<u>The Hegemony of Professionalism Part 2-</u> The Education/Professional Engine and the Second Reformation

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I Introduction

At the Rosenstock-Huessy Conference in Decatur, Illinois in 2002, I presented a paper on the "Hegemony of Professionalism"1 in which I claimed that it was the professions, e.g., the modern forms of work, that largely control the ebb and flow of our modern lives, and provide for us a sense of identity, meaning and purpose. Following Antonio Gramsci2, who defined hegemony as "the entire system of ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs and morality by which the dominant groups in a society secure the consent of subordinate groups to their rule", one might refer to this hegemony as the prevailing mindset that provides authority and coheres our culture. I suggest that this rise of professionalism is the most recent of the revolutions in the "Autobiography of Western Man"3.

The word professional has become one of the most overused in the modern lexicon. To be referred to as a "consummate professional" is to be acclaimed with the utmost virtue. In this sense, being a professional has superceded the value of being honorable. To be touted as consummately professional is clearly more virtuous than being merely honorable. Professional is now the distinguishing label for highest grade of product. Cars, airplanes, coffee-makers, audio and video equipment, tools of all kinds are labeled "professional" to distinguish the "very best".

A few years ago, there was a popular movie "The China Syndrome", a supposed expose of corporate power and corruption, but rather, a paean to two consummate professionals, Jack Lemmon, as the nuclear engineer who forfeits his life to tame his out-of-control reactor, and Jane Fonda, as the TV journalist, who fights back tears at the immediate loss of a friend to face the camera and report the tragic story. Our popular films, TV programs and our media in general are suffused with stories about various professionals, doctors, lawyers, engineers, psychologists, social workers, policemen, firemen etc. Often the depictions go into great detail about the work itself and especially into the professional "jargon" which accompanies it.

By my own analysis, I now am forced to extend the concept of a professional far beyond the old notion of scholarly training to virtually anyone who undergoes some extended form of schooling or training to qualify. Since our public education is now vocationally oriented to future employment, it is necessary to extend the title of professional to virtually all college and trade school graduates as well as many high school graduates.

In effect, professional now describes a largely modern attitude toward work, almost every kind of work, a view that our work is life-defining, career-shaping and ultimately fulfilling. Work and professionalism have become allied to the new psychological view of the individual

¹ Donald K Wilson, "The Hegemony of Professionalism-From "AWE-thority" to "AUTHOR"-ity Planetary Articulation: The Life, Thought, and Influence of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy Millikin University June 2002

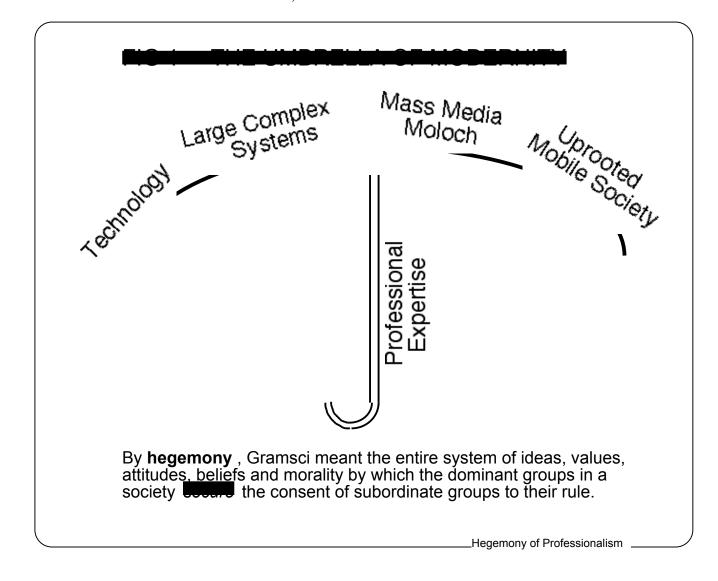
² Antonio Gramsci "Prison Notebooks" 1971

³ Eugen Rosenstock –Huessy "Out of Revolution-Autobiography of Western Man" Argo Books 1969

self. Today, our very being is seen as principally a refection of what we do. It is our work, not our worship, which completes us.

In the proposed follow-on paper (as R-H noted, a truly important issue should not be confined to a single lecture) I pursue this subject further, first to better understand how the professions stand in respect to the other attributes of modernity. Second, I want to establish how this hegemony of professionalism arose. How did work assume such a dominating role in our lives? This will lead into my third part, the role of education in bringing about this revolution in our thinking from a nation of Puritans to a nation of Professionals. In the last part, I schematically describe this revolution, which largely took place between the end of the Civil War and the end of World War II, and call it the Second Reformation because it resembles and was largely catalyzed by the Protestant Reformation.

