, prior to the 1950s to determine if the convergence of presidential doctrine and American educational policy existed (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). In the three examples given within the most recent decades, American policy, with regard to education, has been a direct result of American conflict. The federal policymaking has direct correlations and usages of “military doctrine” and is an example of “punctuations” in American policymaking. This research examines the true origin of the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy and questions whether “punctuations” existed prior to post-Sputnik America.

The limitations of both garbage can theory and punctuated equilibrium theory are evident when considering the causes and effects of military conflict and educational policy over centuries, versus decades, in America (Farazmand, 2002). While punctuated equilibrium does detail both stasis and dramatic shifts in policy, it does not explain the rationale behind the decision-making process. The human element of decision making during the policy process has been fundamentally overlooked and is the essential ingredient of another theory: rational choice.

### **Rational Choice**

In the previous two sections, garbage can theory and punctuated equilibrium were discussed. Garbage can theory specifies that solutions exist, which may be in the form of

federal policies, which await “problems” in order to be applied. Punctuated equilibrium as a theory seeks to explain how change is implemented and when researchers can predict policy change. Yet, neither theory examines human nature within the scope of desire or personal gain. When considering the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy at a federal level, financial opportunities are created. The theory of rational choice denotes that motivated self-interests play a critical role in the decision-making process.

This section is intended to serve as a foundation for not only the history of rational choice theory, also known as public choice theory, but to examine several works, ranging from analysis and interpretation to critique and limitations. The section discusses arguments that social order and collective benefits can and are produced by market mechanisms and not by a centralized administration.

By weaving multiple works from a variety of disciplines, a foundation can be constructed to illustrate knowledge that has helped create rational choice theory (RCT), and how RCT has cultivated multiple new theorists to create their own interpretations, refutations, and acceptations of its key assumptions. The section concludes with an analysis and commentary as to why RCT is an explanatory theory in the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy through a greater understanding of human behavior.

**History of rational choice.** In 1961 George Homans pioneered a simplistic framework in the field of sociology that established RCT. Yet, its roots date back to 1776, when Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations* (Udehn, 1996). Smith’s work is seen as “the intellectual rock on which neoclassical economic theory is constructed”



(Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 185). Major assumptions for RCT were drawn from the psychologists' behaviorist model, as well as economic theory (Udehn, 1996). RCT connects microeconomics and politics by observing the actions of citizens, politicians, and public servants as equivalent to the actions of self-interested producers and consumers (Buchanan, 1972). The simplicity of the model, its major assumptions, and its validity would be challenged by Green and Shapiro (1994) and Schram and Caterino (2006).

**Background of rational choice.** While RCT has bricks within its structure that are centuries old, its building, as a whole, has been left unexplored until recently. Like public administration, the theory of rational choice has roots in business, most notably in economics (Bennett, 1997). In 1957 Anthony Downs provided a theoretical field for RCT with *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. It was followed only a few years later by James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock's (1962) *The Calculus of Consent*. These two pieces of literature not only placed economics in the forefront of the public sector, but challenged orthodox rationale in public administration and political science (Mungazi, 1999). Buchanan and Tullock's (1962) literature is argued to be the moment when RCT was founded (Whaples & Heckelman, 2005).

Human behavior, as defined by Buchanan and Tullock (1962), defied orthodox frameworks and traditional advances toward public and political administration, and suggested a true emphasis on the rational, self-interested actor. The notion of a neutral human factor was replaced with a public servant whose own needs were being served; humans became rational utility maximizers versus true public servants (Whaples & Heckelman, 2005). Therefore, the foundation of RCT was laid in a bed of economics,

whereby leaders, at any level, made decisions based on their own personal desires and economic gain, and not in the best interests of the public. For that reason, an understanding of RCT is significant in examining the decision-making processes that converge military doctrine and American educational policy.

**Economics: The parents of RCT.** Economics has long been publicized as the most successful of the social sciences. Economics assumes that humans are driven by a desire for increased wealth or personal satisfaction. As a result, this way of thought has constructed formal and often predictive models of human behavior (Scott, 2000). In questioning the role of human behavior, Buchanan and Tullock (1962) pursued research that hypothesized that humans were self-interested, rational, and calculated in their decision making. RCT can then be defined as “the economic study of nonmarket decision making, or simply the application of economics to political science” (Mueller, 2003, p. 1). RCT posits that humans behave according to their best interests; they calculate decisions and, in the end, decide what is best for them based on the information they are provided.

Economists and rational theorists suggest that economics are a critically important factor in determining human behavior (Mueller, 2003; Scott, 2000; Whaples & Heckelman, 2005). These assumptions are discussed later in this review, but first must be identified as economic factors. Mueller (2003), although using the term *public choice* versus *rational choice*, defines this concept. He states that the definition of rational choice is as follows:

The economic study of non-market decision-making, or simply the application of economics to political science. The subject matter of public choice is the same as that of political science: the theory of the state, voting rules, voting behaviour, party politics, the bureaucracy and so on. The methodology of public choice is that of economics, however. The basic behavioural postulate of public choice, as for economics, is that man is an egoistic, rational utility maximiser. (pp. 1-2)

At the time, Mueller's (2003) definition of rational choice shook the ground of what political leaders used as regulatory platforms in politics. Mueller's definition applies in a variety of fields where personal gain may exist. For the purposes of this research, Mueller's definition of rational choice casts doubt upon the process and intention of militarized education in America. Could the intentions of political leaders during the six epochs have been decided based on motivated self-interests?

Rational choice theorists, on the basis of economics, reject the theory that government officials act in the best interest of society and instead argue that the *economic man* acts in his best interest (Self, 1993), and that political decisions are made by individuals versus groups or consensus, and, as a result, decisions reflect the desires of those making them.

**The perception of self-interest.** An individual knows his/her preferences, goals, objectives, or needs, and when faced with a set of options to accomplish those preferences, people choose options that will maximize their own personal gains—this is the assumption of RCT (Mueller, 2003; Scott, 2000; Whaples & Heckelman, 2005). Individuals thus have a self-interested motivation—greed in a sense—in deciding what is best for them. This concept is exemplified by Adam Smith in his assessment of butchers and bakers in a competitive market, and the private pursuit of economic gain (Self, 1993).

The presumptions of RCT raise questions with regard to consumers and politicians: How do humans make decisions? What factors influence change? Could capitalism drive the decision-making process in a political arena? With regard to federal involvement in public education, questioning the motivation of political leaders during the policy process is therefore validated.

It is hypothesized that the rational economic man becomes not the freely choosing individual which public choice theorists celebrate but a mechanistic figure controlled by external forces (Hollis & Nell, 1975). Hollis and Nell disagree with the assumptions of RCT. Hollis and Nell's premise questions decisions made by rational persons; they inquire that if decisions are made in pursuit of economic objectives, are they truly *free* decisions?

In any event, RCT, when connected to economics, creates a debate with the perception of self-interest. Frederickson and Smith (2003) summarize Adam Smith's (1776) perspective by suggesting,

Citizens and civil servants in these frameworks were not presumed to engage in political behavior because of civic ideals or commitment to the common good; instead, it was assumed they engaged in political behavior for the same reasons they engaged in economic behavior, namely, they were motivated by a desire to benefit themselves. (p. 185)

There is no wonder, then, that public opinion "tends also to be highly skeptical of the actual motivations and behavior of politicians, bureaucrats, and so on" (Self, 1993, p. 6).

Theorists such as Howard Margolis (1982) attempt to mend the dichotomy that exists between theorists with regard to RCT by introducing a dual explanation; in a sense, a bipartisan approach to the debate. Margolis posits that, although there is much

evidence on both sides of the political behavior debate, a dual rationalization is in order. In politics, humans exhibit not only selfish tendencies (those of RCT), but philanthropic ones as well (Margolis, 1982; Self, 1993). Margolis (1982) preserves an economic methodology by proposing that persons strive for stability between becoming overly egocentric and excessively philanthropic. Hirschman (1982) considers this same idea as the public-private cycle.

The public-private cycle is most simply defined as the ebb and flow of human desires, whereby individuals go into civic life with selfless motives, experience disenchantment, regress to a life of personal benefit, find that consequently unsatisfying, and repeat the cycle (Hirschman, 1982). Both Hirschman (1982) and Margolis (1982) defend *middle-of-the-road* hypotheses for RCT.

Theories such as the ones listed above have resulted from RCT's grand assumptions that (a) humans are goal oriented, (b) humans have a hierarchically ordered set of utilities (preferences), (c) humans make rational choices, (d) social structures are ultimately the result of rational choices made by utility-maximizing individuals, and (e) evolving social phenomena occur from rational choices determined by individuals (Turner, 1991). But they have occurred as a result of fundamental flaws in the assumptions of RCT.

**The assumptions and manipulations of RCT.** RCT assumes that (a) individuals take action, (b) individuals choose optimal outcomes for themselves, and (c) individuals are concerned with entirely their own welfare (Frederickson & Smith, 2003). RCT revolves around the individual and the self; the theory leaves little room for group

decisions, “public” policymaking, or altruistic compromises. This is devastating when considering the public policy process during windows of opportunity following crises in America. Moreover, in the crudest economic sense, RCT looks for optimal gains for the individual. The “rational man” is selfish, biased, and primarily concerned with benefiting himself. Therefore, when researchers examine governmental policy decisions, they question motivation and research potential manipulations of individuals and citizens. As a result,

The *threat* of punishment or the *promise* of a reward may motivate people just as much as the punishment or reward itself. The threat of punishment, for example, may call forth appropriate behavior from those who wish to avoid the punishment. This assumption allowed Homans to recognise [sic] the motivating role of threats and inducements in the condition of human behavior. (Scott, 2000, p. 4)

Consequently, if the major assumptions of RCT are valid, political leaders who knew of them could manipulate individuals for their self-interest; parents could manipulate children, children could manipulate parents, and society as a whole would use itself for its own personal gain. Could it, therefore, be plausible that individuals in a government may have used the threat of *fear*, instilled in a society over centuries, for personal gain? Moreover, where does a “rationally acting” president play into these scenarios? In times of conflict, what is in the best interest of the individual who is also commander in chief?

Economists would hypothesize that RCT, in the purest sense, is the economics of humanity (Dorussen & Taylor, 2002). The major assumptions of RCT create a desire for power and a blatant disregard for right and wrong. As a result, ethical decisions or even

morals can be replaced for a desired personal benefit. When considering political leaders, civil servants, and elected officials, this presents an issue with regard to federal involvement in public education.

**Marx, public (rational) choice, and public administration.** When a researcher considers the previous example of threats of punishment versus promises of reward, he/she can infer that social power can be used to alter an incentive structure for individuals (Dowding, 1991). Organizations of powerful individuals can change what another group of *inferior* or *subordinate* individuals acknowledges as important. This creates a remarkably controversial social power issue. If mainstream rational choice (public choice) is groomed by a handful of social elite, how can society know when political leaders are acting in the best interests of themselves or society as a whole? Rational choice would suggest that RCT disregards the needs of the society and always sides with the individual; thus, every decision made, no matter how appealing to the general population, benefits those who create it equally, if not more (Dowding, 1991; Self, 1993).

When Marx is introduced, rational choice's complexity increases as personal satisfaction is established. Although Marx's work came before RCT was introduced, he discussed a precursory theory known as "public choice," which he states "uses economic methodology to reject the idea that the market system is based upon voluntary exchange" (as cited in Self, 1993, p. 19). Moreover, when members of society step beyond rational choice, they open a door and realize that even *the self* may not have control over their

own self-maximizing choices. Rational choice theorists like Buchanan and Tullock (1962) suggest that nothing stands in the way of a human desire for personal satisfaction.

The theory of rational choice is devastating to a population that is built on the trust of elected officials. Unfortunately, RCT only mirrors what James Madison (1788) stated from the inception of the United States in the Federalist Papers: “If men were angels there would be no need for government” (n.p.). RCT argues that conflicts between classes and the exploitation of individuals or groups can be explained by “opportunity” (Self, 1993, p. 19).

**Criticisms of rational choice.** The methodology that RCT proposes leaves significant questions about the legitimacy of its initial principles. If any are incorrect or simply invalid under *ideal* limitations, the broad claims of RCT become suspect (Frederickson & Smith, 2003). Moreover, one of the greatest criticisms of RCT is that its understanding of human nature is that it is far too constricted to be useful (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962; Frederickson & Smith, 2003; Whaples & Heckelman, 2005). Researchers consider the actions of the

Firefighters who died while trying to fight their way into the World Trade Center towers during the terrorist attacks of 2001. Undoubtedly, these men were doing a job they were being compensated for, and job performance undoubtedly plays a role in the career prospects of any civil servant. Yet to describe their actions as “self-interested” requires a very broad interpretation of that concept. (Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 204)

The argument of Frederickson and Smith is well taken by the intellectual community. While rational choice theorists suggest that, personally, these individuals inherently felt that entering the World Trade Center in some way would benefit



themselves (the firefighters) more than anyone else, for any reason, this is difficult to defend. Self (1993) adds,

The claim of mainstream public choice (rational choice) is that it has a methodology which is fully adequate and empirically robust, whereas alternative versions make a more selective or limited use of this methodology. Moreover mainstream public choice (rational choice) is firmly and strongly anchored in the neo-classical economic tradition. It may be that the assumptions embedded in that tradition are untenable or have to be heavily modified. It may be too that strong and pertinent criticisms of the market model can be made from within the public choice (rational choice) framework itself. Nonetheless the strong individualism of mainstream public choice, and its affinity with market theories, give it a potent political appeal and application. (p. 20)

As a result, the *heavy modification* required in order to make RCT's square peg fit into society's round hole is inevitably too great. Even rational choice advocates, such as Simon (1947), who dedicated their lives to deconstructing conventional intellectual tradition, unequivocally reject the economic notion of the rational utility maximizer (Frederickson & Smith, 2003; Neiman & Stambough, 1998). Adam Smith (1776) himself "recognized that self-interest could be harnessed for the collective good, but even made no claims that this was a universal possibility" (Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 205).

RCT, in a broad sense, can be defended and has appealing qualities, especially in a capitalistic society (Blossfeld & Prein, 1998). Authors such as Stephen Quackenbush (2001), from the University of Missouri, explain the "faults" of RCT as "a basic misunderstanding of the assumptions of the instrumental rationality" (p. 2).

Quackenbush also proposes that all theories mainly rest on a set of assumptions. He comments, "Assumptions should be judged not by whether or not they are true, but by

their usefulness” (p. 2). Critics of the argument would state that if assumptions are false, then the entire foundation of the theory is useless.

**Conclusion.** RCT has roots spanning from 1776, when Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*, to 1961, where George Homans interpreted RCT from an economic perspective. Today, RCT has incited some of the most discordant and notorious scholarly debates in public administration. Frederickson and Smith (2003) state, “Regardless of whether the purpose was to advocate the theory or to expose its faults, some of the most original and valuable contributions to public administration knowledge come from those working from a rational choice foundation” (p. 203).

While the theory, when its assumptions are fulfilled, can produce consistent and testable results, its most ambitious accomplishment has been to expansively clarify an extensive variety of human phenomena (Farmer, 1995). When testing any theory, it must be able to describe, explain, and predict natural phenomena within societies; often, when assumptions are accepted, RCT is exceedingly successful. As a result, when examining the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy, the theory of rational choice can be used as an explanatory tool during the decision-making process.

Unfortunately, RCT’s economic foundation, disregard for group input, and motivated self-interest place it among one of the most difficultly *assumable* frameworks in public administration (Vanberg, 1994). Despite the fact that “rational choice has played an important role in determining the limits of this orthodox perspective, [it] has thus far met only limited success in establishing itself as its intellectual successor” (Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 205). Rational choice theorists have critically challenged inherent social

phenomena. However, RCT's foundation results in its outcomes to become suspect for several reasons: (a) While RCT fits in a Wilson/ Weberian system, humans are not as predictable as economics would assume, (b) the sheer magnitude of RCT's assumptions are infinitely debatable, and (c) humans act in a manner not always conducive or explainable by a maximized individual utility (Vanberg, 1994).

Economics assumes that society will act in a particular manner. While it is one of the most successful aspects of the social sciences, it is nowhere near a perfect model. When considering RCT, critics challenge it based on perfection. Any variance, any error, any opportunity for human difference and the entire hypothesis is challenged, debated, and ultimately left unusable. As a result, RCT has been carved from a large block of wood into several other pieces of work. Concepts of the public-private cycle (Hirschman), the dual explanation (Margolis), and even bounded rationality (Simon) are direct results of RCT.

There is little doubt that researchers would agree that humans act in ways that are often indescribable and that it is true human nature to attempt to categorize each instance of exception; however, the theory of rational choice does not assume exceptions; its foundation is based on regularities, as is economics (Vanberg, 1994). Yet the significance of this theory is not underrepresented:

Regardless of rational choice's ultimate position in the intellectual canon of public administration, it will continue to be gainfully employed as a way of organizing and studying public bureaucracies and public service provision. What ever its weaknesses, it has few equals in public administration theory for internal rigor and the ability to explain complex phenomena with clarity and parsimony. (Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 206)

Considering the vast amount of knowledge, theories, and literature that has begun to emerge in public administration, it is difficult to find a more notable theory or one more explanatory with regard to human behavior during the decision-making process. While RCT is debated regularly in a variety of arenas, there is little doubt that it has influenced numerous other avenues of thought (Farmer, 1995; Vanberg, 1994).

