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A History of the Association for Experiential Education 1990–2008



Daniel Garvey, Denise Mitten,
Steve Pace, & Nina S. Roberts

Attempting to write a history of an organization is an interesting and difficult activity. In the words of Bob Seager of the Silver Bullet Band, it's a question of, "what to keep in and what to leave out." Every activity of the Association for Experiential Education (AEE) is important to someone and yet a written history must find a way to create a story that summarizes some of the most important themes that emerge from an infinite number of events and shared experiences.

The authors of this history—Dan Garvey, Denise Mitten, Steve Pace, and Nina Roberts—have come together in an attempt to co-create such a shared account of AEE from 1990 to 2008. The first published history of AEE, authored by Dan Garvey, covered the birth of the organization through 1990 (and is available online at www.aee.org on the Resources page).

Each author has lived through and helped shape AEE's history. We represent almost 100 years of combined affiliation with the association. We are former Board members, Board treasurer, Board presidents, conference presenters, executive director, Accreditation Council member, Professional Group members and leaders, and general custodians of a shared dream to help maintain an association in support of experiential educators around the world.

The history of AEE is important because the association is both a gathering place for people and ideas *and* a movement of activists intent on changing institutions so that they will better serve the common good. Throughout history there have been movements that have attempted to influence society (think John Dewey's progressive education movement or the women's movement). Some movements have more of a lasting impact than others, but almost always a movement's historic significance is written about long after the real creative dust has settled. While accounting for historic impact and significance is important, it is also

essential to capture the themes of a movement shortly after the events that formed them occur. In some ways we are writing a history that is more of a journal versus a reflection of outcomes. The journal history approach is relevant because we live in a world of exponential change. We want to share our history now because the events that have shaped AEE could be useful or even vital to others long before a historical impact piece could be authored.

Methods

To create a more complete picture of the events and activities that have shaped the association, we decided to interview people who have had a significant impact on AEE since 1990, many of whom have been involved with the association for more than 18 years. The following 14 individuals were interviewed:

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|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Barbara Baker | Lee Gillis | Mary Anne Scippa |
| Sylvia Dresser | Sky Gray | Sanford Tollette |
| Laurie Frank | Pat Hammond | Karen Warren |
| Mike Gass | Jude Hirsch | Rita Yerkes |
| Katrina Geurkink | Chris Lupton | |

We acknowledge that other key figures may not have been included in this process, yet we feel confident those we did interview have played a significant role in the evolution of the AEE and that their combined statements form the basis of this chapter.

Each interview was conducted over the phone. Though there each one varied slightly based on the personality style of the interviewer and the casual nature of the discussions, all interviewees minimally were asked the following thematic questions:

1. Regarding AEE and your perspective, can you tell us what the two or three most important events have been since 1990?
2. Why were these events important? And what are the long-term consequences of these events for the association?
3. From your perspective, what can you say about the overall feel of our organization?

Each interview was recorded and transcribed or responses were hand-written and later typed. The typed responses were then sent to one of the authors who had not conducted any interviews for a domain analysis in an attempt to reveal major themes. The four primary themes that emerged are: (a) Board Improvement, (b) Social Justice, (c) Accreditation, and (d) Scholarship and Research.

Of the 164 separate comments made by respondents, 158 fit into one of the above four themes. The remaining six comments, outside the above themes, showed no recognizable themes. Had these themes been suggested, the authors who did the interviews were asked

to verify these classifications. These themes represent a consensus of findings by all the authors. We believe our categories adequately cluster the most important historical trends within AEE since 1990.

Board Improvement

As a nonprofit corporation registered in the state of Colorado, AEE is mandated by law to have by-laws and a Board of Directors. AEE's by-laws contain the "rules" that govern the structure and function of the organization and the Board of Directors. A history of Board changes improvement is recorded in the by-law revisions. Each by-law revision is voted on by the membership, requiring a two-thirds majority to pass. In response to membership prodding and their commitment to social justice, a major by-law revision occurred in 1991 and two subsequent revisions in 2002 and 2004. These changes to the by-laws had significant effects upon AEE.