The burgeoning American "Education/Professional Engine" that curricularized and vocationalized all learning and transformed the American universities into vocational multiversities primarily drove this revolution. This "Educational/Professional Engine" is, today, our most important global export (American multiversities are "the top places" for the best students from around the globe to go and we, in America are both catalyzing and funding the resultant "Professionalization of the Globe".)



II The Nature of Modernity and the Centrality of Professionalism

A digest of current writing on the nature of modernity would focus upon five external and primarily social attributes of modern culture. These are professional expertise, advanced technology, large complex systems and organizations, mass media, and the uprootedness of a highly mobile culture. I suggest that these five attributes stand in relation to each other as depicted in Figure 1 which I label the "Umbrella of Modernity" wherein the four attributes, technology, large complex systems, mass media and uprooted mobile society are arrayed around the upper perimeter of the umbrella and professional expertise forms the handle of the umbrella. In this way I want to emphasize that we, as lay persons, connect with the complexity of modernity by way of the professionals, i.e. they provide the "handle" through which we are able to grasp and come to grips with modernity. In the earlier paper I noted that the "Yellow Pages" of your local phone book was one useful guidebook to the variety of professionals we typically call upon.

Our "trust" of professionals is key to all that I have to say. As Wilbert Moore has pointed out4 our relationship with professionals is not contractual; it is not "buyer beware"; our relationship is "let the buyer trust". Trust is the glue upon which all modern social groups hang together and, in America, professionals have been widely successful in earning that trust5. Indeed it is through our trust in the expertise of professionals that we are able to manage the chaos of our daily lives. We might suggest that professionals, through that trust relationship, personalize and add a "face" to modernity.

This modern hegemony is remarkably effective and efficient. Things are produced and work well, enormously diverse services are widely available, we are able to move about with ease, many of us are housed in comfort, and our lives are relatively secure. By and large the trust we give to our professionals is warranted. One hundred years ago, we would have far less able to make this claim.

But there are serious faults in this rising tide of professionalism, which Rosenstock-Huessy often alluded to6 and were described in the earlier paper. Another of the social critics who was especially aware and outspokenly critical of the enormous power of the professions was Ivan Illich7. In 1977 Illich published an extended essay entitled "The Disabling Professions" that was highly critical of the professions8. The following are a few of his cogent observations:

P12 "The Age of Professions will be remembered as the time when politics withered, when voters, guided by professors, entrusted to technocrats the power to legislate needs, renounced the authority to decide who needs what and suffered monopolistic oligarchies to determine the means by which these needs shall be met. It will be remembered as the age of schooling, when

⁴ Wilbert E. Moore The Professions: Roles and Rules Russel Sage Foundation 1970

⁵ A powerful study of how the Medical profession transformed itself from an untrustworthy ragtag collection of charlatans and irregular practitioners into a trustworthy profession is Paul Starrs' "The Social Transformation of American Medicine" Basic Books 1982

⁶ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy "What Future the Professions" Lectures 1960 Argo Books

⁷ There might be an interesting paper in contrasting Illich and Rosenstock-Huessy. Both central Europeans, with comparable intellectual backgrounds, though roughly a generation apart, they shared many interests and a common label as academic mavericks.

⁸ Ivan Illich et al "The Disabling Professions" Marion Boyars Publishers 1977

people for one-third of their lives had their learning needs prescribed and were trained how to accumulate further needs, and for the other two-thirds became clients of prestigious pushers who managed their habits."

P15 "Let us face the fact that the bodies of specialists that now dominate the creation, adjudication and implementation of needs are a new kind of cartel. They are more deeply entrenched than the Byzantine bureaucracy, more international than the world church, more stable than any labor union, endowed with wider competencies than any shaman, and equipped with a tighter hold over those they claim as victims than any mafia....Professions also do this, but they go further: they decide what shall be made, for whom and how their decrees shall be enforced. They claim special, incommunicable authority to determine not just the way things are to be made, but also the reason why their services are mandatory"

P17 "A profession, like a priesthood, holds power by concession from an elite whose interests it props up. As priesthood provides eternal salvation, so a profession claims legitimacy as the interpreter, protector and supplier of a special, this-worldly interest of the public at large. This kind of professional power exists only in societies in which elite membership itself is legitimized or acquired by professional status. Professional power is a specialized form of the privilege to prescribe. It is this power of prescription that gives control within the industrial state. The professions power over the work its members do is therefore distinct and new both in scope and in origin."