The impact of RCT is significant in public administration. However, its significance with regard to understanding human decision making, specifically at the executive level, cannot be underestimated. In the previous section, both garbage can theory and punctuated equilibrium theory were examined in order to begin a framework to understand the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy. The first theory, the garbage can model, explained solutions awaiting problems in order to implement change. The second theory, punctuated equilibrium, explained the phenomena of both stasis and dramatic policy change in American government. The third theory, rational choice, hypothesizes that humans are rational actors motivated by self-interest. For the purposes of this dissertation, the theory of rational choice is used within a framework of three theories to describe human behavior and motivation during the policy process.

### **Conclusion**

In the previous sections, garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium, and RCT were discussed. Garbage can theory detailed solutions searching for problems, punctuated equilibrium demonstrated both stasis and punctuations during the policy

process, and RCT specified that humans acted in motivated self-interest during the decision-making process. Each theory builds to a greater understanding of how decisions were made throughout the convergence of military doctrine and American federal educational policy.

This chapter began with a clear definition of its purpose, to explain the phenomena of military doctrine and the convergence of American educational policy. The chapter discussed three specific theories in order to frame upcoming research. The three major theories reviewed were (a) garbage can theory, which suggested that political solutions had been created and were looking for problems to which to attach themselves; (b) punctuated equilibrium, which discussed stasis and dramatic policy change; and (c) rational choice, which specified that humans act in self-interest. By scaffolding these theories, a structure was created in order to begin questioning the isomorphism of military doctrine and American educational policy. In Chapter IV, an explanation of the methodology and procedures of this dissertation is presented.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to define the research that was conducted. In Chapter II, an overview of both the histories of American military conflict and American educational change were detailed. The chapter focused on several key pieces of legislation as well as several conflicts in American history. The chapter paid particular attention to six epochs throughout American history as demonstrative of the four theories discussed in Chapter III. Through the usage of garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium, and rational choice, a foundation was laid that created an opportunity for research with regard to military doctrine, educational policy, and presidential oratory.

In view of the fact that there is a substantial base of literature that pinpoints the late 1950s and the launch of Sputnik as the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy, this research examines the centuries prior. Accordingly, the purpose of this research was to examine presidential speeches to identify *if* military doctrine was used with regard to educational policy prior to the 1950s. The six epochs examined in Chapter II suggest that a trend may be evident and is worthy of examination.

The research calls into question the validity of generally agreed-upon assumptions (Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007) that the isomorphism of military doctrine

and American educational policy occurred in the late 1950s. Through presidential doctrine, the objective of this study was to determine whether presidential speeches can identify “punctuations” or “convergences” prior to the launch of Sputnik in the 1950s. There is no question that the marriage of military doctrine and educational policy has shaped American education; the true questions are when the convergence occurred (Mills, 2000; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003) and how it will impact American society (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003).

### **Research Approach**

A content analysis was conducted on significant presidential speeches from the late 1700s to the early 2000s. While particular attention and focus was placed upon the 20th century (1900-2000), the research was not limited to this timeframe and drew upon pre- and post-20th-century presidential speeches when applicable. A quantitative examination of presidential oratory through Nvivo 8.0 statistical software was conducted through the usage, and permission, of both the Library of Congress and the Miller Center’s digital archives of presidential speeches. These speeches were examined to identify language usage, specifically military doctrine and educational policy.

A qualitative examination of key presidential addresses and speeches was referenced through the lens of rhetoric. The research traveled from conceptual level to observational level by concentrating on rhetoric, military doctrine, executive orders, and federal educational policy. The research is explanatory and descriptive in nature. Several assumptions of the research were that presidential speeches do impact American

policy, military doctrine and educational policy did not converge prior to the late 1950s, and military doctrine is currently embedded in American educational policy.

### Statement of Hypotheses

This dissertation posed the following hypotheses:

1. Over a specified conflict periods there shall be correlation, in time, within identified presidential speeches between military terminology, as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense's *Dictionary of Military Terms* (2009), and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007).
2. Over time an increase in convergence between military terminology and educational terminology exists.
3. Military terminology shall precede the initiation of educational terminology.
4. Spatial "proximity" will be evident between military terminology and education terminology and will be significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise would be the case.

### Research Design

Content analyses are used when comparing communication as well as studying recorded human communication (Babbie, 2003). This research followed Krippendorff's (2004) six questions that must be addressed in content analysis:

1. Which data are analyzed?
2. How are they defined?
3. What is the population from which they are drawn?
4. What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed?
5. What are the boundaries of the analysis?



6. What is the target of the inferences? (p. 21)

By following Krippendorff's questions, this research tested the hypothesis that the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy occurred prior to the late 1950s through a correlational and comparative design. Significant presidential speeches, determined by both the Library of Congress and the Miller Center of Public Affairs in Virginia, were entered into a digital database in Nvivo 8.0 software. Presidential speeches were catalogued and coded by president, date, and address type. Frequencies were run in a content analysis in order to determine consistent language for two categories of lexicon: military and education.

Krippendorff's (2004) questions detailed the crux of the research and illuminated key areas of interest. Responses to these questions created a greater overall understanding of the research. Krippendorff's questions were answered, for the purposes of this research, as follows:

1. Which data are analyzed?
  - a. Speeches, text
2. How are they defined?
  - a. Significant presidential speeches from Presidents of the United States of America, past and present, as defined by the Library of Congress and the Miller Center
3. What is the population from which they are drawn?
  - a. American presidential speeches
4. What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed?

- a. Presidential speeches: examining policy convergence between military terminology and educational terminology through significant presidential rhetoric.
5. What are the boundaries of the analysis?
- a. This research only examines American presidential speeches. It does not examine other forms of literature including, but not limited to, press releases, informal speeches, written letters, speeches given during campaigns, speeches given post-presidency, or books written prior to or post-presidency.
6. What is the target of the inferences?
- a. To examine presidential oratory to determine salient linkages between the use of military terminology and educational policy;
  - b. To determine if convergence exists with regard to presidential military doctrine and American educational policy;
  - c. To determine what type of trend, if any, exists.

### **Measurement, Collection, and Analysis**

By examining presidential speeches, frequencies were run to determine terminology usage in two categories: military and education. Assumptions with regard to military terms included, but were not limited to, words and their variations by root, as defined by both the U.S. Department of Defense's (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms* and EdSource's (2007) *Glossary of Accountability Terms*.

Individual presidential speeches were scored according to the frequencies with which each used terms from military and/or educational categories. Speeches were examined in order to create frequency tables of commonly used words in order to determine correlations of military doctrine and educational policy. Presidential speeches that registered greater than one positive correlation of military doctrine and educational policy were recorded and studied further.

The six educational epochs, which include the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Homestead and Morrill Act of 1862, the GI Bill of 1944, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, identify significant time periods that were examined. Presidential speeches during conflict periods were categorized in “speech portfolios.” For the purposes of this study, speech portfolios are defined as speeches given by a president before, during, and after conflict periods. The educational epochs, their correlating conflict period, and current president are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

*Conflict Periods and Correlating Educational Epochs*

Educational epoch	Year	American conflict	Speech portfolio
Northwest Ordinance	1787	American Revolution	Washington
Homestead & Morrill Act	1862	U.S. Civil War	Lincoln
GI Bill	1944	WWII	Roosevelt
National Defense Education Act	1958	Sputnik	Eisenhower
ESEA	1965	Vietnam, Bay of Pigs	Kennedy & Johnson
NCLB	2001	9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq	G. W. Bush

By creating frequency categories for the speeches of presidential speeches, outlying exemplars were examined with regard to historical significance. Based upon preliminary data analysis comparing the speeches of George Washington and George W. Bush, it was found that educational terminology has increased over time in concordance with conflict periods. In Appendix A, the Conflict Period and Correlating Educational Epochs model is represented. The model chronologically represents the six educational epochs and the corresponding presidential speech portfolio.

Within the Conflict Period and Correlating Educational Epochs model (Appendix A) are presidential speech portfolios. This research posits that military terminology during conflict periods preceded educational terminology and subsequent federal policy change. Figure 1 is put forward to visually represent the relationship between military terms and education terms.

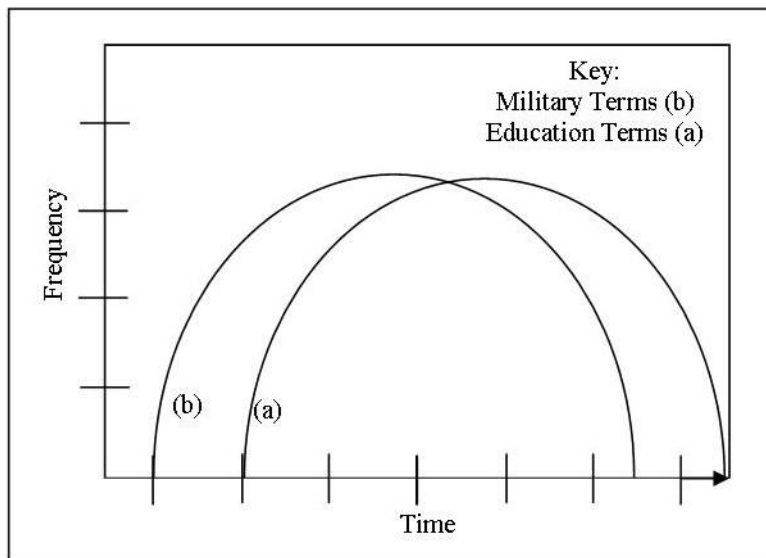


Figure 1. Proposed military and education terms model

In Table 3, the research is illustrated from conceptual level to observational level, detailing the usage of language, conceptual components, conceptual definitions, operational definitions, and observational levels.

Table 3

*Conceptual to Observational Levels*

Conceptual component	Rhetoric	Military doctrine	Executive orders	Federal educational policy
Conceptual definition	The ability to construct arguments for public support; forcing an agenda; persuasive monologue	A concise expression of how military forces contribute to the campaigns, major operations, battle, and engagements	Directive issued by the President of the United States	Federal, state, or local policy written into law or agreed-upon rule
Operational definition	Measurement of presidential speeches through Nvivo 8.0—examining the repetition of words and phrases was logged, measured, and presented	Measurement of presidential speeches through Nvivo 8.0—examining the repetition of terms such as safety, war, terror, defense, etc. was examined	Measurement of Executive Orders through Nvivo 8.0; examining / correlating military doctrine and education	Measurement of educational policy or written educational code (state or federal); run within Nvivo 8.0
Observational level	Nvivo 8.0—repetition of terms, phrases; chronologically displayed	Nvivo 8.0—repetition of military terms, phrases; chronologically displayed	Nvivo 8.0—examination of military doctrine, educational policy, & correlations—illustrated by chronological graphs	Nvivo 8.0—text of federal educational policy, in chronological order, illustrating correlations and a growing convergence

### **Limitations**

This research examined presidential speeches as instruments for measuring correlations of military doctrine and educational policy. While the research took into account historical events, only speeches identified as significant by either the Library of Congress or the Presidential Speech Archive at the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia were examined.

The research only examined presidential speeches given while in office. Additionally, several speech portfolios included party nomination speeches in order to establish trends; this is evident in the Kennedy Speech Portfolio. Speeches after leaving office were not included in this study. Only speeches that fall within educational epochs and conflict periods were examined. For the purposes of this study, only terminology as defined by the U.S. Department of Defense's (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms* and EdSource's (2007) *Glossary of Accountability Terms* was implemented to identify frequencies.

This research is grounded in the understanding that the American presidents, while having little true, written power in the language of the U.S. Constitution, do have great influential power while in office (Berube, 1991).

### **Conclusion**

This chapter detailed the dissertation study that was conducted. A substantial base of literature pinpoints the late 1950s and the launch of Sputnik as the convergence of military doctrine and American educational policy. This research suggests a counter-

thesis and posits a trend triggered by military terminology as predictive of educational policy change. Through a quantitative examination of presidential oratory, through Nvivo 8.0 software, frequencies were run to determine whether (a) convergence of military doctrine and educational policy exists, (b) convergence increases over time, and (c) convergence results in innovation of educational policy over time.

## CHAPTER V

### FINDINGS

#### **Introduction**

Chapter IV presented the methodology and procedures for conducting this dissertation research. The chapter began with an introduction and presentation of the significance of measuring presidential speeches, a description of the research approach, the statement of hypotheses, research design, and how the data were collected, measured, and analyzed. In Chapter V, the conducted research is presented and analyzed. Chapter V begins with an analysis of findings through each presidential speech portfolio and concludes with a summative discussion indicating a trend of convergence between military doctrine and educational terminology.

#### **Analysis of Findings**

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine presidential speeches in order to identify whether the instances of incorporation of military doctrine in the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) and the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) were exceptional cases or parts of a growing trend. After examining six speech portfolios of presidents during conflict periods, a trend emerged. Through the use of Nvivo and SPSS statistical software, significant presidential speeches, as identified by the Library of Congress and the Miller Center of Public Affairs, demonstrated similarities with regard to military and



educational doctrine. The usage of military doctrine and educational terminology was apparent in every presidential speech portfolio studied, and each followed a similar pattern of increased frequency.

Former U.S. Presidents George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and George W. Bush were identified as significant based upon two conditions: (a) they were president during significant American conflict periods, and (b) they were president leading up to and/or during federal educational policy. The significance of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862, and the GI Bill of 1944, preceding the NDEA of 1958, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, and the NCLB of 2001, was discussed in Chapter II as momentous with regard to federal educational policy.

### **Washington's Speech Portfolio**

In each of the significant federal changes with regard to educational policy, none preceded military conflict. However, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 did precede the inauguration of George Washington and his speech portfolio, beginning with his First Inaugural Address on April 30, 1789. Nevertheless, Washington's speech portfolio followed a similar pattern to each of his successors. In Washington's first three speeches—his First Inaugural Address on April 30, 1789; Thanksgiving Proclamation on October 3, 1789; and First Annual Message to Congress on January 8, 1790—emerged the beginnings of an isomorphic relationship between military doctrine and federal

educational policy. Washington’s speeches foreshadow subsequent speech patterns of all of the other presidents examined within this study. Figure 2 shows the frequencies of use of the U.S. Department of Defense’s (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms* and EdSource’s (2007) *Glossary of Accountability Terms* that were run against Washington’s first three speeches. The results concluded that an increase of educational terminology, signified by “EDUC” in the study, rose steadily as military doctrine, signified by “DOD” in the study, increased.

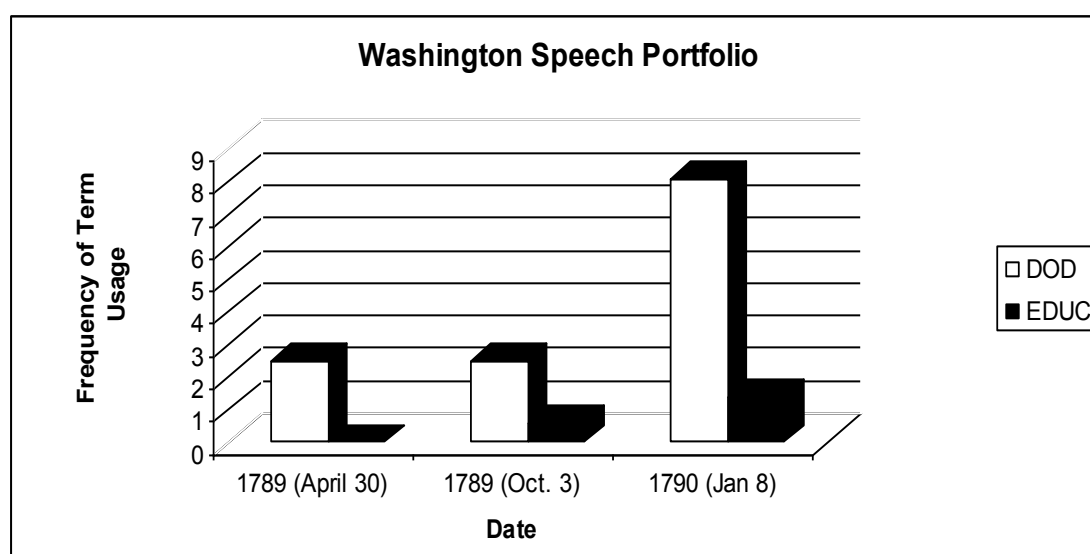


Figure 2. Washington speech portfolio

Illustrated in Figure 2 are former President George Washington’s first three speeches given while in office. In all, 156 speeches from 1789 to 2009 were examined. In each presidential speech portfolio, a trend that emerged in Washington’s first three speeches was carried throughout history. The convergence of military doctrine and

educational policy, however, was signified when educational terminology overtook military doctrine in speeches that were examined. The 21 speeches examined from George Washington within this study were the following:

1. First Inaugural Address (April 30, 1789)
2. Thanksgiving Proclamation (October 3, 1789)
3. First Annual Message to Congress (January 8, 1790)
4. Second Annual Message to Congress (December 8, 1790)
5. Talk to the Chiefs and Counselors of the Seneca Nation (December 29, 1790)
6. Third Annual Message to Congress (October 25, 1791)
7. Veto Message on Congressional Redistricting (April 5, 1792)
8. Fourth Annual Message to Congress (November 6, 1792)
9. Proclamation Against Crimes Against the Cherokee Nations (December 12, 1792)
10. Second Inaugural Address (March 4, 1793)
11. Proclamation of Neutrality (April 22, 1793)
12. Fifth Annual Message to Congress (December 3, 1793)
13. Proclamation against Opposition to Execution of Laws and Excise Duties in Western Pennsylvania (August 7, 1794)
14. Proclamation of Militia Service (September 25, 1794)
15. Sixth Annual Message to Congress (November 19, 1794)
16. Proclamation of Pardons in Western Pennsylvania (July 10, 1795)
17. Seventh Annual Message to Congress (December 8, 1795)

18. Message to the House of Representatives, Declining to Submit Diplomatic

Instructions and Correspondence (March 30, 1796)

19. Talk to the Cherokee Nation (August 29, 1796)

20. Farewell Address (September 19, 1796)

21. Eighth Annual Message to Congress (December 7, 1796)

The raw data resulting from George Washington's speeches are listed in Table 4.