In the 1991 revision, the Board of Directors (BoD) was restructured and expanded with the intention of creating a more participatory and inclusive organizational structure. Prior to 1991, AEE's BoD was elected at large. The entire AEE membership elected directors, but there was no strategic measure to ensure that the various segments of the association were represented on the Board. Thus, it was possible that a majority of the Board members only represented one narrow interest and/or geographic area. Through this by-law change, the BoD came to be composed of five officers of the Board, a representative from each of the Professional Groups, and representatives from predesignated geographic areas. Additionally, the four-year terms for the officers and a mentoring process were established (e.g., treasurer-elect becomes the treasure and then past-treasurer). This restructuring helped some of the more silent and/or marginalized voices in the AEE be heard. The first meeting of this expanded Board took place in 1993.

Over time, each region wanted and got one representative, Special Interest Groups became Professional Groups, and more Professional Groups formed, growing the Board to almost 20 members. Although the 1991 by-law revision had gone a long way toward building a more inclusive Board structure, the sheer size of the Board hindered its effectiveness. With the same intentionality that the founding members used when forming AEE, Board and committee members again looked for a solution. Growing out of the rigorous 2000 strategic planning process, in 2001 a new structure was proposed that would stabilize the size of the Board to what was thought to be manageable. In this new structure, the Board consisted of the five officers, two people elected from candidates put forth by the Professional Groups Council, two representative nominated by the Council of Region Chairs, and two members-at-large. The executive committee was abolished, and instead of having one meeting a year

with only the officers meeting and making decisions, now all meetings consisted of the entire Board, a further refinement of power distribution.

As organizations grow, Boards often evolve from being involved in operational activities (and even doing the everyday work of the organization) to a governing function. A move toward truly making AEE's Board a governing Board resulted from a resource Sharon Heinlen, then executive director, shared with Katrina Geurkink, then Board president-elect, at a three-day meeting in 1998 in Boulder, Colorado. After reading Carver's book, *Boards that Make a Difference*, Katrina engaged in tireless education of the Board of Directors, encouraging the adoption of the Carver Governance Model. In November 2000, the Board voted to move ahead with policy governance using the Carver Model.

Next began the long process of Board self-education and policy development. Over the winter of 2000-01, Board members read Carver's book and at the May 2001 Leadership Summit, as well as a special summer meeting with a consultant, the Board worked on creating a policy register. The first version of the policy register was approved by the Board in November 2001. Since then, the Board has worked hard to guide the association by polling AEE members, researching societal and experiential education-related trends, and crafting Ends that reflect the findings of their research (see Figure 1).

The Association for Experiential Education exists so that educators and practitioners have access to a professional learning community dedicated to enriching lives through the philosophy and principles* of experiential education.

*as articulated on the AEE website (www.aee.org)

1. The learning community is inclusive of diverse peoples and professional practices, collaborative with other communities, and accessible within reasonable means.
2. Authoritative information for implementing and advancing the philosophy and practice of experiential education is accessible.
 - a. Standards are identified to improve professional practice and to safeguard the well-being of participants.
 - b. Research about experiential education is coordinated and conducted.
3. Decision-makers value and support experiential education.

The model's structure helped provide common language, helped people understand their roles and responsibilities, helped with accountability, and helped make the Board more responsive to both AEE's stakeholders and the world outside AEE. Yet it has also caused its share of growing pains. To quote one interviewee:

Restructuring the Board was critical and must be included in this chapter. In the 90s there was so much drama, we were spinning our wheels! Using the Carver Model was very healthy in bringing us to new and very positive directions.

Board improvement remains a focus of AEE. The history of this consistent concern for organizational self-renewal and improvement is a reflection of a vigilance to use experiential learning for growth. As the Board improves its functioning, AEE's staff have more support to further the work of the association.

Social Justice

The authors struggled to appropriately list and describe social justice issues within the history of AEE. In one sense it represents a theme similar to the other themes in this chapter and yet social justice colored every theme and must be seen as braided into the very fabric of AEE. While diversity can be defined as recognizing, appreciating, valuing, and utilizing the unique talents and contributions of all individuals, in its broadest context social justice is about the power attached to all of this. More narrowly defined and organizationally focused, social justice is the action behind knowing how to embrace and engage this rich mixture of individual differences and similarities so that it can be applied in the pursuit of organizational objectives.