P17 "Professionals tell you what you need and claim the power to prescribe. They not only recommend what is good, but actually ordain what is right." Rather it is his authority to define a person as client, to determine that person's need and to hand that person a prescription. This professional authority comprises three roles: the sapiential authority to advise, instruct and direct; the moral authority that makes its acceptance not just useful but obligatory; and charismatic authority that allows the professional to appeal to some supreme interest of his client that not only outranks conscience but sometimes the raison d'etat9.

P20 "The transformation of a liberal into a dominant profession is akin to the legal establishment of a state church. Physicians transmogrified into biocrats, teachers into gnosocrats, morticians into thanocrats, are much closer to state supported clergies than to trade associations. The professional as teacher of the currently accepted brand of scientific orthodoxy acts as a theologian. As moral entrepreneur and as creator of the need for his services, he acts the role of a priest. As crusading helper, he acts the part of the missioner and hunts down the underprivileged. As inquisitor, he outlaws the unorthodox: he imposes his solutions on the recalcitrant who refuses to recognize that he is a problem. This multifaceted investiture with the task of relieving a specific inconvenience of man's estate turns each profession into the analogue of the established cult"

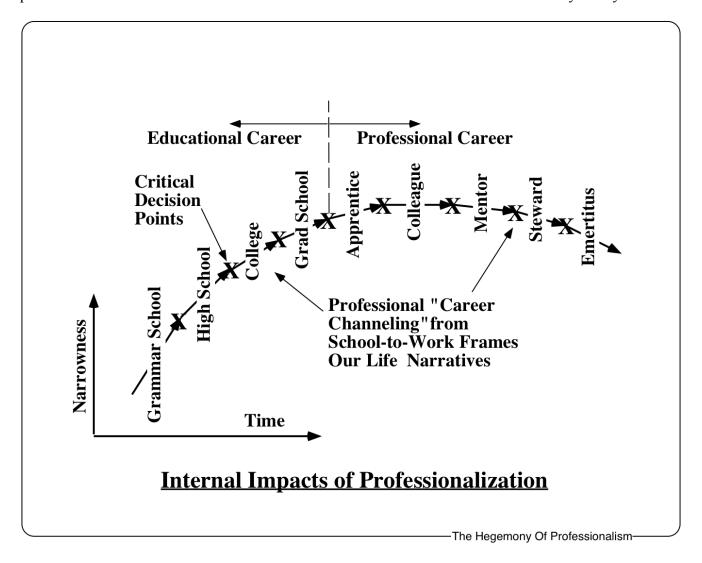
Neither Rosenstock-Huessy nor I are as damning of the professions as is Illich. However, his passion and his "wakeup call" are understandable in an age where the dominance of professionalism and its pathologies are not clearly perceived. Illich is also very critical of the role played by our educational process in the endowment and enfranchising of professionals. He

trusting him with their very lives.

⁹ I suggest that Illich here describes, very accurately, the behavior of the subjects of Stanley Milgram's disturbing experiments in his film "Obedience". The subjects were, in effect, defering all moral responsibility for the shocks they administered to the professionals telling them what to do. And don't we, ourselves, also do exactly as the doctor prescribes, even unto our children.

addressed this issue in a telling way in his widely acclaimed "Deschooling Society"10 I will address this issue in the second part of my talk.

Illich calls especial attention to the fact that the professional, in that he expects us to trust him, behaves as a new kind of priest. In fact this professional priestly role, as the trustworthy umbrella handle in Figure 1 suggests, is highly relevant to our modern life while the role of the traditional church priest, no longer so trusted, is hardly relevant at all. The "Keys to Modernity" are in the hands of the new clergy-the professionals. Faith in priests has given way to trust in professionals. No wonder all our modern priests seek other trust-earning professional credentials as psychologists, sociologists, social workers, philosophers, even as MBAs, but sadly, rarely as historians. And theology has become a highly professionalized academic track, with lots of publications but little relevance either to the traditional Church or to the needs of today's laity.



III How professionals were elevated to this new role

The development and growth of new technologies and the spread of large complex systems employing these technologies demands a huge increase in expertise to understand and apply

¹⁰ Ivan Illich "Deschooling Society" Harper & Row 1971

them. Since the beginnings of the Enlightenment we have been forced to change our views of work to respond to these pressures. From a time when labor was perceived as demeaning, fit only for slaves or peasants, the growing sophistication of work and the awareness of its intellectual content as opposed to raw sweat, led to a radical transformation, especially at the time of the Reformation when religious authorities, such as Luther and Calvin, extended the concept of vocation to daily work rather than spiritual work alone. As Weber emphasized, the Protestant work ethic was the result of this transformation. Note that in the Protestant work ethic man now shares with God in the creativeness of his work, i.e. he is elevated to become a co-creator with God in the fruitfulness of his work. In earlier times it was God alone who created the fruitfulness of man's labors.