The dates on which the speech was given and the raw DOD and EDUC percentages are listed in accordance to the appropriate speech. The results concluded that, while intermittent, EDUC percentages rose in agreement with DOD percentages.

Table 4

*Washington DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1789 (April 30)	2.5	0
1789 (Oct 3)	2.5	0.6
1790 (Jan 8)	8.1	1.4
1790 (Dec 8)	10.91	1
1790 (Dec 29)	6.6	0
1791 (Oct 25)	5.5	0
1792 (April 5)	6	0.6
1792 (Nov 6)	17	0
1792 (Dec 12)	12.58	0.6
1793 (March 4)	9.64	0.6
1793 (April 22)	7.3	0.5
1793 (Dec 3)	11.64	0
1794 (Aug 7)	4	0
1794 (Sept 25)	8.7	0
1794 (Nov 19)	2.8	0
1795 (July 10)	4.4	0.5
1795 (Dec 8)	6.7	0
1796 (March 30)	7.4	0.5
1796 (Aug 29)	2.6	0.6
1796 (Sept 19)	4.3	0
1796 (Dec 7)	10.84	0

Within Table 4 emerge ebbs and flows of military and educational doctrine throughout Washington’s speeches. Significant rises in DOD percentages, as in the “Proclamation Against Crimes Against the Cherokee Nations” speech on December 12, 1792, signify increased military doctrine during conflict periods. Nonetheless, statistically the concordance of the ebb and flow with regard to DOD and EDUC terms is noteworthy. In Figure 3, a comparative graph illustrates Washington’s first six speeches. The EDUC percentages, while lower in frequency, mirror the DOD percentages.

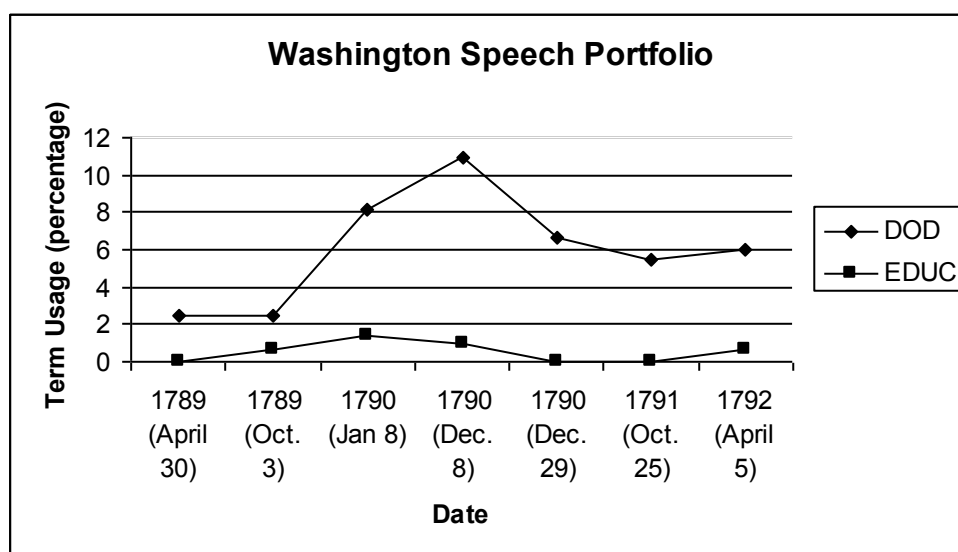


Figure 3. Washington DOD/EDUC speech portfolio

The increases in military terminology (DOD term usage) from 1789-1791, as shown in Figure 3, occur during the era of the Chikamonga Wars, Northwest Indian

Wars, and Shays' Rebellion; the increases in educational terminology (EDUC term usage) occurring during this same era correlate to Epoch I, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

### **Lincoln's Speech Portfolio**

During the mid-1860s, America was amidst civil war. From 1861-1865, an historic war was fought between the United States, often referred to as the Union, and 11 Southern states, which had declared their right to secede from the Union and had formed the Confederate States of America. Lincoln's speech portfolio data indicate an increase in DOD terminology usage in the years leading up to the war and during the war.

Additionally, as in the case with the George Washington speech portfolio, a "mirroring" of the ebb and flow of military doctrine and educational terminology came into sight. In Table 5 is the raw data extracted from the following speeches of Abraham Lincoln:

1. Eulogy on Henry Clay (July 6, 1852)
2. At Peoria, Illinois (October 16, 1854)
3. "A House Divided" Speech (June 16, 1858)
4. Cooper Union Address (February 27, 1860)
5. Farewell Address (February 11, 1861)
6. First Inaugural Address (March 4, 1861)
7. July 4th Message to Congress (July 4, 1861)
8. First Annual Message (December 3, 1861)
9. Second Annual Message (December 1, 1862)

10. Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863)
11. Public Letter to James Conkling (August 26, 1863)
12. Gettysburg Address (November 19, 1863)
13. Third Annual Message (December 8, 1863)
14. Fourth Annual Message (December 6, 1864)
15. Second Inaugural Address (March 4, 1865)

Table 5

*Lincoln DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1854 (Oct 16)	2.8	4.5
1858 (June 16)	18.3	7.8
1860 (Feb 27)	12.5	4.1
1861 (March 4)	18.9	7.3
1861 (July 4)	13.1	10.7
1861 (Dec 3)	4.2	4.3
1862 (Dec 1)	6.9	10.1
1863 (Jan 1)	18.9	4
1863 (Aug 26)	10.5	10.2
1863 (Nov 19)	17.9	10
1863 (Dec 8)	4.3	8.3
1864 (Dec 6)	5	8.2
1865 (March 4)	15.9	10.2

Prior to and during the Civil War, Lincoln's speech portfolio indicates a steady pattern of increased DOD terminology. During the war, however, speeches indicate a balance of military doctrine and educational terminology. On average, 11.48% of every speech given during his presidency directly related to military and defense. Additionally,

7.67% of speeches given during the same period by Lincoln were identified as educational. In Figure 4, Lincoln's military doctrine usage is presented.

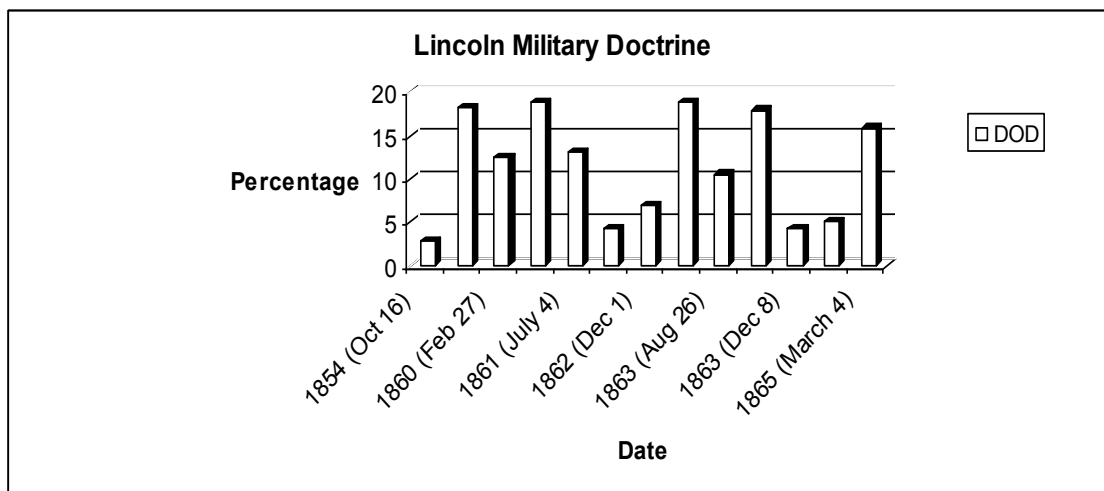


Figure 4. Lincoln's military doctrine (1854-1865)

The ebb and flow of military doctrine during conflict periods illustrates an understanding of populations and audiences during this time. Speeches made were balanced and informative, with language that reminded people of the severity of their situation. The two speeches with the highest percentage of military doctrine discovered during the study were the Cooper Union Address of 1860 and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. However, when only examining speeches made during Lincoln's presidency (1861-1865), the highest percentage of military doctrine is evident in his First Inaugural Address on March 4, 1861, with nearly 20% of his speech being dedicated to military doctrine.



While minimal, the 7.67% of terminology dedicated to education evident in Lincoln's speech portfolio represents an increase over Washington's 0.33%. In addition, Lincoln's speech portfolio represented an increase in military doctrine as well—Washington averaged 7.24% of his speech portfolio as military doctrine and Lincoln averaged 11.48%. In Figure 5, Washington and Lincoln's speech portfolio averages are compared and illustrate an overall increase in both DOD and EDUC usage.

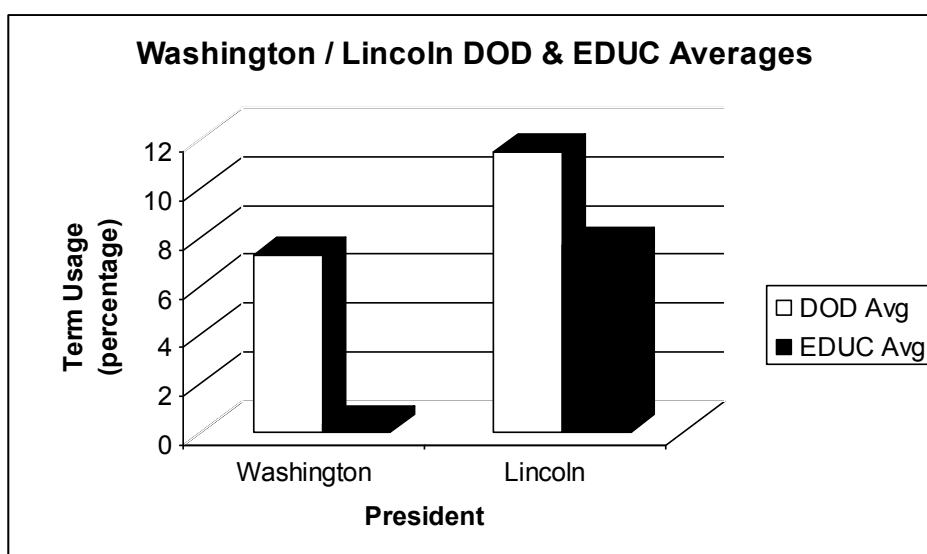


Figure 5. Washington/Lincoln DOD and EDUC averages during presidency

While this research examined speeches made during the presidency, Lincoln's presidential speech portfolio would not have resulted in enough examinable speeches to produce valid and/or reliable data. As a result, Lincoln's speech portfolio was extended to include the years prior to inauguration, and this increased the cases within the speech portfolio. Consequently, when examining the speeches leading up to Lincoln's

inauguration and the U.S. Civil War, a nearly identical speech pattern emerged. In Figure 6, three speeches—“A House Divided” on June 16, 1858; the “Cooper Union Address” on February 27, 1860; and Lincoln’s “First Inaugural Address” on March 4, 1861—produced results confirming EDUC terminology mirroring DOD terminology.

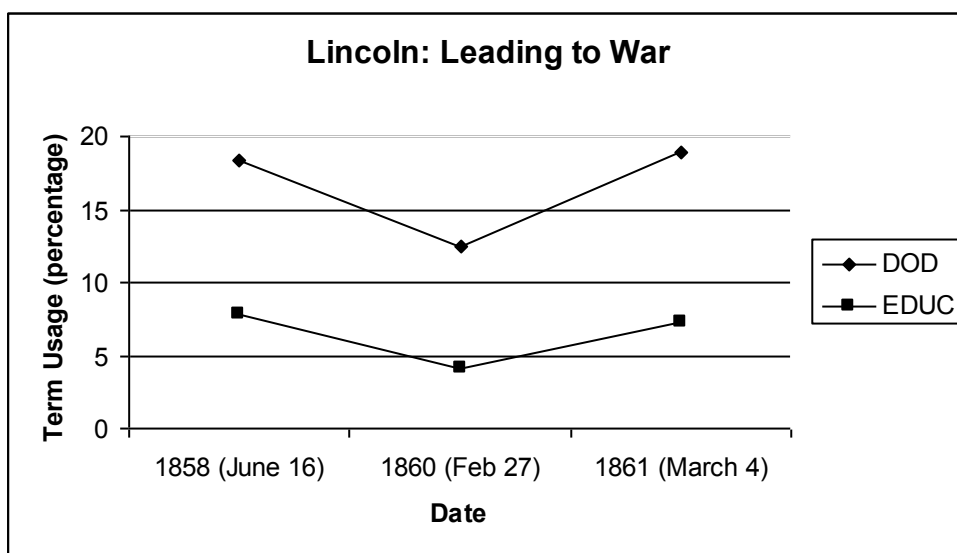


Figure 6. Lincoln DOD/EDUC usage prior to war

Figure 6 illustrates a relationship between military doctrine and educational terminology. For the purposes of this study, this research questioned whether military terminology would precede the initiation of educational terminology. In Figure 7, the first five speeches of Abraham Lincoln were examined, and the frequencies of DOD and EDUC were charted. Isomorphism occurs between 1861 and 1862, correlating with the enactment of Epoch II, the Homestead and Morrill Acts of 1862.

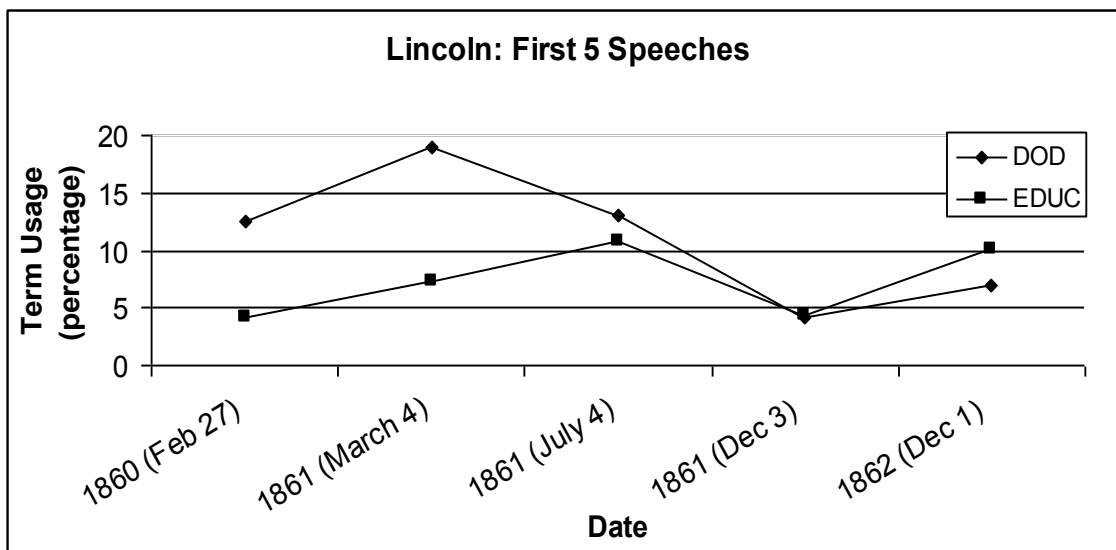


Figure 7. Lincoln’s first five speeches—DOD and EDUC isomorphism

The data conclude that, in the case of Lincoln’s speech portfolio, (a) specified conflict periods correlate, in time, with identified presidential speeches containing both military terminology, as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense’s (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms*, and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007); (b) over time, an increase in convergence between military terminology and educational terminology exists; (c) military terminology precedes the initiation of educational terminology; and (d) spatial “proximity” (illustrated in Figure 5) is evident between military and educational terminology and is significantly closer for speeches during conflict periods (illustrated in Figure 7).