Bringing the association to its current incarnation hasn't been an easy evolution (conflicting values, sexism, heterosexism, and racism have been barriers to progress). A big step forward was taken in 1991, when the mission of AEE was reworded to include "to contribute to making a more just and compassionate world by transforming education" and the Board adopted a Diversity Statement (see Figure 2). Putting forth these guiding principles of the association has yielded numerous benefits. For instance, it has led to a more diverse group of individuals exploring the opportunities and resources provided by AEE, as well as new agendas and needs being brought to the forefront of the association's work.

The culture at AEE is a microcosm of a community living, practicing, and learning and teaching about social justice. As stated by one interviewee:

We have and continue to mirror our diverse culture. AEE is a place to come back to and to feel that consciousness. We are more rooted in the humanitarian issues.... Some of my best conversations and some of my best teaching about how to have those hard conversations were at AEE.

Vision

The vision of the Association for Experiential Education is to contribute to making a more just and compassionate world by transforming education.

Mission

The mission of the Association for Experiential Education is to develop and promote experiential education. The association is committed to supporting professional development, theoretical advancement and the evaluation of experiential education worldwide.

Diversity Statement

AEE does not discriminate on the basis of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, or professional affiliation in matters of employment or application for membership.

Figure 2. Guiding principles of the Association for Experiential Education.

Given the draw of AEE for members who want to make a difference in people's lives and that people do not always agree on the best ways for this to happen, the work has been challenging and emotional. In fact, there is not even agreement among the membership of AEE that social justice is a part of the association's work.

Much of the social justice work in AEE has happened as part of the Professional Groups, some of which are now called Affiliation Groups. Over the past 18 years, these groups have worked on numerous issues. The Schools & Colleges Professional Group has provided opportunities for both AEE members and the educational institutions they serve. Their commitment to social justice is evident in the work they've done in contributing to the creation of greater equity in educational institutions across the country. Members within the Therapeutic Adventure Professional Group (TAPG) have expanded their ways of thinking and doing from a focus on individual clients/populations (such as looking at "self") by exploring the needs of the larger society. For example, TAPG has contributed to enhancing awareness and increasing knowledge of the reality of oppression within specific populations served (e.g., LGBA issues, people with disabilities, at-risk youth) to the intersection of oppression between groups and the effects across society.

The creation of some AEE Professional Groups—WPG (Women's Professional Group), NAALA (Natives, Africans, Asians, Latinos & Allies), LGBA (Lesbian, Gays, Bisexuals & Allies)—has stemmed from concerns about social justice issues. Efforts of the WPG have resulted in having a sliding-scale membership fee and conducting fundraisers so members from lower income brackets can attend conferences and join the association. Given the historic under-

representation of women in leadership positions on the Board and committees, mentoring other women members became a substantial effort of the WPG. Due to often inaccurate representations in the outdoor and experiential education literature, women were mentored to write for the *Journal of Experiential Education (JEE)* and to present at regional and international conferences. Furthermore, in 1996, *Women's Voices in Experiential Education* (edited by Dr. Karen Warren) was published. Members of the WPG initiated the 1997 "Take Back the Trails" in support of reducing fear and violence against women and girls (organized following the brutal murders of two young outdoorswomen in a wilderness area in 1996). Such initiatives have made the WPG a model for other Professional Groups across the association.

Support for the establishment of NAALA primarily occurred in a more focused manner in 1990 when a "diversity-related" preconference was organized; this was the spark for a new form of activism. The mission of NAALA is "to elevate the consciousness of AEE's membership toward oppression, exploitation and human suffering, and advocating for social and economic justice within experiential education by developing and implementing new strategies for sharing power." The birth of NAALA initially caused commotion because the group members tended to be outspoken and forthright in expressing their needs and desires. Many AEE members were not used to such powerful voices emanating from previously marginalized people and it took a while for some to listen, learn, and understand. As one of the people interviewed recalls: "In 1990 at the St. Paul conference, the formation of NAALA was huge. It was able to happen because AEE took the risk to have an urban conference and that conference committee was determined to include people of color."

In the fall of 1996, NAALA further addressed the multifaceted ingredients of cultural diversity as AEE published a special issue in the *JEE*: "NAALA in Experiential Education: Beyond Participation" (edited by Dr. Nina Roberts). A central message contained in this issue included the realism that people of color can be strong leaders and not just recipients of experiential education services and opportunities.