In modern times we have seen the growth of schooling as a mode of preparation for eventual work. This is what we have come to call a career. Figure 2 depicts the trajectory of a modern career from pre-school, kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, secondary or high school, college, graduate school and post-graduate school leading into the professional career roles of apprentice, journeyman and master. At the junctures of these different stages there are often tests, examinations, and/or credentials to mark the transition11.

By means of this schooling process of 16 or more years, we are all launched into professional roles as surely as the early stages of a missile will place it into orbit. This is far more intense catechesis than ever attempted by any church and its result is to assure that worship is displaced by work. This is the new "Education for Profession" Engine

IV The Evolution of the "Education/Profession Engine"

Education in the US before the Civil War was almost entirely local, largely carried on by the Protestant Churches and oriented toward worship, the virtues, and moral living. There was some advanced schooling in the professions of medicine and law but of a small scale. The Civil War and the sudden wholesale thrust of the US into the Industrial Revolution precipitated by it awoke our sleeping education estate. Children were being brought into the New England textile mills in large numbers because of the shortage of labor. In many mills, owners had to school those children in classrooms to better their work skills. Common schools, crossing over the catechetical differences of the Protestant sects, came into being, in part to compete with the mills and keep the children out of them. States, like Massachusetts led by Horace Mann, began to require that local communities provide public schools for children. Normal schools and Teachers colleges, specifically intended for teacher preparation, were created. And the colleges were beginning to offer a much greater variety of professional programs intended to supply the growing demand for teachers and the enhanced intellectual preparation required of them. President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act that established the land-grant colleges that vastly increased the numbers of colleges across the country.

Daniel Boorstein12 points out that the American educational system developed in a very different way than its European predecessors which evolved in a bottom-up way with large numbers of elementary schools, with small numbers moving-on to secondary schools and a very

¹¹ See Randall Collins "The Credential Society" Academic Press 1979 for a critique of this credentialling process

¹² Daniel Boorstein "The Republic of Technology" Harper & Row 1978 Chpt V "Experimenting with Education"

much smaller fraction moving-on to college or university. European schools were largely financed nationally. The pressures after the Civil War led, in the US, to much more of a top-down structure with the sudden growth of colleges, with a much greater emphasis on secondary high-schools, and with a radical increase in teacher-preparation programs.

Because of State mandates, the financing of schools in the US was entirely local. Thus, there was a great deal of local autonomy, adaptation, and experimentation, in general with far more emphasis on the "practical arts" rather than the liberal arts. Thus, there was also a great deal of competition in the US educational system.

In the same period there was intense growth of ancillary programs that radically affected the evolving American Educational/ Professional engine. These emerging programs included psychological and intelligence testing, vocational placement testing, and the defining notion of personalized careers. Clark Kerr13, head of the largest university system in the US, the University of California, spoke to the confluence of these emerging parallel forces and called for a "knowledge production factory to satisfy the emerging knowledge-based economy" and proposed the term multiversity14 to describe it. Ironically, President Kerr was calling for an intimate union of university and industry to meet the growing needs of modernity very shortly after President Dwight D -Eisenhower warned America of the dangers of the Military-Industrial machine.

But Kerr was also responding to the emerging and widely shared underlying belief in the US that education was our most critical as well as our most potent social-engineering corrective. Whatever the ills our society might suffer, somehow the classroom can come to the rescue. Thus the Kerr vision focused upon education as an action- and work-oriented fix-it-all and thrust aside the traditional university roles of contemplation and reflection.

In part, our colleges borrowed from the German Model for professional training and research-oriented universities that had been in place for nearly one hundred years and which was emulated by John Hopkins University when it established the largest graduate school in America in 1876. But the US colleges quickly passed by these European Models to evolve the modern research-oriented university, and the vast network of local schools, both elementary and

14 In the 1950s, Canadian philosopher, George Grant, "Philosophy-An Essay" 1951"George Grant Reader University of Toronto Press 1998 spoke very critically of the emerging multiversity as the new technological center of higher education. In the highly diversified, technologically-centered multiversity, there is no common truth that is handed-on within a tradition, such as the liberal arts. So the traditional title of university becomes bankrupt. Rather, in the multiversity a whole gamut of narrow vocational and curricular disciplines are stressed with little or no grounding in any tradition.