### **Roosevelt's Speech Portfolio**

Franklin Roosevelt's presidency falls during Epoch III, the GI Bill of 1944, and during World War II (1939-1945). Roosevelt, whose first of four presidential terms began in 1933, signifies the final epoch prior to what is considered the convergence of military doctrine and federal educational policy (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007). Roosevelt's speech portfolio contained 49 speeches. The speeches examined for this study include the following:

1. First Inaugural Address (March 4, 1933)
2. Fireside Chat 1: On the Banking Crisis (March 12, 1933)
3. Fireside Chat 2: On Progress During the First Two Months (May 7, 1933)
4. Fireside Chat 3: On the National Recovery Administration (July 24, 1933)
5. Fireside Chat 4: On Economic Progress (October 22, 1933)
6. Fireside Chat 5: On Addressing the Critics (June 28, 1934)
7. Fireside Chat 6: On Government and Capitalism (September 30, 1934)
8. Fireside Chat 7: On the Works Relief Program and Social Security Act (April 28, 1935)
9. Democratic National Convention (June 27, 1936)
10. Fireside Chat 8: On Farmers and Laborers (September 6, 1936)
11. Speech at Madison Square Garden (October 31, 1936)
12. Second Inaugural Address (January 20, 1937)
13. Fireside Chat 9: On "Court-Packing" (March 9, 1937)
14. Quarantine Speech (October 5, 1937)

15. Fireside Chat 10: On New Legislation (October 12, 1937)
16. Fireside Chat 11: On the Unemployment Census (November 14, 1937)
17. Fireside Chat 12: On the Recession (April 14, 1938)
18. Fireside Chat 13: On Purging the Democratic Party (June 24, 1938)
19. Dedication of a Memorial to the Northwest Territory (July 8, 1938)
20. Fireside Chat 14: On the European War (September 3, 1939)
21. Fireside Chat 15: On National Defense (May 26, 1940)
22. “Stab in the Back” Speech (June 10, 1940)
23. Democratic National Convention (July 19, 1940)
24. Fireside Chat 16: On the “Arsenal of Democracy” (December 29, 1940)
25. State of the Union (Four Freedoms) (January 6, 1941)
26. Third Inaugural Address (January 20, 1941)
27. On Lend Lease (March 15, 1941)
28. Fireside Chat 17: On An Unlimited National Emergency (May 27, 1941)
29. Fireside Chat 18: On The Greer Incident (September 11, 1941)
30. Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War (December 8, 1941)
31. Fireside Chat 19: On the War with Japan (December 9, 1941)
32. Message to Congress Requesting War Declarations with Germany and Italy  
(December 11, 1941)
33. Fireside Chat 20: On the Progress of the War (February 23, 1942)
34. Fireside Chat 21: On Sacrifice (April 28, 1942)
35. Fireside Chat 22: On Inflation and Food Prices (September 7, 1942)

36. Fireside Chat 23: On the Home Front (October 12, 1942)
37. State of the Union Address (January 7, 1943)
38. Fireside Chat 24: On the Coal Crisis (May 2, 1943)
39. Fireside Chat 25: On the Fall of Mussolini (July 28, 1943)
40. Fireside Chat 26: On the Armistice in Italy (September 8, 1943)
41. The Tehran Declaration (December 1, 1943)
42. Fireside Chat 27: On the Tehran and Cairo Conferences (December 24, 1943)
43. Fireside Chat 28: On the State of the Union (January 11, 1944)
44. Fireside Chat 29: On the Fall of Rome (June 5, 1944)
45. Fireside Chat 30: Opening Fifth War Loan Drive (June 12, 1944)
46. Democratic National Convention (July 20, 1944)
47. Fourth Inaugural Address (January 20, 1945)
48. Joint Statement with Churchill and Stalin on the Yalta Conference (February 11, 1945)
49. Address to Congress on Yalta (March 1, 1945)

The GI Bill in the United States signified a change in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR's) tone as an impending second world war neared. The creation of a separate society for the military that included special privileges, discounts, and/or services became law (Axt, 1952; Hyman, 1986; Miner, 2004). The rewarding of military service was not new to global powers, as Roman warriors and the tales of Homer's *Odyssey* had done so in previous centuries. Yet, the United States, from Wilson to Hoover, had "blocked money bonuses for them [soldiers]" (Hyman, 1986, p. 63). FDR

went so far as to state “that no person, because he wore a uniform, must thereafter be placed in a special class of beneficiaries over and above all other citizens” (Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986, p. 64). The United States had distinguished itself from the military analects and glorification of soldiers—until 1944.

FDR’s support of what was eventually to become the GI Bill of 1944 included sweeping changes and “provisions for reemployment, unemployment compensation, social security, education, and loan guarantees for homes, farms, and businesses” for military veterans (Hyman, 1986, p. 64). Incentives were abundant, but no success was greater than that of the encouragement and subsidization of education (Miner, 2004; Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986). FDR’s speech portfolio reveals that his shift toward the supporting of the GI Bill was not drastic, as suggested by some researchers (Axt, 1952; Miner, 2004; Ward, 1985, as cited in Hyman, 1986), but incremental in the years leading to WWII. Figure 8 illustrates the increase in educational terminology FDR used in the years leading to the GI Bill of 1944.

During FDR’s four-term presidency, spanning from 1933-1945, he amassed 49 significant speeches that were analyzed in this study. The raw DOD and EDUC percentages for FDR’s speeches are shown in Table 6.

FDR’s speech portfolio correlates to both Washington and Lincoln’s speech portfolios with regard to the mirroring of DOD and EDUC terminology usage. In Figure 9, Roosevelt’s speeches from 1933-1934 were analyzed in order to examine potential trends at the beginning of his presidency. What resulted was an increase of convergence between military and educational terminology over time.

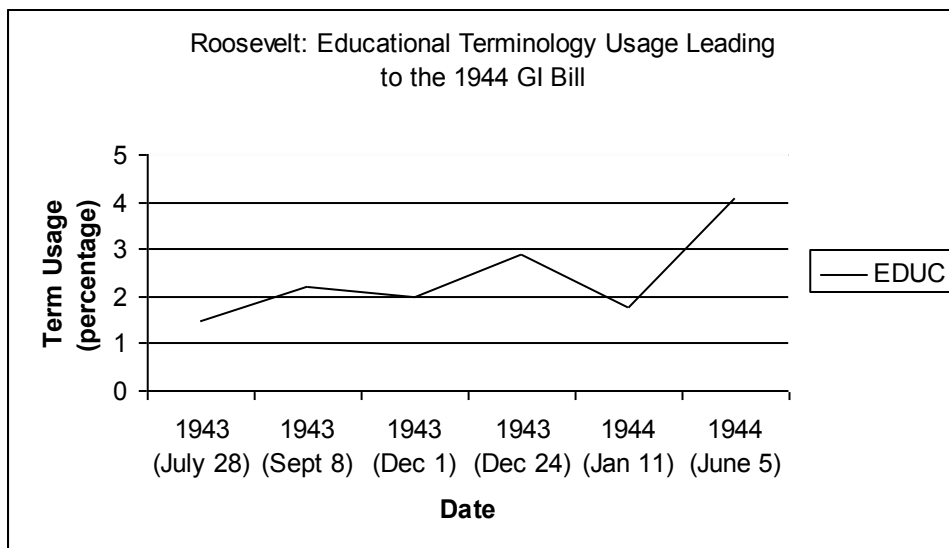


Figure 8. Roosevelt's EDUC usage leading to the 1944 GI Bill

Additionally, FDR's speeches from 1943-1944 were analyzed in order to examine potential trends prior to the 1944 GI Bill. What resulted was (a) an increase of convergence between military and educational terminology over time, and (b) a decrease in spatial proximity between military and educational terminology prior to federal educational policy change. Figure 10 illustrates a convergence of military doctrine and educational terminology, as well as educational terminology overtaking military terminology during the year the 1944 GI Bill was enacted.



Table 6

*FDR's DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1933 (Mar 4)	0	2.6
1933 (Mar 12)	4.1	2.2
1933 (May 7)	4.4	2.1
1933 (July 24)	3.5	3.2
1933 (Oct 22)	7.3	2.4
1934 (June 28)	7.3	5.6
1934 (Sept 30)	3.1	3.5
1935 (April 28)	0	2.4
1936 (Oct 31)	7.9	3.3
1937 (Jan 20)	4.6	2.6
1936 (Sept. 6)	9.8	3.5
1937 (Jan 20)	4.1	3.8
1937 (March 9)	3.9	2.4
1937 (Oct 5)	5.8	2.2
1937 (Oct 12)	4.9	1.2
1937 (Nov 14)	10.5	3.5
1938 (April 14)	0	3.2
1938 (June 24)	1.3	1.6
1938 (July 8)	6.1	3.4
1939 (Sept 3)	2.7	2.4
1940 (May 26)	4.4	1.3
1940 (June 10)	5.1	3.1
1940 (July 19)	0	1.2
1940 (Dec 29)	0	1.2
1941 (Jan 6)	11.9	1.5
1941 (Jan 20)	3.6	3.4
1941 (March 15)	0	1.4
1941 (May 27)	4.4	3.9
1941 (Sept 11)	11.5	2.2
1941 (Dec 8)	8.4	2
1941 (Dec 9)	2.5	2.1
1941 (Dec 11)	11.9	2
1942 (Feb 23)	7.6	2.8
1942 (April 28)	0	2.2
1942 (Sept 7)	0	2.2
1942 (Oct 12)	8.8	1.8
1943 (Jan 7)	2	3.1
1943 (May 2)	21.2	3.6
1943 (July 28)	0	1.5
1943 (Sept 8)	6.2	2.2
1943 (Dec 1)	12	2
1943 (Dec 24)	5.5	2.9
1944 (Jan 11)	0	1.8
1944 (June 5)	5.7	4.1
1944 (June 12)	4.7	2.6

Table 6 (continued)

Date	DOD	EDUC
1944 (July 20)	7.3	1.9
1945 (Jan 20)	8.3	3.6
1945 (Feb 11)	9.9	1.5
1945 (March 1)	0	1.6

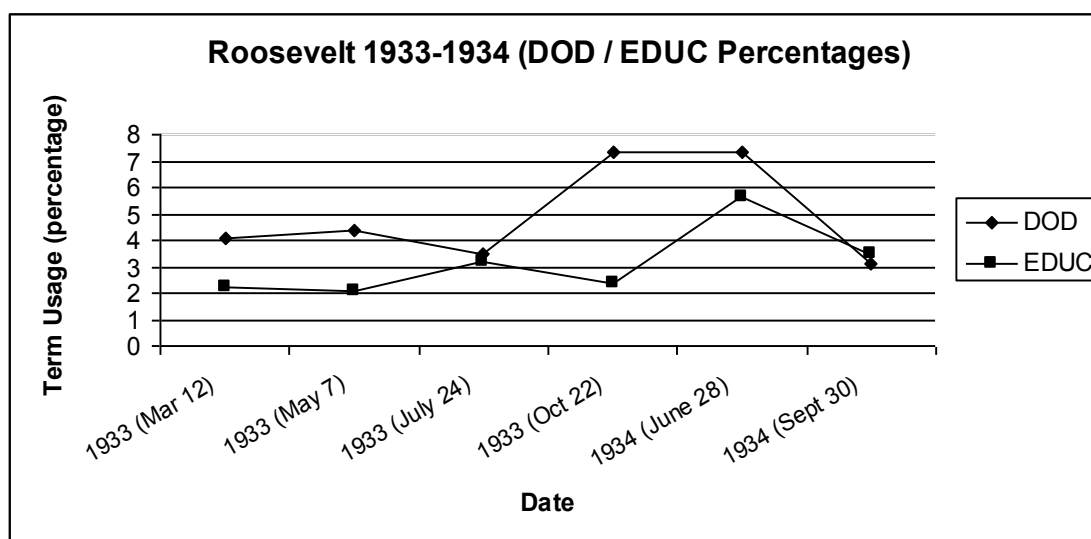


Figure 9. FDR's speeches, 1933-1934 (DOD/EDUC percentages)

FDR's speech portfolio data resulted in (a) the incorporation of educational terminology into military doctrine in nontrivial ways; (b) an increased convergence between presidential rhetoric and policy doctrine linking military and educational initiatives; (c) military terminology preceding, in real time, the initiation of educational terminology in presidential speeches; and (d) spatial "proximity" between military terminology and education terminology that was significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods.

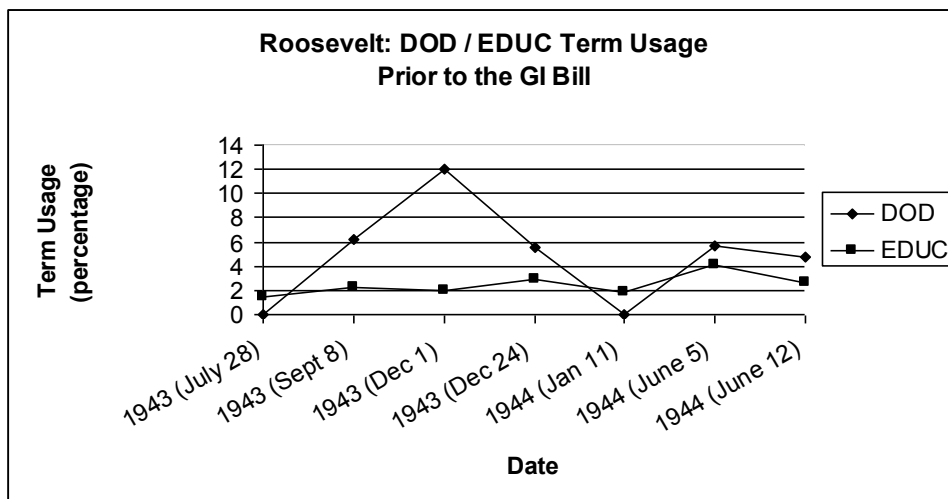


Figure 10. FDR's DOD/EDUC term usage prior to the GI Bill

### Eisenhower's Speech Portfolio

Dwight David Eisenhower's speech portfolio, in relationship to others examined in this study, was limited. Eisenhower's speech portfolio spanned Epoch IV, the 1957 launch of Sputnik and the 1958 NDEA. Eisenhower's presidency and the enactment of the NDEA in 1958 is arguably the moment when the federal government fused military doctrine and American educational policy (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007). However, with reference to the three previous epochs, speech portfolios from Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt, were the events that led to the NDEA of 1958 part of an isolated incident or a growing trend in American history?

Eisenhower's speech portfolio contains six speeches from 1953 to 1961. The speeches examined during this study were the following:

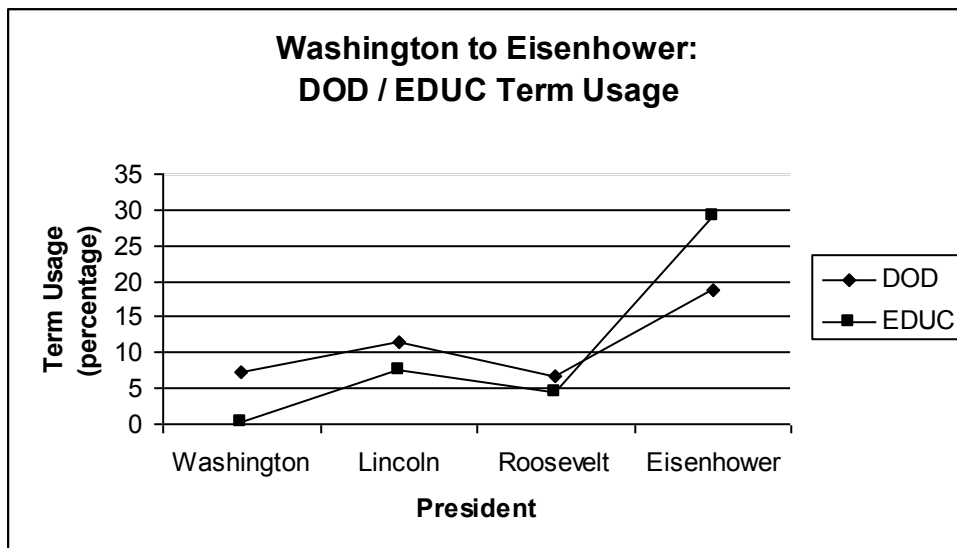
1. First Inaugural Address (January 20, 1953)

2. Chance for Peace (April 16, 1953)
3. Atoms for Peace (December 8, 1953)
4. Republican National Convention (August 23, 1956)
5. Eisenhower Doctrine (January 5, 1957)
6. Farewell Address (January 17, 1961)

The raw data extracted from Eisenhower's speech portfolio reveal that, of the presidential speech portfolios examined prior, Eisenhower's speeches, in every case, have increased educational terminology versus military doctrine. Moreover, while a trend does exist of increased educational terminology in the years leading to the NDEA of 1958, Eisenhower's speech portfolio and data suggest that Eisenhower dedicated more of his speeches toward educational terminology than toward military doctrine. These facts, coupled with the NDEA, are reasonable indicators for the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy at the federal level suggested by Berube (1991), Clowse (1981), Kuypers (1997), and Telzrow (2007). However, Eisenhower's speech portfolio alone cannot indicate the trends prior to his inauguration in 1953. An analysis of the Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt speech portfolios leading to Eisenhower and the 1958 NDEA exemplifies an incremental trend over centuries versus the commonly conceived notion of cataclysmic policy change.

In Figure 11, the convergence of military doctrine and educational terminology is shown. As discussed in the previous three speech portfolios, EDUC terminology, while less frequent in Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt's speech portfolios, mirrors DOD terminology usage and frequency. The convergence occurs prior to the Eisenhower

presidency and continues throughout his terms in office. Additionally, Eisenhower's speech portfolio is the first instance where EDUC frequency surpasses DOD frequency over an entire speech portfolio.