A pivotal event occurred in 1998 during the Keynote Address at the Annual Conference in Lake Tahoe. The speaker, dressed in traditional Native clothing, referenced a particular Native American heritage as part of her cultural background. Her appearance and several of her vocalizations (both remarks and songs) were controversial among Native members of AEE and their allies. The silent protest that occurred during this keynote session ignited a dialogue among members that would last years to come. While many lessons were learned from that event, and several other momentous events, for AEE members, finding an acceptable balance of understanding and awareness has been an ongoing challenge.

Between 2001 and 2006, NAALA planned a series of workshops in South Dakota. The gatherings were held each summer for five years on the Rosebud Indian Reservation (and Badlands). Fundraising efforts provided scholarships for teachers and students to attend, pur-

chase of equipment for the ropes course on "the Rez", and teaching skills to engage in service-learning initiatives. NAALA did not introduce experiential education into Native communities; it is already there and a fundamental part of Native life. But the NAALA group was able to help bring new tools, both tangible and intangible, to support instruction and learning.

The LGBA began as an informal collaboration of professionals between 1995 and 1996. Key turning points for this group stemmed from two main events. First, in 1991, the WPG hosted a preconference event at the Annual Conference at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. During this event, an enormous banner of lesbian, gay and bisexual history was posted, for the first time ever, in the hallway of one of the buildings onsite. Second, Colorado passed Proposition #2 in 1991, a highly discriminatory referendum regarding sexual identity. This sparked debate among members about whether to hold events in Colorado. As one interviewee remembers: "When Colorado passed its antigay amendment, AEE had to struggle with how to be a socially just organization ... in light of AEE being based in Colorado." This proposition was reversed by the Supreme Court in 1996. A year later, at the 1997 Annual Conference in Asheville, North Carolina, LGBA approached the Board about becoming a Professional Group, the formation of which was officially approved at the 1998 Leadership Summit. Despite Board endorsement, there was resistance. Nobody overtly questioned that LGBA should exist; the push-back was related to organizational structure. Specifically, what actually constitutes a "PG" became the issue. This in turn led to the Board looking more closely at the structure of PG formation as well as Board structure. (Due to a lack of AEE member interest, LGBA disbanded in 2004.)

"Old Folks and Allies" (OFA) formally convened in 2006 at the Annual Conference in Vancouver, British Columbia. There was a growing need within AEE to create space for elders to connect with each other, share their wisdom with those newer to the field, and contribute to the promotion of experiential education through their connections, projects, and initiatives.

The issues relating to social justice remain at the forefront of the AEE mission and, according to one of the interviewees, change is inevitable:

We've made progress in meeting our vision around justice and creating a just and more compassionate world. The number of women and people of color who have received AEE awards has been a huge change over the last decade. With race and gender being key issues in our field and, of course others, we've been paying much closer attention to this for all the right reasons.

While progress has been made, it is the belief of the authors of this chapter that AEE must grow, maintain, and promote a social justice consciousness at every level of the association. This will have a profound impact on the difference we, as professionals, can make in the world

at large. This includes striving to ensure that we all hold ourselves accountable for being ambassadors of social justice in all its shapes and forms.

Accreditation

Since the founding of the association in the 1970s, AEE members have been interested in sharing information about how to best conduct adventure activities. Throughout the years, countless discussions and meetings about this topic have taken place during annual and regional conferences. These meetings have allowed the leadership of AEE to obtain valuable information from members and member organizations about the need for standards in the field of adventure education. (For more about the birth of the AEE Accreditation Program, reference the first history of AEE and/or the Acknowledgments section of the *Manual of Accreditation Standards for Adventure Programs, 4th edition*, both of which are available online at www.aee.org).

In 1992, Mike Gass and Jed Williamson brought together a group of 12 adventure education experts at the Merrowvista Education Center in Ossipee, New Hampshire. The purpose of the meeting was to create the framework for an accreditation program that would codify the expectations for safe practices within adventure education. Present at the meeting were representatives from what were then—and today remain—some of the most important outdoor programs in the industry: Outward Bound, NOLS, Project Adventure, and others. This initial group envisioned an objective process to evaluate program compliance with a set of standards. The resulting evaluations would be shared with the public so potential clients could make informed decisions concerning the relative safety and worthiness of a program or organization. Creating an accreditation program was a monumental task. As one interviewee recalls: “When I was on the Board in the early 90s, a significant and risky step at the time was accreditation.... It was an attempt to make ... EE more professional and for AEE to have a part in that professionalization.”