Especially, he pondered how the Protestant universities had so easily abandoned their original missions. This criticism was extended to American universities by George Marsden 'The Soul of the American University-From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief' Oxford University Press 1994 and James Tunstead Burtchaell "The Dying of the Light-The Disengagement of Colleges & Universities from their Christian Churches" William B. Eerdmans 1998.

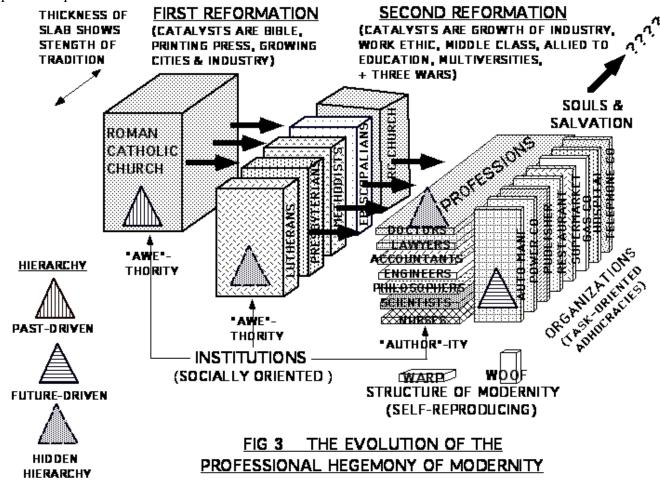
Allan Bloom's "The Closing of the American Mind' Simon & Schuster 1987 sharply criticized the universities for abandoning their traditional "liberal arts" programs. His book stayed atop the best-seller list for many months.

¹³ Clark Kerr "The Uses of the University" 1963

secondary, to supply the expanding universities. The university, in turn, had been augmented to also prepare the next-generation of professional track teachers.

Burton Bledstein15 examines how the culture of professionalism was born in our emerging system of higher education as a distinctly American solution to move beyond wealth or property class distinctions to a social order based upon competence, i.e. a meritocracy. Science quickly became the religion of this new culture. Bledstein notes; "For middle-class Americans, the culture of professionalism provided an orderly explanation of basic natural processes that democratic societies, with their historic need to reject traditional authority, required. Science (and technology) as sources for professional authority transcended the favoritism of politics, the corruption of personality, and the exclusiveness of partisanship." One of the results of the new respect for science and experts was that social issues became redefined as technical ones.

Thus, in this post Civil War period, the US evolved a complex Educational/Professional engine in a remarkably short time. Today, this engine has become so potent and prolific that it is being emulated worldwide and our multiversities serve as beacons attracting future professionals from around the globe. Furthermore it is evident that the multiversities sit atop this engine and dominate both the professional communities and the complex of modern organizations dependent upon them.



¹⁵ Burton J. Bledstein "The Culture of Professionalism" W.W. Norton & Co. 1976

V The Second Reformation

This enormous growth of educational resources combined with its direct coupling to the professions has led us well beyond the Protestant work ethic to a new Reformation where the primary carriers of ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs and morality are no longer the Protestant sects but are now the professions. We can illustrate this second reformation with Figure 3. In this rather complex figure, the first Reformation is depicted as the large thick block representing the Roman Catholic Church splintering into the variety of Protestant sects. The thickness of the slabs is intended to represent the relative strength of tradition exhibited by these different institutions 16. This is also reflected by the small triangles, which depict the nature of the hierarchies in these institutions. The older Catholic Church had a very visible hierarchy, largely driven by its past whereas in the newer Protestant sects the hierarchies are deliberately hidden as the past is being largely rewritten. But both the older Catholic Church and the newer Protestant ones are vertically oriented and exhibit a form of coordination that I called in my earlier paper "AWE-thority". AWE-thority conveys eternal truths, made present by a chain of tradition. Its mission is personal salvation. Its language is affective, vertical, hierarchical, and seeks moral unity and order. It is a language of command and stewardship but also of obedience, taking the form of interdicts, dogma and anathema.