*Figure 11.* Washington to Eisenhower: DOD/EDUC term usage

Eisenhower's focus on education was clear prior to his presidency. In Table 7, Eisenhower's speech portfolio reverses a trend indicative of Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt's speech portfolios—Eisenhower's terminology frequencies indicate an increased occurrence of educational terminology. In all but two of Eisenhower's six speeches, educational terminology is used twice as frequently as military terminology.

Table 7

*Eisenhower's DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1953 First Inaugural Address (Jan 20)	15.7	38.4
1953 Chance for Peace (April 16)	16.6	27.1
1953 Atoms for Peace (Dec 8)	8.5	26.9
1956 Republican National Convention (Aug 23)	18.4	16.7
1957 Eisenhower Doctrine (Jan 5)	14.5	26.6
1961 Farewell Address (Jan 17)	39.1	39.6

Eisenhower placed education at the center of American politics and national security. However, the president's speech portfolio indicates that prior to the launch of Sputnik and during the Cold War, education was a top priority. Furthermore, Eisenhower's speech portfolio continues a trend toward the increased usage of educational terminology in presidential speech portfolios.

Eisenhower's speech portfolio, while limited in quantity, confirms both the suggestions that the year 1958 and the launch of Sputnik were indicators of federal involvement in education and that educational terminology has increased over time. Eisenhower's speech portfolio demonstrates that spatial "proximity" between military and educational terminology becomes significantly closer during conflict periods than would otherwise be the case, and that military terminology precedes the initiation of educational terminology prior to educational change at the federal level.

### **Kennedy and Johnson's Speech Portfolios**

Due to the assassination of John F. Kennedy during his first term in office, the speech portfolios of Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson are both discussed during Epoch V

and in reference to the ESEA of 1965. Both speech portfolios were housed and run separately during the research, but are discussed together to drawn uniformity within Epoch V. Kennedy's speech portfolio's raw data are detailed in Table 8, and Johnson's in Table 9.

Table 8

*Kennedy's DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1960 Acceptance of the Democratic Party Nomination (July 15)	3.3	8.7
1960 Address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association (Sept 12)	15.8	7.8
1961 "City Upon a Hill" Speech (Jan 9)	18.9	10.9
1961 Inaugural Address (Jan 20)	24.9	11.1
1961 Establishment of the Peace Corps (March 1)	35.5	7.7
1961 Special Message to the Congress on Taxation (April 20)	2	6
1961 "President and the Press" Speech (April 27)	7.4	7.8
1961 The Goal of Sending a Man to the Moon (May 25)	11.1	9.9
1961 University of Washington's 100 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary (Nov 16)	10.8	8.7
1962 Yale University Commencement (June 11)	10.6	5.2
1962 Address on the Space Effort (Sept 12)	12.8	14.8
1962 Address on the Buildup of Arms in Cuba (Oct 22)	17.1	10.8
1963 90th Anniversary of Vanderbilt University (May 18)	18.2	10.9
1963 American University Commencement (June 10)	16.2	5
1963 Address on Civil Rights (June 11)	19.5	11.5
1963 "Ich bin ein Berliner" Speech (June 26)	16.5	7.2
1963 Address on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (July 26)	7.8	11.5
1963 Address at the Mormon Tabernacle (Sept 26)	3.1	10.2
1963 Remarks at Amherst College (Oct 26)	8.1	10.1

The Kennedy/Johnson speech portfolios occur during Epoch V, the Vietnam War, the Bay of Pigs conflict, and the ESEA of 1965. Kennedy's first five speeches examined during this study revealed a shift from military and educational terminology examined in previous speech portfolios. For example, in Kennedy's acceptance of the Democratic Party Nomination (Speech 01 in Figure 12) on July 15, 1960, EDUC term usage nearly

triples DOD term usage. However, once the nomination was accepted, military term usage steadily increased into and beyond the Inaugural Address on January 20, 1961.

Table 9

*Johnson's DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
1963 Remarks at Gettysburg on Civil Rights (May 30)	5.4	6.4
1963 Address to Joint Session of Congress (Nov 27)	1.8	6.8
1963 Thanksgiving Message (Nov 28)	10	5.1
1963 Address to the U.N. General Assembly (Dec 17)	15.7	5.9
1964 State of the Union (Jan 8)	12.3	6.4
1964 Remarks at the Ninety Sixth Charter Day Observances (Feb 21)	5.5	8.1
1964 Speech to the Associated Press Luncheon (April 20)	0	2.5
1964 Remarks at the University of Michigan (May 22)	11.3	7.2
1964 Remarks upon Signing the Civil Rights Bill (July 2)	6.8	5.8
1964 Report on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident (Aug 4)	33.9	1.9
1964 Acceptance Speech at the Democratic National Convention (Aug 27)	11.1	7.2
1964 Speech at the Jung Hotel, New Orleans (Oct 9)	5.5	5.1
1964 Report to the Nation on Events in China and the USSR (Oct 18)	5.4	5.8
1965 State of the Union (Jan 4)	9.5	8.7
1965 Inaugural Address (Jan 20)	4.2	5.8
1965 Speech Before Congress on Voting Rights (March 15)	1.6	6.5
1965 Address at Johns Hopkins University (April 7)	4.5	3.9
1965 Statement on Sending Troops to the Dominican Republic (April 28)	16.1	1.9
1965 Report on the Situation in the Dominican Republic (May 2)	5.4	3.7
1965 Remarks at the Howard University Commencement (June 4)	1.3	4.1
1965 Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the U.N. Charter (June 25)	31	8.3
1965 Remarks on the Signing of the Voting Rights Act (Aug 6)	9.6	4.1
1966 State of the Union (Jan 12)	0	7.6
1966 Speech on U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia (July 12)	9	5.3
1966 Remarks on the Creation of the Department of Transportation (Oct 15)	8.6	4
1967 State of the Union Address (Jan 10)	0	6.5
1967 Address After Ordering Federal Troops to Detroit, Michigan (July 24)	30.8	3.6
1967 Speech to the Nation on Civil Disorders (July 27)	6.4	2.8
1967 Speech on Vietnam (Sept 29)	1.6	4.5
1968 State of the Union Address (Jan 17)	3.3	6.6
1968 Remarks on Decision not to Seek Re-Election (March 31)	3.4	2
1968 Remarks on Signing the Civil Rights Act (April 11)	7.2	5.4
1968 Remarks on Signing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (July 1)	15.8	4.2
1968 Remarks on the Cessation of Bombing of North Vietnam (Oct 30)	1.7	5.4
1969 State of the Union Address (Jan 14)	8.9	6.3



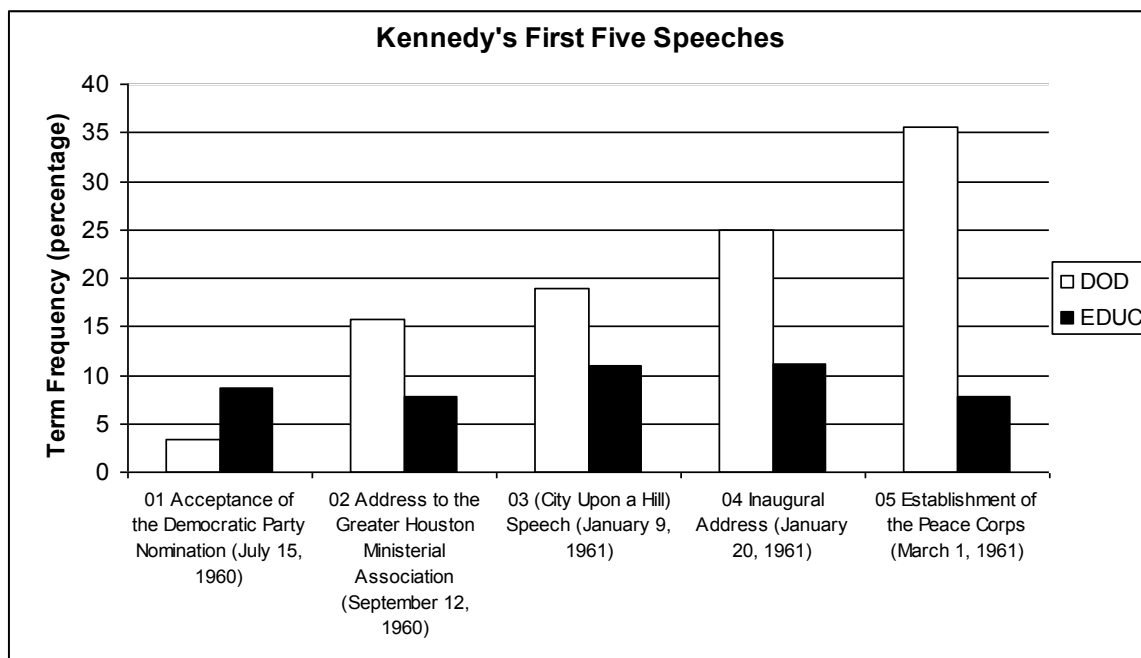


Figure 12. Kennedy's first five speeches

### Predicting DOD and EDUC Terminology

According to data collected from Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Kennedy's speech portfolios, the difference between DOD and EDUC terminology usage ranged from 32% to 33%. The usage of DOD terminology in the study determined the EDUC terminology at the 99th percentile for Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Kennedy. The average percentage of DOD terminology used during a presidency could determine the average percentage of EDUC terminology through the use of this formula:  $n - 33.5\% = x$ , where  $n$  = DOD average and  $x$  = EDUC average. In concordance, the formula produced results in the 99th percentile in reverse as well. If solving for DOD terminology averages, the

following formula was used:  $x + 33.5\% = n$ , where  $n = \text{DOD average}$  and  $x = \text{EDUC average}$ . The results are presented in Figure 13.

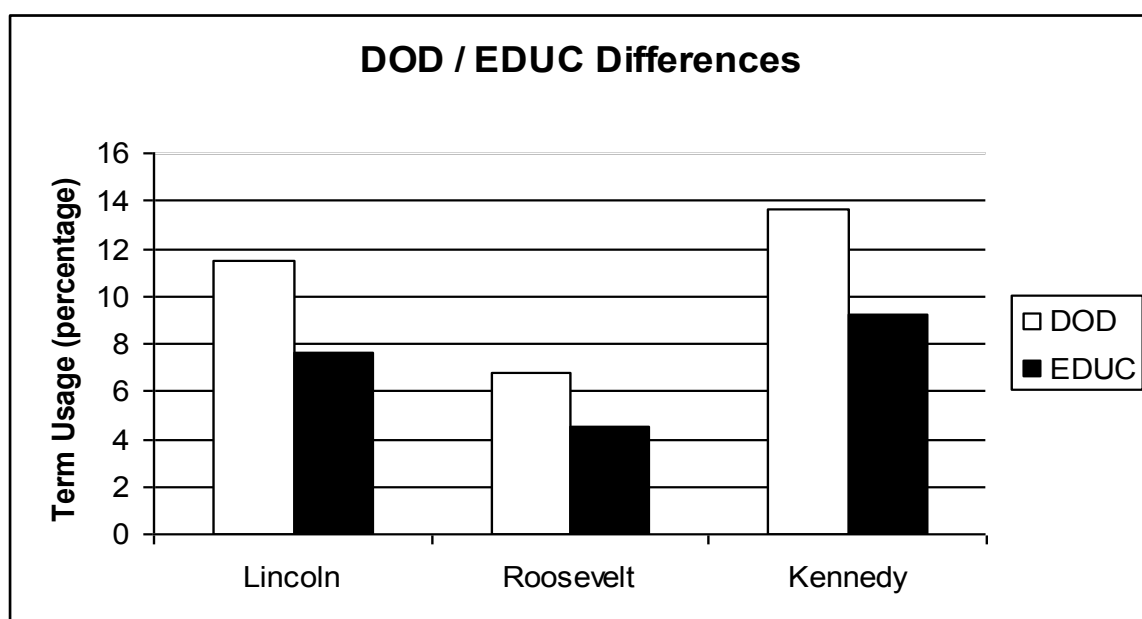


Figure 13. Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Kennedy: DOD/EDUC differences

The ability to predict the usage of terminology based upon other terminology in a speech portfolio was an unexpected outcome of the investigation. In speech portfolios where EDUC usage was greater than DOD usage, the formulas were correct in predicting outcomes at the 95th percentile. In Eisenhower's speech portfolio, an average of 29.22% of speeches examined registered as EDUC frequencies; 18.8% registered as DOD frequencies. When examining Eisenhower's speech portfolio, speeches resulted in a raw difference of 10.42% and a scaled difference of +/-36% dependent upon the variable of DOD or EDUC. Therefore, with regard to speech portfolios where EDUC terminology

averages were greater than DOD terminology averages, the formula extracted was:  $x - 36\% = n$ , where  $x = \text{EDUC average}$  and  $n = \text{DOD average}$ . For the purposes of this study, these formulas are potential indicators for future study and are discussed in the conclusions and recommendations for future study.

### **Predicting Military Conflict**

Speech portfolios were also valuable predictors of military conflicts. With regard to every speech portfolio examined, including speech portfolios where military conflicts were the result of catastrophic single events, speech portfolios illuminated a trend prior to the waging of war. For example, while the conflict in Vietnam gained recognition in the United States for years prior to 1961, Kennedy's speeches from July 15, 1960, to March 1, 1961, indicate a steady increase in DOD terminology frequency. Figure 14 illustrates an increase in military doctrine leading to American involvement in the Vietnam War.

With regard to every speech portfolio, military conflicts were preceded by presidential increases in DOD terminology usage. For the purposes of this study, an assessment of military predictors was not intended, but it created valuable data that may be useful to future research. As such, George W. Bush's speech portfolio was run against the same parameters as Kennedy's; the results correlated at the 95th percentile. In examining the 1960s Vietnam conflict, an increase in military term usage is rational.

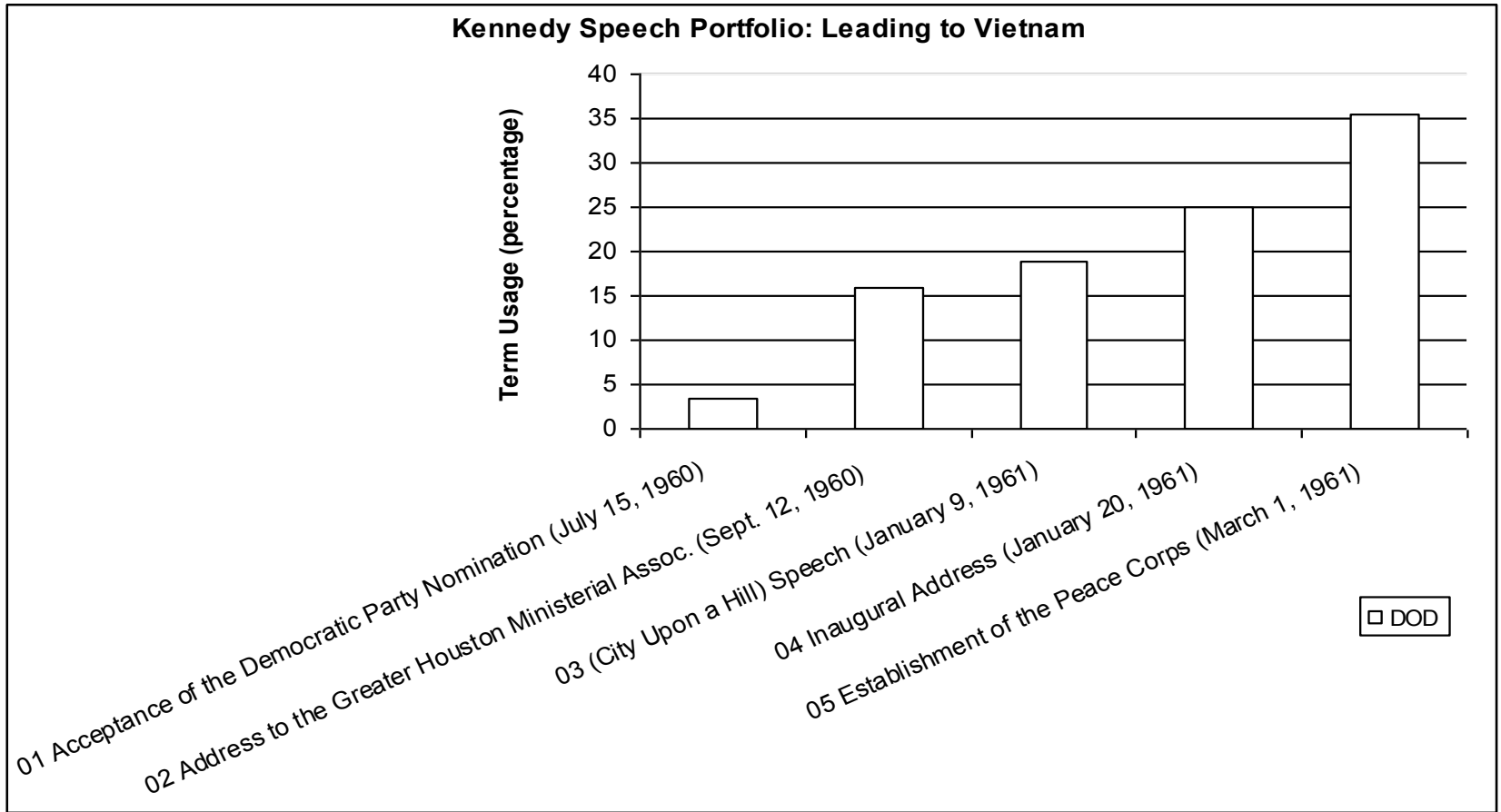


Figure 14. Kennedy speeches leading to Vietnam (DOD usage prior to war)

However, during military peacetime, the increases in DOD terminology extracted within the Bush speech portfolio are unreasonable (Figure 15). If the military conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan were the result of a single cataclysmic event (September 11), why were the results of the Bush speech portfolio in line with speech portfolios of the past that indicated a continued increase, over time, of military terminology usage prior to military conflict? It is only recently that researchers have begun to systematically examine the effects of September 11 on American involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. These results pose questions that, for the scope of this study, cannot be answered. However, the results of every speech portfolio adhere to a systematic increase of DOD terminology usage prior to military conflict.