While accidents can occur in even the best-run programs, there were, and unfortunately still are, programs in operation that are not well informed regarding risk management. Every time a poorly operated program has a serious injury or fatality, families experience tragedy and excellent programs with no connection to the accident suffer a disabling loss of public trust. The AEE Accreditation Program has been successful in elevating the standards of care within adventure education. As of 2008, more than 50 programs have successfully gone through the AEE accreditation process. These accredited programs serve as models for others within the field.

Two AEE publications have greatly influenced adventure education best practices both in the United States and internationally. To date, more than 700 copies of the *AEE Manual of Accreditation Standards for Adventure Programs* have been sold in the United States and abroad,

and hundreds more issued to land managers, affiliated organizations, accredited programs, and programs considering accreditation. This publication represents best practices within the adventure education field. In addition, approximately 900 copies of the first edition of *Administrative Practices of AEE Accredited Programs* have been sold, and a second edition, published in November 2007, has seen wide distribution. This book details the administrative practices of 16 AEE-accredited programs, providing valuable information on how to create and implement safe and effective programs.

One of the most important aspects of the accreditation process is the opportunity for programs to be evaluated by well-trained professionals in the adventure education field. More than 100 professionals have been trained as AEE accreditation reviewers. This cadre of trained volunteers provides a vital service. One interviewee summed up the impact of the accreditation process with the following statement:

Accreditation is one of the greatest accomplishments of the association. Some people were very skeptical and said we'd be in over our heads and would struggle to succeed. We worked on standards that didn't exist. Accreditation and these standards became accepted even among people and organizations that did not belong to AEE.... This continues to be a valued membership service and also tells the broader world about the standards in our field.

Adventure education attracts leaders who are independent thinkers. The strong commitment these early leaders had for this project led them to spend countless hours distilling the principles behind risk management practices into standards. The standards formed the underpinnings of accreditation and the guidance of the two attorneys cannot be underestimated: Betty van der Smissen and Reb Gregg chiseled out a desirable set of standards and helped create today's Accreditation Program. The success of AEE's Accreditation Program is proof of adventure education's evolving professionalism. Although the issue of peer standards and certification has been part of the discussion within AEE almost from the beginning, the last 18 years could be coined the "era of accreditation."

Currently, under the guidance of Paul Smith, the President of the Catherine Freer Wilderness Therapy Program, work is being done through TAPG and the Accreditation Council to broaden and refine the standards that apply to therapeutic adventure programs. As there are practitioners of experiential education in many fields, it will be interesting to observe how the AEE's Accreditation Program grows and evolves to support the needs of practitioners and the public in these other fields.

Scholarship and Research

Over the decades, the members and scholars involved with AEE's Professional Groups have pushed the association to enhance and build the AEE research agenda. In the early 1990s, this push spawned two AEE committees: the Journal Advisory Committee and the Publications Advisory Committee. These two groups worked to formulate policies, create standards, set high expectations, and support high-quality publications and research efforts throughout the association. The need for research standards was evident because there was early criticism among professionals and scholars from other disciplines that research on experiential education was "not rigorous." Back then, some universities would not accept *Journal of Experiential Education (JEE)* manuscripts as part of the review, tenure, and promotion portfolio for faculty. During his tenure as *JEE* editor, Alan Ewert worked to rectify this situation by methodically increasing the scholarship of the journal. Today, the *JEE* is a respected, peer-reviewed, scholarly journal presenting scientific and conceptual inquiries into the study and practice of experiential education and its various subfields.

While the academic arena has been clear in its desire for AEE to be involved in research and scholarship throughout the years, member surveys conducted in recent years reveal that more and more of AEE's members also want the association to be involved in forwarding research that validates experiential education. As one interviewee put it: "Research gives more credibility to our field. To have credibility, we need decent research."

To that end, AEE currently provides support to two initiatives. Eight years ago, a handful of AEE leaders realized the need and value of having a research symposium where the work of its members could be supported and recognized. This took the shape of the Symposium on Experiential Education Research (SEER), held each year in conjunction with the Annual International Conference. At SEER, a select group of veteran and novice researchers are given the chance to present their projects and share their findings. As one of those interviewed said: "The Research Symposium, with Alan Ewert's leadership, added to scholarship at the conference and brings credibility to the association."