With the coming of the second reformation, thanks to a variety of catalysts, the growth of cities and industry, the rise of the middle class, the passage through three wars, and, most important of all, the onset of the Education/Professionalism engine we have just been describing,

16 In the following section I would like to adopt definitions for three social entities; <u>cultures</u>, <u>institutions</u> and <u>organizations</u>. In these I am following along the lines suggested by Arnold Gehlen "'Man in the Age of Technology" Columbia University Press 1980 (see especially the Foreword by Peter L. Berger)

A <u>culture</u> follows the anthropological sense as a very large integrated group sharing socially acquired language, meanings, knowledge, art, morals, values, traditions beliefs, rules of conduct or customs, and a delimited range of accepted behaviors or lifestyles that, through enculturation, are handed on from generation to generation. Cultures are, by definition, self-replicating. <u>Institutions</u> are social subsets of cultures with interlocking social roles and expectations, reflecting a subset of human needs but typically evolved rather than rationally put together. They are identified with a limited range of social purposes by which human life is given coherence and continuity. They furnish a stable background for human life; they can be taken for granted, acted in spontaneously and without reflection(like a home). By the same token, institutions, by providing this stable "background" open up the "foreground" for deliberate, reflective, purposeful actions. Institutions, like cultures, are expected to be handed-on generation to generation.

Gehlen believed that mankind, lacking the guidance of instincts common to animals, has a basic need for guiding institutions to replace that lack. And he further maintained that our existing institutions constitute thousands of years of crystallized guidance.

<u>Organizations</u>, like institutions are subsets of cultures, but are far more limited in their purposes than institutions with little of their stability and continuity. In them, the background and traditions of human life are drastically curtailed. They are characterized by narrowed purposes, constant innovation, rationality and reflectivity. Unlike cultures and institutions, there is little expectation of their being handed-on to the next generation.

we see the religious denominations giving way to the layers of different professions. In these, order is coordinated by horizontal "AUTHOR-ity". AUTHOR-ity conveys secular mastery rather than sacred mystery. Its mission is progress. Its language is effective, horizontal, utilitarian, and pragmatic, stressing diversity and tolerance over moral order. It is a language of rational persuasion and counsel based upon individual autonomy. Rather than tradition, continuity and the past, it stresses experimentation, change, and the future. By drawing all these different professions as similar slabs, I specifically mean to suggest that these institutions exhibit a high degree of social similarity, especially in work situations, despite wide differences in the details of their disciplines. This is the basis for much of the trust and solidarity that exists across professions.

The impact of traditions in the professions is far less strong than were the traditional impacts in the Protestant denominations. But as in the case of the Protestant sects the hierarchies here also remain hidden. Within their professional hidden hierarchies, top-rated professionals determine who gets published, who gets to go to conferences and "network" for better jobs, who gets hired, who gets promoted, who gets tenure, who gets invited to think-tanks and institutes, who gets awards, who gets grants and fellowships. And never is there a formal, responsible hierarchy made visible.

The emergence of professions represents yet another radical change in our view of work. Before the first Reformation, God was the creator of work, following that Reformation, man became co-creator with God of his work. Following the second Reformation man, alone, is the creator of his work. To be sure, we still speak of them as vocations, but in all the vast array of professions in which we now wallow there are few that still reflect God's call and his plan. The career trajectory mapped out in Figure 2 is wholly a man-made path; God is now irrelevant to our plans.

I stress that the Protestant sects were the essential catalysts that brought about today's professions. This was, in part, a result of the changing view of work under the Protestants. But also workmen gradually found that they could coordinate and interact despite their basic religious differences. Those differences gradually became unimportant to their work. Instead, it was the division of labor roles that increasingly shaped their interaction. In his classic book on the subject 17 Durkheim found that a kind of mutual trust, in his terms "organic solidarity" arose in such shared work settings especially as the labor becomes more and more complex. A new kind of collective conscience, an enhanced mutual trust arose both within any one profession but also between the differing professions. It is this new solidarity, or "social capital" as it is now beginning to be called, that has contributed so much to the profound trust that we extend to professionals. Here again, this solidarity has been greatly strengthened by the extensive coupling of the educational process to the work life of professionals.

Thus, it was not an undifferentiated secularization that followed after and replaced the religious denominations and I emphasize this strongly. Rather it was the highly differentiated professionalization, which provided a new kind of "home" and/or "church" for all those talented and educated highly mobile hordes being cranked out by our schools, colleges, and multiversities. Edmund Burke uses the felicitous phrase "little platoons" to describe the solidarity binding such groups18. Though differentiated, the professions constitute one vast

¹⁷ Emile Durkheim "The Division of Labor in Society" The Free Press 1933

¹⁸ Edmund Burke "Reflections on the Revolution in France" Indianapolis: Hackett 1987 "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle,

"middle-class" whereas the Protestant denominations from which they derived manifested significant class differentiation within themselves.