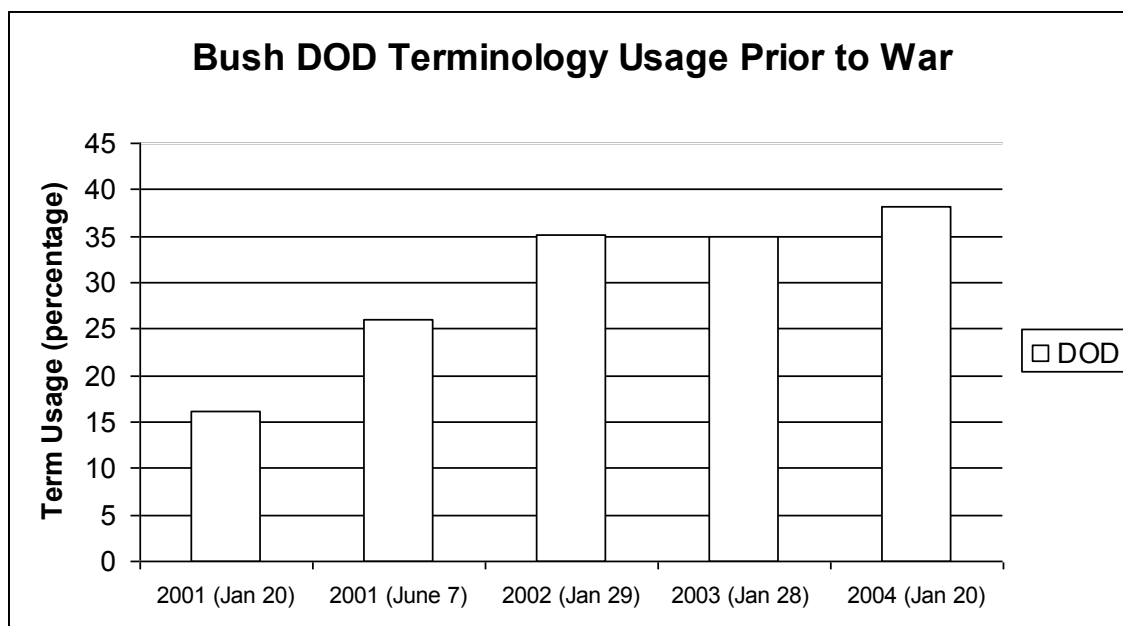


Figure 15. Bush DOD terminology usage prior to war

### Significance in Speeches

Although the adherence of speech portfolios to increases in DOD terminology usage prior to military conflict(s) is indicative of rational behavior prior to combat, for the purposes of this study, an examination of the EDUC terminology prior to, for the duration of, and subsequent to military conflict is reported. When examining Johnson's speech portfolio, three significant observations were made: (a) while in office as vice president, Johnson's speech portfolio mirrored Kennedy's; (b) when taking over office, DOD terminology increased; and (c) in the years prior to the enactment of the ESEA in 1965, EDUC terminology increased. Figure 16 illustrates Johnson's "turn around." The first speech is given as vice president; the second is delivered days after the assassination of Kennedy. Both speeches mirror Kennedy's EDUC frequencies. Conversely, Johnson's speech portfolio produced increases in DOD terminology frequency, in accordance with every speech portfolio examined. Each speech portfolio, for every elected or succeeding president, returned data where DOD terminology frequencies exceeded EDUC terminology frequencies.

The increase in DOD frequencies during the premature years of office is conceivably a president's establishment of power to the nation and the world. Yet, once power has been established and educational reform is desired, EDUC terminology increases prior to enactment of federal law. Johnson's speech portfolio, during Epoch V, demonstrates an increase of EDUC terminology frequency prior to and during 1965.

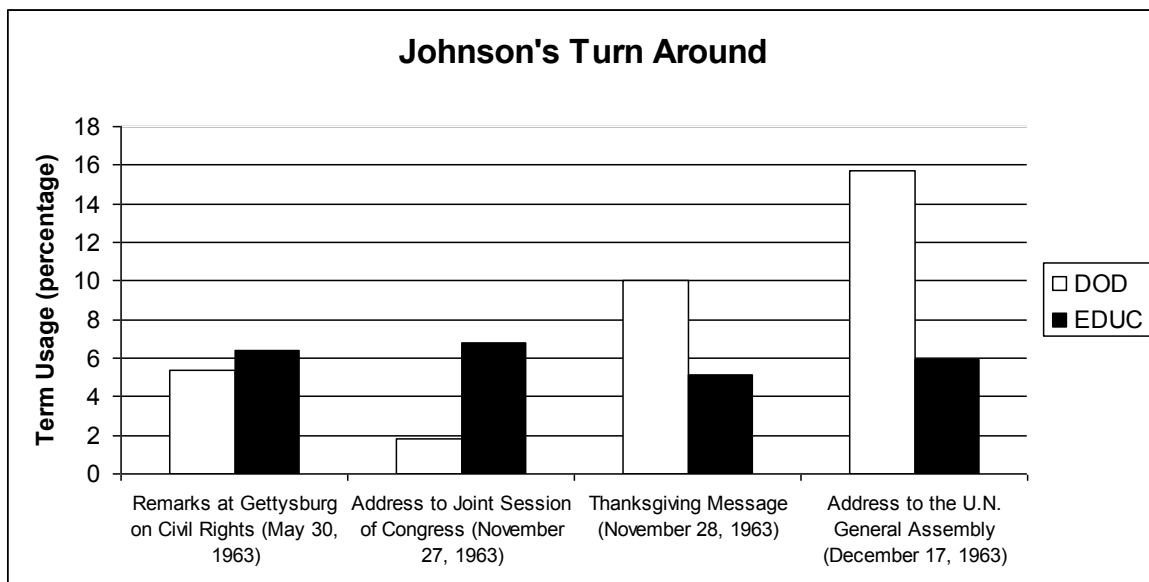


Figure 16. Johnson's turn around

Moreover, DOD terminology frequency decreases as EDUC terminology increases. As in previous speech portfolios, EDUC terminology frequencies surpass DOD frequencies prior to and/or during federal education change. As illustrated in Figure 17, Johnson's speech portfolio, after 1963, shows an overall decrease in DOD usage and increase in EDUC usage.

The Kennedy/Johnson speech portfolios reinforced previous speech portfolios and validated EDUC and DOD factors during military conflict(s) that influence federal policy change with regard to public education. The characteristics of speech portfolios prior to military conflict increased in DOD frequency while decreased EDUC frequencies were reported. Conversely, the characteristics of speech portfolios during federal education change (e.g., the GI Bill, NDEA, and ESEA) increased in EDUC frequency and

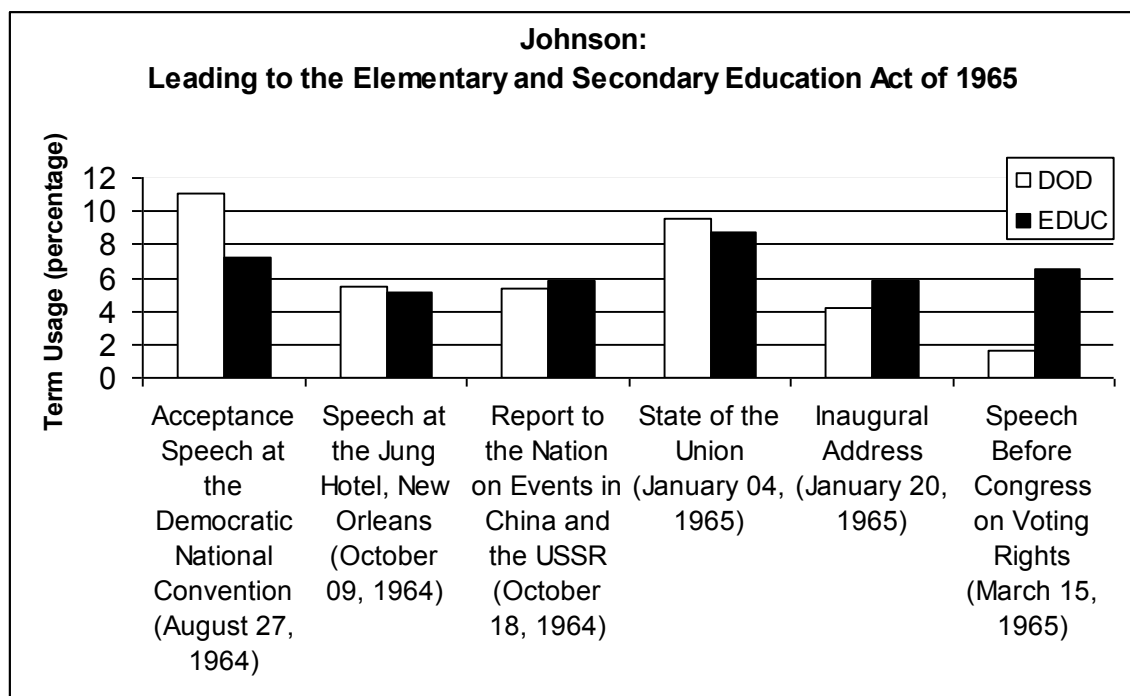


Figure 17. Johnson speeches leading to the ESEA of 1965

decreased in DOD frequency. The examination of the Kennedy/Johnson speech portfolios resulted in conclusions that (a) during specified periods of military conflict, presidential speeches incorporate military terminology (as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense's [2009] *Dictionary of Military Terms*) with educational terminology (as specified by EdSource [2007]) in nontrivial ways; (b) throughout U.S. history there has been increasing convergence between presidential rhetoric and policy doctrine linking military and educational initiatives; (c) the initiation of military terminology preceded, in real time, the initiation of educational terminology in presidential speeches; and (d) spatial "proximity" was evident between military



terminology and education terminology and was significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise was the case.

### **Bush's Speech Portfolio**

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the ongoing policy isomorphism between military doctrine (DOD frequencies) and American educational policy at the federal level. Frequencies of DOD and EDUC terms were run against presidential speech portfolios that occurred with the following criteria present: (a) military conflict, and (b) federal policy that influenced public education. Prior to this examination, researchers pinpointed 1958 as the moment of convergence between military doctrine and federal educational policy (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007). Additionally, the 1999 Columbine shootings and September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States are significant events in arguments regarding the recent militarization of public schools (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003). Lastly, President George W. Bush was criticized for the incorporation of military doctrine within the language of NCLB (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004). However, the results of this study conclude that the federal involvement in public education, specifically with regard to the NDEA of 1958, the ESEA of 1965, and NCLB of 2001, was not seen in exceptional cases, but rather is part of a growing trend in the United States.

The George W. Bush speech portfolio spans Epoch VI, the September 11 attacks, the Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars, and NCLB of 2001. It signifies the final

epoch and most current educational policy reform at the federal level. Table 10 reports Bush's speech portfolio's DOD and EDUC frequencies.

Table 10

*Bush's DOD/EDUC Speech Portfolio Percentages*

Date	DOD	EDUC
2001 First Inaugural Address (Jan 20)	16.1	10.5
2001 Remarks on Signing the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act (June 7)	26.1	11.5
2002 State of the Union Address (Jan 29)	35.2	17
2003 State of the Union Address (Jan 28)	34.9	5.8
2004 State of the Union Address (Jan 20)	38.1	6.7
2005 Second Inaugural Address (Jan 20)	18.2	5.9
2005 State of the Union Address (Feb 2)	20.7	6.2
2006 State of the Union Address (Jan 31)	36.5	9.8
2007 State of the Union Address (Jan 23)	32.3	8.4
2008 State of the Union Address (Jan 28)	34.2	8.9
2008 Remarks on the War on Terror (March 19)	38.2	15.5
2009 Farewell Address to the Nation (Jan 15)	23	14.9

In accordance with all enacted federal educational policy discussed in previous speech portfolios, NCLB and the Bush speech portfolio mirror an increase of EDUC terminology frequency similar to Washington after the Northwest Ordinance, Lincoln prior to the Homestead and Morrill Acts, Roosevelt and the GI Bill, Eisenhower and the NDEA, and Kennedy/Johnson and the ESEA. The House of Representatives passed the NCLB bill on May 23, 2001, and the U.S. Senate passed it on June 14, 2001. President Bush signed NCLB into law on January 8, 2002. Indicated within Figure 18 are the EDUC frequencies of President George W. Bush's first three recorded speeches from the Bush speech portfolio.

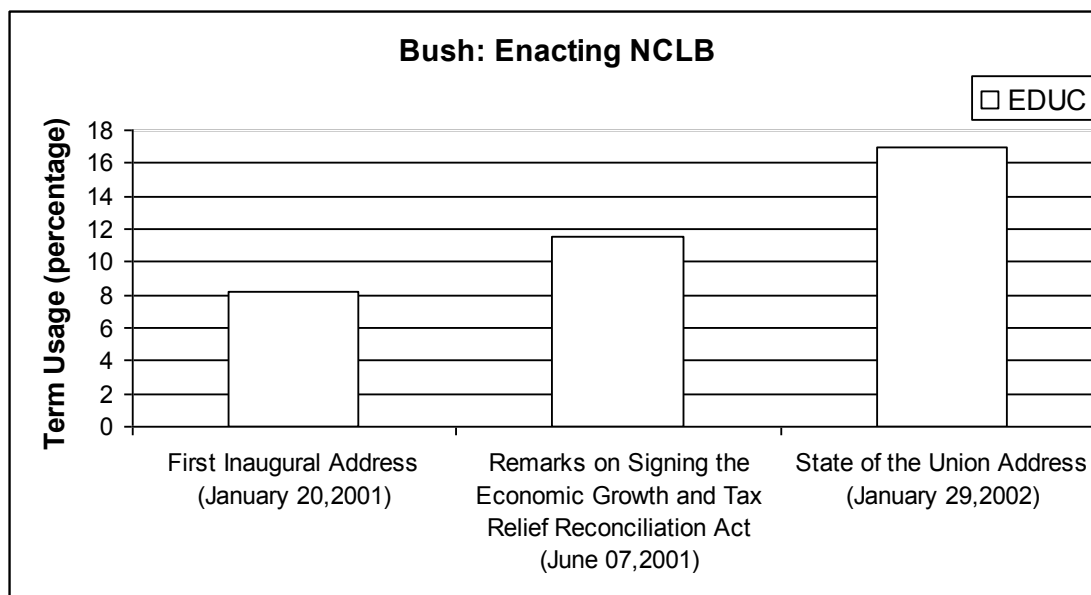


Figure 18. Bush: Enacting NCLB

The speech portfolio shown in Figure 18 sheds light upon a desire for change with regard to education at the federal level. An analysis of Epochs I-V demonstrates that, based upon the EDUC terminology frequency and pattern, NCLB had a 99.96% probability of being enacted based upon the following factors: (a) continued (mirrored) increase of DOD terminology (at or above the 95th percentile), (b) presence of military conflict, and (c) increased and eventual convergence of EDUC and DOD frequencies. Figure 19 represents Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Kennedy/ Johnson, and Bush's speech portfolio average frequencies of DOD and EDUC terminology.

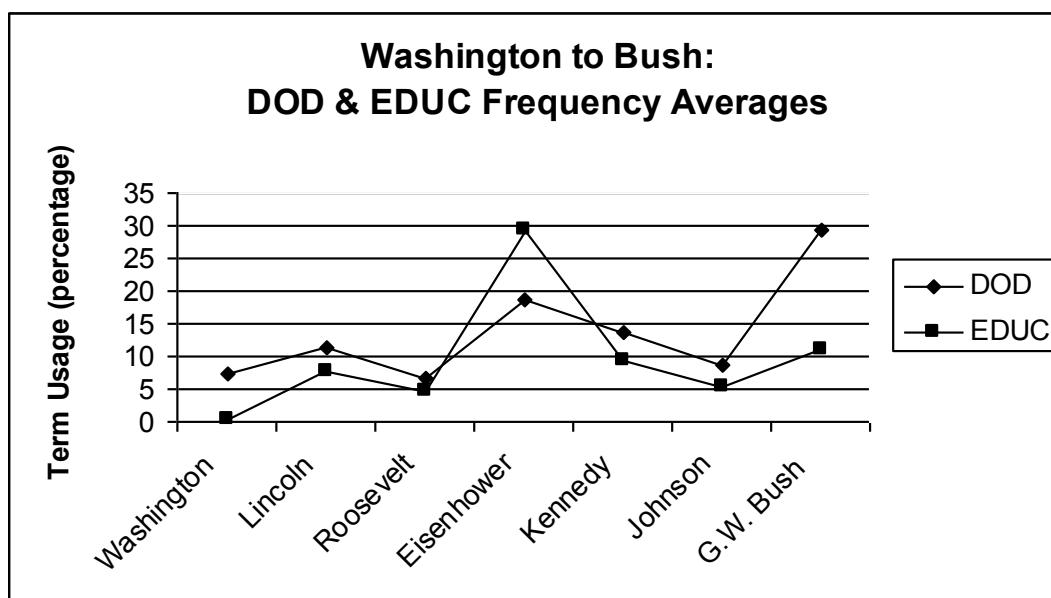


Figure 19. Washington to Bush: DOD and EDUC frequency averages

Figure 19 represents a trend of convergence between military doctrine and educational terminology, visually represents uniformity with regard to military doctrine and educational terminology, and identifies convergence between DOD and EDUC frequencies. The examination of the Bush speech portfolio resulted in concluding that (a) during specified periods of military conflict, presidential speeches incorporate military terminology (as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense's [2009] *Dictionary of Military Terms*) with educational terminology (as specified by EdSource [2007]) in nontrivial ways; (b) throughout U.S. history there has been increasing convergence between presidential rhetoric and policy doctrine linking military and educational initiatives; (c) the initiation of military terminology preceded, in real time, the initiation of educational terminology in presidential speeches; and (d) spatial

“proximity” was evident between military terminology and education terminology, and was significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise was the case.