The association's newest research-focused effort is the Council on Research & Evaluation (CORE). The concept of CORE was inspired by a group of dedicated and passionate researchers and practitioners who were concerned about validating experiential practices in both education and therapy in order to support programs that were being threatened politically and financially. This group, which has met annually since 2005 at the Project Adventure/AEE-sponsored Research & Evaluation of Adventure Programming (REAP) Symposium, pledged to move forward with a Task Force in April 2007 to develop the CORE plan, an initiative that has been led by Bobbi Beale. In November 2007, at the Annual International AEE Conference in Little Rock, Arkansas, the official council was launched. CORE's vision includes facilitating the validation and advancement of experiential education by identifying and promoting research, evaluation, and evidence-based practices. CORE intends to do this by providing access to resources and support

through technology, education, and networking opportunities. CORE was designed to provide a unifying structure, a communications hub, and administrative support for several existing AEE subgroups that have strong ties to research, including REAP and SEER. In addition, CORE will be working with existing AEE Professional Groups to strengthen internal alliances, as well as identifying potential external alliances with similar concerns and needs.

We also feel it is important to recognize the member donations that have made small pools of money available for research. One such fund was endowed by Simon Priest and has since been discontinued. In 2005, the Betty van der Smissen Grant Fund was established as a temporary restricted grant fund to support new research or innovative projects that will advance the field of adventure education.

In the broadest sense, research and the dissemination of research findings are about making the value of experiential education available to the largest audience possible. Publications such as the *JEE*, symposiums like SEER and REAP, and councils like CORE are the AEE initiatives that accomplish the latter by doing the former. To quote one interviewee: "This work can help create a level of broader public awareness of what we have to offer. In order to support our members, we must broaden our spectrum and share our work."

Closing Thoughts

Perhaps the most important fact about AEE is that it remains an important gathering point for information and affiliation relating to experiential education. In the 35 years since the inception of AEE, the landscape of education has changed in profound ways. We have witnessed the creative educational reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s and the back-to-basic notions of A Nation at Risk espoused by mainstream education of the 1980s and 1990s. Now we attempt to measure students, teacher effectiveness, and community investment through the No Child Left Behind mandates. In every era, successive generations of experiential educators have helped to influence the discussion and the aims of education and learning. AEE remains part of one of the most vital educational movements because the association holds one truth to be self-evident: If one cares about all our constituents, including students, patients, clients, and others, then one must trust them to take responsibility for their development and be ready to assist them in their quest for fulfillment.

The history of AEE is the accumulated stories of people who have attempted to be of service to others. AEE has evolved from an association organized out of the trunk of its first executive director's car to a professional organization with a talented staff and many volunteer leaders working effectively to improve the many fields that use experiential education.

The actual historic impact of the AEE remains to be written; its vision, however, is as relevant now as at any other time in our history. The future of the AEE is a dream to be realized. The current Ends Policies of the association define the dreams, which are in the process of being realized.

Sketch of a Moving Spirit: Kurt Hahn

▼ ▼ ▼

Thomas James

Someone said once that Kurt Hahn was the “moving spirit” of Outward Bound when it began in Britain during World War II. Imported to the United States two decades later, Outward Bound, in turn, became a moving spirit of the experiential education movement. Now history has left the man behind—Hahn died nearly a decade ago—but his ideals are as ubiquitous in experiential education as is neoclassical architecture in Washington, DC. What was once innovation has become assumption, shaping and defining our vision. To ask about Hahn’s ideals today is really to ask about ourselves as teachers and learners, whether in Outward Bound, in other experiential programs, or in the mainstream of American education. The answers we find should help us to understand, among other things, the meaning of our careers as educators. Work from the dream outward, Carl Jung once said. If we use history to probe the core of idealism that sustains much of experiential education as we practice it, we cannot help but encounter the man who founded Outward Bound in 1941.

“Moving Spirit” is a better designation than “Founder.” What Kurt Hahn caused to happen was larger than the program he created to prevent men from dying in lifeboats when their ships were sunk by German U-boats in the North Atlantic. It was larger than the educational methods he applied to solve the problem at hand. It was, above all, a renewal of social vision.

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