The professions, in addition to providing a new kind of church or home or little platoon, provided a rich potential for a highly individualistic self-view through this new work-centered concept of careers. Thus, most professionals believe that they were largely the architects of their own careers. In view of our desire to throw off the constraints of the past, this is regarded as a great advance. Furthermore, having chosen our own careers and jobs, we have, so-to-speak, bought into them, and cognitive dissonance would tell us that we will be powerfully committed to perform them well. Thus, the complex division of labor in professionalism creates a greater individualism since we follow our own careers. But it is an organic individualism, a new kind of solidarity based upon the mutual trust of professionals

Now the professions alone can meet only a small part of many material needs of modernity. But, by combining and coordinating the talents of many different professionals through large complex systems and organizations, as represented by the vertical slabs on the far right of the figure, we can satisfy, very effectively, almost all the material needs that modernity demands. These vertically oriented organizations exhibit little or no traditional order and are almost entirely coordinated by a hierarchy of managerial authority, task-oriented toward the future. These have also been referred to as adhocracies. Even our governmental organizations follow this same structural way of relating to the knowledge-bearing professionals and have largely forfeited the tradition-rich hierarchies (now castigated as "Old-Boy Networks") that once helped bring a wealth of experience to the political process.

This combination of the socially oriented professional institutions and the task-oriented practical organizations can be seen as the "warp" and "woof" of modernity19 with the professions providing the necessary backbone (warp) with sufficient tradition to anchor and sustain modernity through several generations. Whereas the task-oriented organizations (woof) have no hindrance from tradition and can adapt readily to rapidly changing circumstances.

It is this structure, which has so richly rewarded modernity. It is why America is so flexible and effective in responding to its needs and generally to its emergencies as well. The enormous turn-around of our entire industrial strength in World War II to become the World's greatest armed power in three years is telling proof of this flexibility. More recently, the shift of so many organizations in response to the sudden emergence of global economics is a further illustration of the adaptability of this structure.

In addition to its flexibility, the structure is noteworthy also because it is largely self-replicating. Thanks to the same Educational/Professional engine that brought about this new reformation in the first place, the professionals who provide the essential backbone continue to pour out of our educational institutions, generation upon generation. We are currently into the fourth generation with no sign yet of failed regeneration.

the germ, as it were, of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed toward a love to our country and to mankind"

19 Note that this egg-crate like structure, if rotated by 90 degrees, would resemble the modern skyscraper with the task-oriented organizations (woof) corresponding to the individual floors of the skyscraper and the backbone professional institutions (warp) corresponding to the core of the building where all the commodities, services, and people flowing to the different floors are carried. I might suggest that the shock and awe of 9/11 might be, in part, related to a deep down sense of that the structure being destroyed before our very eyes was central to modernity.

VI The Downside of the Second Reformation

Despite all the success the new professional hegemony has yielded and how relevant it is to all the material needs of modernity there are glaring omissions in the structure. Figure 3, itself, graphically represents the most grievous problem with our Educational/Professional engine. The figure is a wholly spatial representation of a complex time-elaborate revolution. Rosenstock-Huessy20 addresses the principal failing of our educational institutions as follows; "These academic prejudices may be summed up as 'obsession with space'-especially with external space and its corresponding ideal of 'objectivity'-to the utter neglect of time. Our classrooms with their impossible benches and our division into departments represents the result of centennial space supremacy. Our college methods are all methods developed for space. And this is really disastrous in the humanities and social studies because man is peculiarly a temporal being, ever but an exile and a pilgrim in the world of space. Academic thinking has harnessed time to the triumphant chariot of space as a poor fourth dimension, and we habitually speak of 'time spans', 'length of time', etc. Recent Sophists have gone so far as to call our Real time 'the spacious present'. Let us look beyond the Sophistry. In religion and in poetry an hour is filled with width as well as length. The very word 'hour', this remnant of the ecclesiastical 'horae', decidedly still has a ring beyond its length of sixty minutes. An hour passed alone in silence is such a victory of man over his fears that Pascal calls it the precipice for our virtue. Real time is as full as mere space is empty."

"This college is one of the best in the land; yet it is, at this moment, without a future; it is wholly given to space realization. Objectivity is its god. It would treat all realities as things external to the mind, things in which we as thinkers have no roots, and which may accordingly be touched, weighed, measured, and manipulated without reference to the common destiny in which we and they are jointly bound. This may do for physics. It will not do for human society."

Thus, the structure we show for modernity fails totally to address man's temporal needs at all, the issues of soul and salvation that were major concerns of the pre-Refomation II world, the senses of family, of generations before and after, of loyalty, duty and obligation, and of the heritage we would hope to bequeath to the world.