### Discussion

This research examined ongoing policy isomorphism between military and educational terminology. Six educational epochs identified for the purposes of this study were directly associated with the president of the time, American conflict, and federal policy. These associations are demonstrated in Table 11.

Table 11

*Epoch Overview Detailing President, Conflict, and Policy*

	Epoch I	Epoch II	Epoch III	Epoch IV	Epoch V	Epoch VI
President	Washington	Lincoln	Roosevelt	Eisenhower	Kennedy / Johnson	G. W. Bush
Conflict	American Revolution	U.S. Civil War	WWII	Sputnik / Cold War	Vietnam / Bay of Pigs	9/11 / Afghanistan & Iraq Wars
Policy	Northwest Ordinance	Homestead and Morrill Acts	GI Bill	NDEA	ESEA	NCLB

Presidential speeches, executive orders, peer-reviewed journals, and books were examined in order to validate both the classification and identification of the six epochs used, as well as to give further details about a growing military educational state in the wake of military conflict in America. The results of this study indicate that military

doctrine, represented as DOD terminology, preceded both educational language, represented as EDUC terminology, as well as military conflicts.

Increased DOD frequencies were valid indicators of future military conflict (at the 99th percentile), even with instances where no eminent threat was posed, as in the Bush speech portfolio. The tool of Nvivo Statistical Software, when examining presidential speech portfolios against a database of the U.S. Department of Defense's (2009) *Dictionary of Military Terms* and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007), was valid and reliable in predicting both federal educational policy as well as military conflict. In addition to the study producing applicable results, the rationale behind the incorporation of pertinent theories is relevant in understanding and applying the results.

The implementation of garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium theory, and rational choice theory as vessels to explain the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy in America is compelling, but not without individual fault. None of the three theories implemented completely explains the results found within this study; however, when combined, the three theories produce an explanation for the phenomenon of isomorphism between military doctrine and federal educational policy.

Garbage can theory, as well as multiple streams theory, effectively explains incidents of convergence. Both theories are inextricably linked and are constricted to single, explanatory events as definitive answers for educational change. While these theories explain incidents such as the launch of Sputnik during the Cold War and the

“reaction” of the United States with the enactment of the NDEA in 1958, the theories do not apply to the Northwest Ordinance or the Homestead and Morrill Acts.

Theories posit that policy change is either slow and systematic or abrupt and paradigm shifting. Theorists who support punctuated equilibrium put forward arguments that suggest both can occur. Punctuated equilibrium is a theory that accounts for how change occurs in both methodical and abrupt policy shifts. In reference to the six epochs presented in this study, “opportunity windows,” as discussed in Chapter II, were present in Epochs III through VI; however, the theories still do not account for Epochs I and II. These “opportunity windows” exemplify garbage can theory, which posits that solutions exist and await problems in order to be applied.

Punctuated equilibrium puts forward an explanation of how policy change is implemented, but neither garbage can nor punctuated equilibrium theory address the human aspects, social order, and individual benefits to those in power. Rational choice theory (RCT), also referred to as public choice theory, was constructed in a simplistic manner by George Homans in 1961. While the roots of this theory can be traced back to Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), and even further back within the ancient texts of the Greeks and Romans (Shore & Nugent, 2002), for the purposes of this study, the 1960s behaviorist model was applied.

RCT connects microeconomics and politics through the precise observation of actions of citizens, politicians, and public servants as actions by self-interested producers and consumers (Buchanan, 1972). As a result, RCT logically explains the actions of American political leaders, through speeches, as serving their own motivated self-

interests. RCT can be applied to Epochs I through VI, with the assumption that each president “gained” from federal policy change. Moreover, it assumes that speeches indicated the usage of persuasive language in order to appeal to the motivated self-interests of other citizens as well as political leaders. When combined, garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium, and RCT present a logical explanation for both the motivation and process of political change.

### **Conclusion**

Chapter V discussed the results of this dissertation. The data indicated that a trend of convergence between military doctrine and educational terminology exists. An examination of the six speech portfolios concluded that (a) during specified periods of military conflict, presidential speeches incorporate military terminology (as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense’s [2009] *Dictionary of Military Terms*) with educational terminology (as specified by EdSource [2007]) in nontrivial ways; (b) throughout U.S. history there is an increasing convergence between presidential rhetoric and policy doctrine linking military and educational initiatives; (c) the initiation of military terminology preceded, in real time, the initiation of educational terminology in presidential speeches; and (d) spatial “proximity” is evident between military terminology and educational terminology and is significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise would be the case.

The chapter concluded with a brief summary of the significance of Chapter III and drew connections between garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium, and RCT to



the results of the study. Chapter VI presents the dissertation conclusions as well as recommendations for future study.

CHAPTER VI  
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**Conclusions**

This dissertation examined the policy isomorphism between military doctrine and American educational policy at the federal level. The research determined that the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 and the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 were parts of a long-established pattern of policy convergence and were not exceptional cases with regard to the incorporation of military doctrine into educational policy. The study examined six educational epochs occurring after American conflict periods. Accordingly, presidential speeches were selected based upon two criteria. The conditions required for selecting a president for examination and inclusion into speech portfolios were (a) significant American conflict periods were present, and (b) federal educational policy impacting public education preceded or resulted during the presidency. Presidential speech portfolios were examined through a calculation of military and education terminology frequencies in significant speeches, as determined by the Library of Congress and the Miller Center for Public Affairs, which resulted in two sets of data per speech: military frequencies (DODs) and educational frequencies (EDUCs).

The research conducted contributes to Eisenhower’s warning of a “military industrial complex” and posits, based upon a content analysis of presidential speeches, that a military educational state has been created in the wake of military conflict in America. Through an examination of presidential speeches, executive orders, peer-reviewed journal articles, and books, this dissertation created a foundation illuminating a “gap” in research. A majority of current literature in the field of education focuses directly on 1957-1958 as explanatory for the amalgamation of military doctrine and federal educational policy (Berube, 1991; Clowse, 1981; Kuypers, 1997; Telzrow, 2007). The raw data and analysis from this research posit a counter-thesis, one in which the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy occurs over a long period of time.

In concordance with Luke (2000), policy leaders raised the issue of education in a manner that commanded attention through national security. Policy agenda setting, deemed “unpredictable” by current research (Luke, 2000), is exceptionally predictable with regard to the inclusion of military doctrine and federal involvement in American public education, the implications of which indicate similar tactics of communist and socialist regimes of past and present.

While the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy, as determined by this study, signifies an isomorphism of language between the military and American public education, what is to come of this convergence warrants close scrutiny. Figure 19, in Chapter V, illustrates an acute increase in military terminology usage by presidents in recent years. Additionally, the blurring of military and educational language, as in the

title of No Child Left Behind (modified from a military slogan of “Leave No Man Behind”) bears additional questioning. With the isomorphism of military doctrine and American public education, what will education exemplify in America’s future?

The research illustrated a convergence between military doctrine and education as well as posited that a relationship between education and the military has existed since the beginning of American history. Theoretically, the research was based upon an interlacing of garbage can theory, punctuated equilibrium theory, and rational choice theory to explain the convergence of military doctrine and educational policy in America. Through an understanding of these theories, four research hypotheses were formulated. This dissertation hypothesized the following:

1. Over a specified conflict periods there shall be correlation, in time, within identified presidential speeches between military terminology, as specified by the U.S. Department of Defense’s *Dictionary of Military Terms* (2009), and educational terminology, as specified by EdSource (2007).
2. Over time an increase in convergence between military terminology and educational terminology exists.
3. Military terminology shall precede the initiation of educational terminology.
4. Spatial “proximity” will be evident between military terminology and education terminology and will be significantly closer for speeches occurring during conflict periods than otherwise would be the case.

The corollary of a military convergence, through presidential oratory, with American public education indicates a breach of states’ rights and dual governance in

America. A new lexicon, language, and glossary of hybridized military and educational terminology have distorted both a state's right to and a federal government's understanding of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, insinuating prerogatives founded on fear, profit, and control.

When the commander in chief initiates conversation with regard to public education, questions arise in reference to motivation. For example, the Bush portfolio (Epoch VI) shed light upon the NCLB of 2001. However, little discussion examined the realm of profit woven into the language of the law.

Several of the most profitable entities in this reform of education are educational publishing companies, of which many have subdivisions that develop standardized tests and educational statistics software, and data collection/storage companies; despite rhetoric calling for accountability, "public review of these corporations is almost non-existent" (Arce, 2000, p. 2). Several of the larger publishing corporations, such as Harcourt, Pearson, Riverside, and McGraw-Hill, have a monopoly on testing materials. Riverside and Pearson both have grown tremendously in the aftermath of NCLB (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004). One example of this growth has been the increased corporate takeover between educational businesses to enhance their share of the market. This is most evident in Houghton Mifflin (of whom Riverside is a subsidiary), which purchased Edusoft, a company that provides web- and computer-based testing as well as the databases to store testing results (Miner, 2004).

Educational Testing Services (ETS) in Princeton, New Jersey, was once regarded as a small nonprofit company. Today it is responsible for analyzing standardized tests

throughout the United States. Recently, in 2003, ETS confirmed its power and market strength with a 3-year, \$175 million contract to oversee testing for the entire state of California (Arce, 2000). According to the nonpartisan Government Accounting Office (GAO), states like California are expected to spend from \$1.9 billion to over \$5.3 billion from the years of 2002-2008 to implement the NCLB mandates (Arce, 2000). These state dollars will go to pay for costs to develop, score, and report tests, all of which are under contracts with private companies.

As a result, even supporters of standardized testing make no debate over the vast opportunities created for private business by NCLB. Geisinger's (2004) chapter in the book *Defending Standardized Testing* states, "The use of testing in educational, clinical, and industrial settings has undoubtedly benefited the vast majority of organizations [for-profit entities]" (p. 187). Nonetheless, with NCLB placing accountability on the shoulders of state and local governments, Geisinger questions why there is such little scrutiny with regard to test creation and scoring, and so few answers to the following criticisms of standardized testing:

- 1) Tests, even tests of academic achievement, measure middle-class (mostly White) culture, values, and knowledge;
- 2) examples and test material selections are selected that favor men, Whites, and privileged groups;
- 3) language used on tests favors those whose home language is English;
- 4) arcane and difficult vocabulary is accentuated to aid those who have advantaged, English-speaking home environments;
- 5) test formats (especially multiple choice and other objective testing forms) hinder the performance of some groups, primarily women and members of minority groups (e.g., Williams, 1970, 1971);
- 6) testing generally is detrimental to the educational process;

- 7) testing is too prevalent and stakes in the schools and in employment settings are too high (i.e., the consequences of not performing well on tests is too severe and sometimes too permanent); and
- 8) the timing and the manner in which a test is administered required by test standardization procedures favor those without disabilities (e.g., Geisinger, 1994b) and those whose primary language is English. (pp. 188-189)

While these criticisms continue to go unanswered, Geisinger (2004) asks, Who are the creators of the standardized tests accountable to?

Unfortunately, the opportunities to profit from NCLB legislation span well beyond the simple designing and selling of tests to public schools. The law also requires that every school district in the country receiving funding from NCLB surrender a district and school report card, known more frequently as the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP). Scoring the AYP requires that a private company analyze the school progress report in order to determine its district, state, and national ranking, and report these documents to the federal government (Arce, 2000). The federal government, under NCLB legislation, has created a system that makes it virtually impossible for school districts to analyze their own data or to allow partnerships with local universities to fulfill this task. Yet, while these low- or no-cost options are removed as possibilities, states are required to pay the costs for analyzing and storing the data. States are thus forced to hire private consulting firms, such as Edusoft, to manage critical data and reports. As a result, schools, districts, and states are cornered into complying with the educational standards for reporting.

Beneath the semblance of accountability, multi-million-dollar corporations create record profits under NCLB. The State of Connecticut filed a lawsuit against the federal government, stating that the overall differences of funding and costs for testing materials

and scoring required to comply with NCLB was preventing the state from more effectively using its resources. The U.S. Department of Education wrote in response that Connecticut must seek additional funding elsewhere or reallocate existing funding and resources, particularly staff time (Arce, 2000).

The Bush administration has facilitated contracts (similar to those in the Iraq war for rebuilding efforts) with publishing corporations that are directly linked to NCLB (Miner, 2004), including McGraw-Hill, which sells assessment tools to over 23 states in the U.S. McGraw-Hill also creates the California Achievement Test (CAT) and Comprehensive Testing of Basic Skills (CTBS) for Grades 1 through 12. According to their annual report for 2004,

We have continued to build our Test Prep division, both organically and through the acquisition of franchisees. Further, we have launched two new divisions to leverage our brand and expertise in larger markets. The K-12 division uses diagnostic tests to help school districts generate real-time data on the progress of their students, and then helps run after-school and professional development programs guided by that data. In five years, sales to schools have grown from \$50,000 to \$28 million. (The Princeton Review, 2004, p. 37)

Additionally, in their K-12 services department McGraw-Hill reported,

K-12 Services division provides a number of services to K-12 schools and school districts, including assessment, professional development and face-to-face instruction. As a result of the increased emphasis on accountability and the measurement of student performance in public schools in this country and the centralization of school districts' purchasing of assessment, professional development, and supplemental educational products and services, this division has seen the interest by the public school market for its products grow and the average dollar volume of its contracts double over the last year. Revenues in this division grew by 29.9% in 2004, compared to 2003. This division's revenue represented 24.5% of our overall revenue in 2004. (The Princeton Review, 2004, p. 37)



Harcourt Corporation, which sells assessment services to 18 states and publishes the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT 9), is also discussed in relation to NCLB. In 2002, PBS *Frontline* reported that well over 15 million students took the SAT 9 (The Princeton Review, 2004). Three years later, in 2005, Pearson Publisher (a subsidiary of Harcourt) acquired AGS Publishing, a company focused on assessment and curriculum for students who are at risk or performing below grade level. According to its president, Steve Dowling,

The central goal of federal education policy is for all students to demonstrate progress towards state standards in key subjects . . . [and] this acquisition [of AGS Publishing] extends our position in a fast-growing market segment and adds to the intellectual property, growth and profitability of our school business. (Pearson, 2005, para. 4)

### **Connections to the Orator**

The Bush family took a particular interest, both directly and indirectly, in education with regard to publicly supporting the implementation of NCLB. Where the president openly propagandized against public institutions (with particular attention to education and social security), he sponsored legislation, such as NCLB, that directly profited his family and shareholders. Terry (1993) suggests that administrative conservatism works to balance the tension between the need to *serve* and the need to *preserve*. With the increased data currently becoming available to researchers, who is being served by NCLB is called into question.

In 2004, journalists Juan Gonzales and Amy Goodman reported, on the syndicated radio program *Democracy Now*, about an international technology conference

in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, that George W. Bush's brother, Neil Bush, had attended in October of 2001, shortly after the bombings of Afghanistan began. Neil Bush had traveled to seek investors for his newest business venture, a corporation entitled Ignite Learning Inc., an interactive educational software organization that he had founded in 1999. Neil Bush had raised over \$23 million from U.S. investors (including his mother and father), as well as businesspeople from Taiwan, Kuwait, the British Virgin Islands, and the United Arab Emirates, according to documents on file with the Securities and Exchange Commission (Gonzales & Goodman, 2004).

Ignite Learning Inc. (Neil Bush's company) declared that its fundamental goal is to help students improve their standardized test scores. Bush's company sells software to prepare academically disadvantaged students, or any students not meeting state requirements mandated by NCLB. Contracts for test-preparation software are exceptionally lucrative. At approximately \$30 per student, a pilot program at a middle school in Orlando, Florida, has helped Neil Bush make over \$20 million during the short 3-year contract (Bowles, 2005). As a result of programs such as Neil Bush's Ignite Learning Inc., school districts serving the poorest of America's students and schools are forced to purchase expensive software in order to attempt to create an immediate fix to their schools' academic shortcomings. Furthermore, these schools have been known to disregard social studies, science, health, and PE to focus on language arts and mathematics, which then creates a need for prescribed curricula and supplemental programs that contribute to the "demise of academic creativity and meaningful learning" (Arce, 2000, p. 4).