This temporal failure of modernity is powerfully reinforced in a book by Arlie Hochshild entitled "The Time Bind-When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work"21 simply by its title alone. Our professional work takes place within organizations that conform to our time expectations, faithfully following the clock, whereas family life has ever-expanding and ensnaring time demands that are driven by biological or genealogical clocks beyond our control; work is comfortable, home is not.

A further example of the temporal naiveté of modernity is suggested by the title of R-H's essay "Teaching Too Late, Learning Too Early"22. This is the inverted view of the relative roles of the young and the old that is so prevalent in modern culture, a culture that idolizes youth, incessant change, the future, and mass media psycho-twaddle entertainment. The same

²⁰ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy "I am an Impure Thinker" Argo Books 1970 P92

²¹ Arlie Hochshild "The Time Bind-When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work" Metropolitan Books 1997

²² Rosenstock-Huessy "I am an Impure Thinker" Argo Books 1970 P91-P114

modernity regards the wisdom of its elders as bankrupt, out-of-date and out-of-place. We prefer to send them away to pasture their declining years in Florida, Arizona and Southern California. This cultural inversion was largely publicized by the mistakenly credentialed "cultural Anthropologist" Margaret Mead23 in her juvenile and absurd discussion of "prefigurative" cultures i.e., ones where the old learn from the young rather than vice-versa. Our young do show a proclivity for mastering physical sex, just as Mead's Samoan natives did, but their comprehension of the moral aspects of sex shows appalling ignorance. They require decades and continuing counsel and restraint of elders in order to achieve true sexual moral maturity.

VII Can We Change the Professional Hegemony?

The principal difficulty of contending with and changing the hegemony of professionalism lies with another aspect of modernity that I have not addressed; that aspect is the role of the mass media. As I maintained earlier, the backbone of our society is its professions. These are the people who do things, who keep our technologies and our complex systems and organizations going. Yet it is the mass media that appear to dominate. For example, our whole political process is enthralled by the mass media. The media seem to be not only setting the agenda but also providing whatever common language, images and meanings we share. Their vehicle is top-down propaganda and their reach is now worldwide. And the propaganda they spread dominates many of our educational institutions as well24. It is the mass media that are especially responsible for the temporal inversion of culture, i.e. the pre-figurative culture, promoted by Margaret Mead, where the elders are to learn from the young. Yet, it is the professionals alone who offer some hope in battling against the mass media, for it is the professionals who truly speak for reality whereas the mass media speaks only about illusion.

However, though they anathematize traditional dogma, the mass media share among them a rigid set of dogma we call political correctness. Foremost on their dogmatic hit list is hierarchy, basically because hierarchy is the backbone of tradition and the mass media rejects tradition as simply not up-to-date. They are primarily in business to truncate, in fact to ridicule, any hierarchy, i.e. to by-pass all those "bureaucratic" processes that confound their simple-minded views of our culture's very complex structures.

But hierarchy is also the cornerstone of temporal order. If we wish to redeem our Educational/Professional engine we will need to reassert the importance and necessity for hierarchical order, thus putting ourselves uppermost on the mass media's radar. I believe that it is only possible to be effective in bringing awareness and change by staying well out of the mass media's limelight. Whatever is to be done must be done from the bottom-up and locally. However there are still some available targets of opportunity. They are:

Reaffirming our families as multigenerational not merely nuclear two-generation families. We need to bring our grandparents back from Florida and help them regain the role of elder in our families. Grandparents need, once again, to speak with AWE-thority to their children and grandchildren, as elders not as playmates. Family histories need to be explored and handed on.

²³ Margaret Mead "Culture and Commitment" Doubleday & Co 1970 see Chpt IV

²⁴ Since the media sever the young from their pasts, in effect consuming their own offspring, the mass media warrants the label of Moloch.

Our children need much stronger home schooling and charter schools. The role of the home in disciplining and developing children's character has to be greatly strengthened. The outsourcing of these roles to experts and our public schools has been a disaster

The clergy in our local churches need to be affirmed in returning to their traditional roles as AWE-thorities not as professionalized AUTHOR-ities. Awe and reverence need to be restored as fundamental to the ritual. Organic hierarchy needs to be resurrected not anathematized.

We need to restore much of the guild tradition of work as Christian service and as a means of balancing home and work. I don't hold out much hope that the kind of rural, return to the farm, measures, advocated by Wendell Berry and others, are possible for many of us and they fail to address the real problems for future generations with the Education/ Professional engine.

We ourselves need to pray for and hopefully lay the groundwork for our own conversion, i.e. metanoia. As longtime willing believers in the Education/Profession engine, our escape from this paradigm will require radical psychic surgery, which we cannot make happen. We must await God's grace to be so caught.