## Ethical Considerations

In its overview, the U.S. Department of Education touts its 4,500 employees and \$71.5 billion budget, and then proceeds to detail that its dedications are as follow:

- Establishing policies on federal financial aid for education, and distributing as well as monitoring those funds.
- Collecting data on America's schools and disseminating research.
- Focusing national attention on key educational issues.
- Prohibiting discrimination and ensuring equal access to education. (U.S. Department of Education, n.d., p. 1)

As discussed earlier, the first two statements are directly relevant to standardized testing and electronic accountability, as well as data storage—two of the most marketable aspects of privatized education today. The mission of the U.S. Department of Education reads that its efforts:

- Strengthen the Federal commitment to assuring access to equal educational opportunity for every individual;
- Supplement and complement the efforts of states, the local school systems and other instrumentalities of the states, the private sector, public and private nonprofit educational research institutions, community-based organizations, parents, and students to improve the quality of education;
- Encourage the increased involvement of the public, parents, and students in Federal education programs;
- Promote improvements in the quality and usefulness of education through Federally supported research, evaluation, and sharing of information;
- Improve the coordination of Federal education programs;
- Improve the management of Federal education activities; and
- Increase the accountability of Federal education programs to the President, the Congress, and the public. (U.S. Department of Education, 2010a, p. 1)

While the mission of the U.S. Department of Education at first glance seems supportive of underperforming students and schools, at the top of its statements includes private corporations. Moreover, when examining the department's Priorities and

Initiatives, more neoconservative examples are shown. A special bullet is designated for “Faith Based and Neighborhood Partnerships” (U.S. Department of Education, 2010b, p. 1). This *priority* comes before the High School Initiative, the National Mathematical Advisory Panel, Management, Rural Education, Higher Education, and the Teacher’s Initiative. In fact, the only few items above faith-based learning and its funding are NCLB, American Competitiveness Initiative, and Reading (U.S. Department of Education, 2010b).

In James Svara’s (2007) book, *The Ethics Primer for Public Administrators in Government and Nonprofit Organizations*, he suggests that there are four responsibilities shared by government and nonprofit administrators. He discusses,

These responsibilities are the foundation for identifying the nature of the duty of public administrators: [1] their responsibility to serve individuals, [2] their responsibility to be accountable to the *people* and promote the public interest, [3] their responsibility to their organization, and [4] their responsibility to political superiors to uphold the law and established policy. (p. 4)

While many governmental leaders are currently upholding the law and established policy, NCLB transfers the responsibility to serve the individual [1] and the responsibility to be accountable to the people and the promotion of the public interest [2] to be overlooked for the promotion of special interests, primarily educational corporations.

Svara (2007) introduces a model for ethical ideals of and for the public interest; Svara’s *ethics triangle* “provides guidance based upon the ethical ideals of public interest, justice, character, and the greatest good” (pp. 7, 47-72). In Svara’s book, he places *principle* (justice, fairness, equity), *consequences* (greatest good), and *virtue/intuition* (character) in his model, with the center reserved for *duty* (public

interest). With regard to NCLB, the center of this model, *duty*, has been replaced with *profit*.

There is little debate over the recent privatization of education in America, even from among supporters of standardized testing and NCLB. There are few questions as to why international investors have endowed educational corporations, publications, and data collection software companies in America. However, while ethical questions are uneventfully debated with regard to who truly wins in the NCLB era, details concerning how NCLB actually creates a more detrimental and restrictive outcome to the low-income and educationally disadvantaged populations (which it is intended to help) is undoubtedly worthy of examination.

### **The Restrictive Nature of NCLB**

With NCLB's mission shadowing educational professionals across America, the impact on the English Language Learner (ELL) students becomes increasingly important. Under the umbrella of the universal term *disadvantaged students*, ELL students are often considered in the category of "low-achieving children in high-poverty schools, limited English proficient children, migrant children, children with disabilities, Indian children, neglected or delinquent children, and young children in need of reading assistance" (McColl, 2005, p. 1). The difficulty for ELL students is within the confines of NCLB. Under this act, students like limited language speakers or students with a combination of *disadvantages* are required to take the same examinations as fluent students, regardless of their familiarity with the language. A documented example of this most recently

occurred in Indiana, where students who enter the school system for less than one week are required to partake in the examination. These tests are in a language they do not understand (Phelps, 2004).

Children who originate from homes in which English is not the primary language are continually handed the short end of the stick with regard to formal education in America. Nearly 4.4 million ELL students are enrolled in public school within the U.S. This number has more than doubled in the past 10 years. This increase represents over 10% of all students in the U.S. (Arce, 2000). Moreover, in a low-income school in Southern California, where the author is currently employed, 24,000 of the 32,000 students enrolled within his district (75%) are classified as socioeconomically disadvantaged. From these statistics, more than 33% of parents are high school dropouts, and 43% are enrolled in ELL programs (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Communications and Outreach, 2006). NCLB does little to address these current issues other than to guarantee lucrative testing contracts and potential “drop out military recruits” as a result of NCLB.

There is a greater problem with education in America than simply *testing to increase test scores*. Currently, students are tested and ranked on levels of proficient, advanced, and basic (Meyer, 2005). It is suggested that by the academic year 2013-2014, all children in America are expected to meet or exceed the “proficient” level in Grades 3 through 8, and once again in high school. Arce (2000) addresses the shortcomings of this objective as follows:

A fine-sounding goal—but very unrealistic even if the resources were made available to under-funded schools (which they are not). Anyone who actually works with children (and doesn't just pass legislation about children) knows that there are too many variables in children's lives to hold 100 percent of them—and their schools—accountable for anything, much less passing a standardized test of questionable value. (p. 5)

NCLB's view of how English is mastered makes the goal of 100% proficiency by 2013-2014 unattainable. Prominent researchers in the field of bilingual education (Cummins, 1979) commonly consent that proficiency with the English language requires 4 to 7 years. Unfortunately, current ELL students are regularly tested during their 3rd year of schooling.

Researcher and author Dan Seligman (2004) has referred to the 2014 goal of NCLB for proficiency in reading and math as simply “insane.” He reminds readers, and the American educational audience, that the bell curve guarantees that most schools in California (99%) will be labeled as failures based upon these criteria. So who are the victors? What are the benefits of federal involvement, with military bias, in America public education?

This research, through a mixed-method approach, a quantitative examination of presidential oratory and speech portfolios, yielded results that were tracked in Nvivo and SPSS statistical software that exemplified the dangers of military convergence with American educational policy. Additionally, a qualitative examination of key presidential addresses and speeches, carried out hermeneutically, resulted in convergent observational-level data from presidential oratory, military doctrine, executive orders,

and American law, yielding an isomorphism of military doctrine and federal educational policy.

This dissertation adds to the body of knowledge examining the federal government's involvement with public education in America. This research examined major events, both militarily and legislatively, that related to educational policy. The data resulting from this research suggest that the instances of inclusion of military doctrine in the NDEA of 1958 and the NCLB of 2001 were not exceptional cases, but were instead parts of an existing relationship of convergence between military doctrine and federal educational policy.

The data results explain rationale for policy convergence and provide an indication of the route of American educational policy. The results indicate a new rhetorical platform, one in which policies such as NCLB act as *Trojan horses* laden with convergent language benefiting the social elite. Yet, in the brief history of America, the conflicts of Epochs I through V had a clear beginning and end. What policies will result from conflicts like a war on terror that are perpetual in nature? Epoch VI, NCLB, was initiated by an act of terror, one that has seen war waged upon multiple fronts and with no foreseeable conclusion.

### **Recommendations**

This research took into account historical events and speeches identified as significant by the Library of Congress and the Presidential Speech Archive at the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. Future research may seek to widen



presidential speech portfolios to include (a) all or additional speeches given by a president while in office; (b) all or additional speeches given by vice presidents; (c) all or additional speeches given by cabinet members; (d) all or additional speeches given by presidents before and after office; (e) examination of incentives through militarized policy; (f) studies into the “inversion” aspects of data results (as in Figure 19 in Chapter V); (g) research into current and future presidents; and (h) a longitudinal examination of Obama’s growing speech portfolio.

This research examined presidential speeches as instruments for measuring correlations of military doctrine and educational policy. While the research took into account historical events, only speeches identified as significant by either the Library of Congress or the Presidential Speech Archive at the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia were examined.

The presidential speech portfolios examined resulted in data that demonstrated an increase of military terminology prior to military conflict, as well as an increase of educational terminology prior to federal policy change. Several questions were left unexamined, specifically with regard to military conflicts that are widely regarded as resulting from cataclysmic and unforeseen attacks on the United States; for example, an in-depth examination of the Bush speech portfolio in the months leading to the September 11, 2001, attacks warrants investigation. Additionally, questioning the apparent similarities of the data in Figure 20 to military conflicts that grew over time, such as Roosevelt’s DOD usage prior to WWII, Lincoln’s usage prior to the Civil War, or Kennedy’s usage prior to Vietnam, may result in valuable research. As shown in Figure

20, the steady increase of DOD frequencies leading to both the 2001 war in Afghanistan and the 2003 war in Iraq, en prima facie, suggests war was eminent.

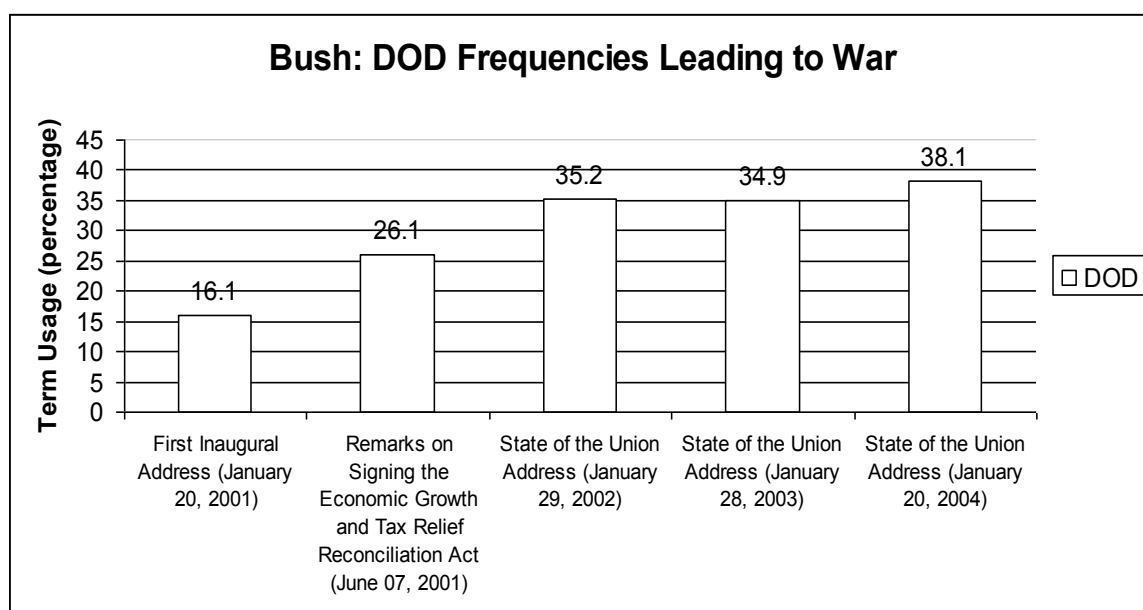


Figure 20. Bush DOD frequencies leading to war

The linkages between military doctrine, as evident by DOD frequencies, and educational terminology, as indicated by EDUC frequencies, open an unexamined realm of educational research. Perhaps the greatest potential for research lies in beginning to examine the relationship between the federal government, the national armed forces, education corporations, and the federal policies that link them together, or what has now become the “military education state” in America.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
CONFLICT PERIODS AND CORRELATING  
EDUCATIONAL EPOCHS MODEL

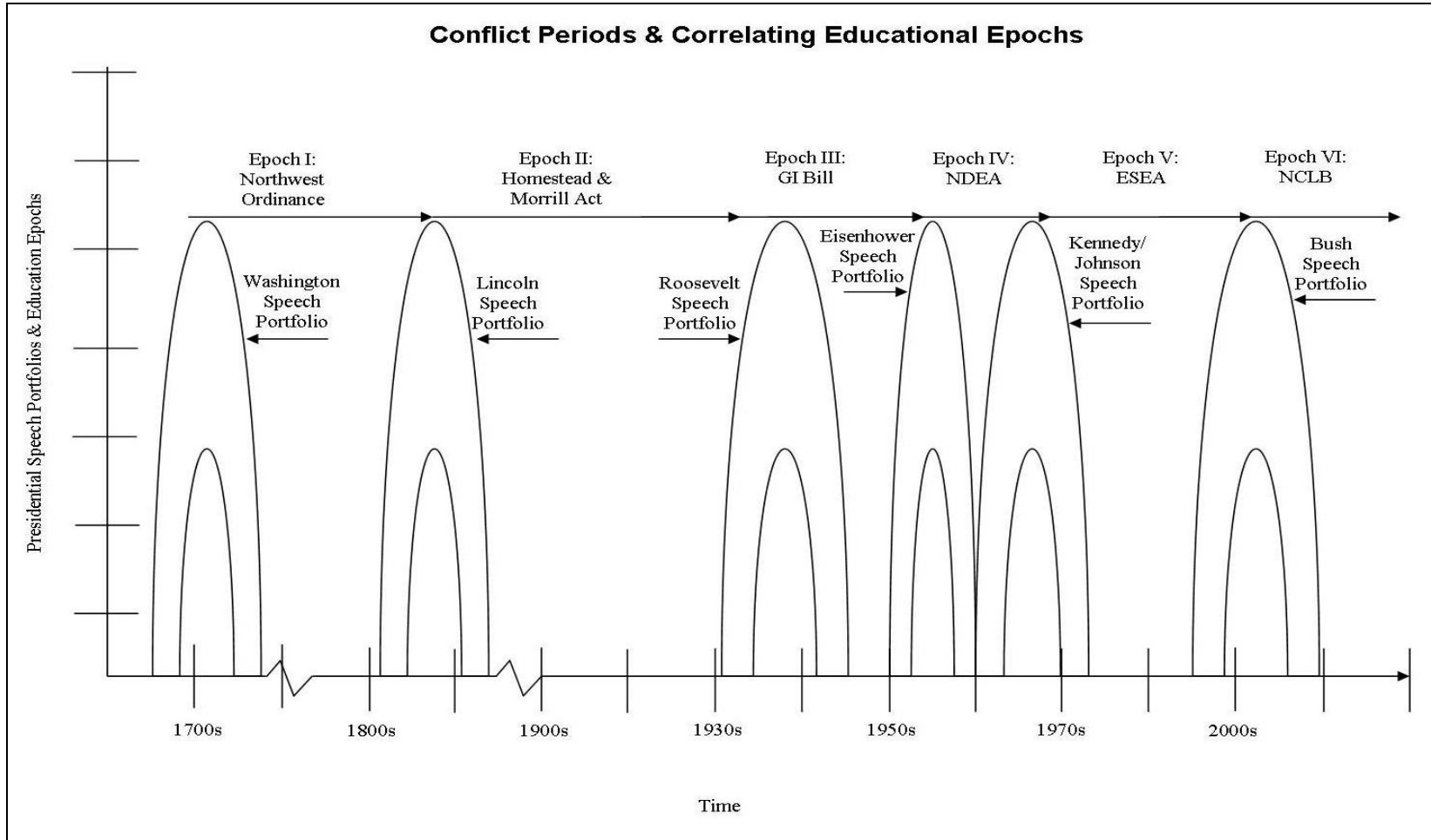


Figure A1. Conflict periods and correlating educational epochs

APPENDIX B  
IRB APPROVAL LETTER



May 4, 2010

TO: Riste Simnjanovski

FR: University of La Verne, Institutional Review Board

RE: Application Number #885- Simnjanovski - Military Preparedness, Educational Policy  
**Isomorphism: An Examination Of Convergence Between Presidential Oratory And Educational Policy**

The research project, cited above, was reviewed by the College of Business and Public Management IRB Representative and was subsequently available for comments by the entire IRB. The college review determined that the research activity has minimal risk to human participants, and the application received an exempt review and approval with no additional comments from the entire IRB.

The project may proceed to completion, or until the **date of expiration of IRB approval, May 4, 2011**. Please note the following conditions applied to all IRB submissions:

No new participants may be enrolled beyond the expiration date without IRB approval of an extension.

The IRB expects to receive notification of the completion of this project, or a request for extension within two weeks of the approval expiration date, whichever date comes earlier.

The IRB expects to receive prompt notice of any proposed changes to the protocol, informed consent forms, or participant recruitment materials. No additional participants may be enrolled in the research without approval of the amended items.

The IRB expects to receive prompt notice of any adverse event involving human participants in this research.

All expedited approvals are subject to review by the full IRB. The IRB may rescind expedited approval and proceed to full standard review, if it determines that the protocol did not meet criteria for expedited review.

There are no further conditions placed on this approval.

The IRB wishes to extend to you its best wishes for a successful research endeavor. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Approval Signature

Fred L. Yaffe, Ph.D.  
IRB Chairman

May 4, 2010  
Date

For the Protection of Human Participants in Research

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