Reasserting the philosophy of experiential education as a vehicle for change in the 21st century

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The nature of experiential learning is fairly well understood and agreed upon. Stehno (1986), in reviewing seven models of experiential learning, indicated that each includes: 1) action that creates an experience, 2) reflection on the action and experience, 3) abstractions drawn from the reflection, and 4) application of the abstraction to a new experience or action. However, there has often been a good deal of confusion between the terms experiential learning and experiential education. Many authors have used these terms interchangeably making meaningful discussions difficult (Kolb, 1984; Kraft, 1986). Meaningful discussions have been further hampered in that the terms have been used to describe many different teaching approaches, including field work experiences, internships, previous work experience, outdoor education, adventure education, vocational education, lab work, simulations, and games (Crowe & Adams, 1979; Wurdinger, 1994). The terms experiential education and experiential learning have often been used synonymously with these other terms. This paper, drawing on the philosophical roots of John Dewey and Kurt Hahn, will reassert the argument that experiential education is best understood as a philosophy of education. A clear distinction between experiential learning and experiential education will be made and the central tenets of the philosophy will be presented. A model for conceptualizing the operationalizing of the philosophy will be presented. Finally, the benefits of conceptualizing experiential education as a philosophy will be explored. Particular attention will be given to how experiential education can be a part of educational reform.

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Defining Experiential Learning

The first step needed in exploring this topic is to develop clear working definitions of experiential learning and experiential education so that distinctions can be made. In the literature the terms "experiential learning" and "experiential education" have often been used interchangeably (Kolb, 1984; Kraft, 1986). Some definitions of the terms have mirrored each other. Chickering (1976, p. 63)) stated that "[experiential] learning ... occurs when changes in judgments, feelings, knowledge or skills result for a particular person from living through an event or events." The definition of experiential education from the Association for Experiential Education (1994, p. 1) states, "experiential education is a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skill and value from direct experience." The fact that nearly identical definitions have been ascribed to experiential learning and experiential education only serves to cloud the discussion. It is important to begin with an understanding of what experiential learning is and what experiential education is and how they relate to each other.

Learning is best considered as the process of change that occurs for the individual. Learning is an individual experience. Education, on the other hand, is best considered as a transactive process between an educator and student. This transactive experience may also include the larger institutional forces (e.g., the educational system). Learning and education are different constructs and, given this, experiential learning and experiential education are different constructs as well. Experiential learning is best considered in Chickering's (1976) or AEE's (1994) definitions as changes in the individual based on direct experience. Drawing on

Stehno's (1986) work mentioneded earlier, experiential learning involves 1) action, 2) reflection, 3) abstraction, and 4) application. So experiential learning is best considered as the change in an individual that results from reflection on a direct experience and results in new abstractions and applications. Experiential learning rests within the student and does not necessarily require a teacher.

Experiential education will certainly seek to take advantage and maximize the opportunities for experiential learning. However, any definition of experiential education must include or make clear the transactive component between teacher and learner which is absent from the definition of experiential learning. Finally, a definition of experiential education must consider the larger system level issues of education such as the socio-political-economic elements in the learning environment. Experiential education can not simply be about the experience of the individual as this defines experiential learning.

Voices of the Philosophy of Experiential Education

Before defining experiential education, it will be helpful to consider some of the central voices that have articulated the philosophy of experiential education. No discussion of experiential education would be complete without considering the writings of John Dewey. Dewey's writing reflected the progressive education movement in the United States. In Dewey's (1916) seminal work, *Democracy and Education*, he introduced the place of experience in education. Dewey's concern was linking experience with reflection, which was essentially linking understanding with doing. It was insufficient to simply know without doing and impossible to fully understand without doing. In this early work Dewey was, in essence, outlining the nature of experiential learning.

Dewey further clarified his thinking on experiential education in *Experience and Education*. The progressive education movement was concerned with "the place and meaning of subject-matter and of organization within experience" (Dewey, 1938, p. 7). At the core of Dewey's thinking was an understanding that education was not simply the transmission of facts but the education of the entire person for participation in a democratic society (Kraft, 1986). Education was seen as the central part of preparation for participation in a community. Dewey viewed the educational process as involving the teacher and learner engaged in purposive experience (Dewey, 1938).

If Dewey's writings represent the progressive education movement in the United States, then Kurt Hahn's thinking represents the progressive education movement in England. Kraft (1986, p. 15) states, "no discussion of the theory of experiential education would be complete without some recognition being given to Kurt Hahn, the founder of the Outward Bound movement." Hahn, while most remembered for his contribution to Outward Bound, founded three other schools and several other programs (James, 1995). In developing all these programs, Hahn took many of his ideas from Plato in terms of the development of the citizen and particularly the citizen's ability to serve the community (James, 1995). "Hahn saw service to one's neighbor and in the cause of peace as major aspects of any educational program" (Kraft, 1986, p. 15). James (1995, p. 88) cited Hahn in 1921 as stating that the purpose of his Salem School was "to train citizens who would not shirk from leadership and who could, if called upon, make independent decisions, put right action before expediency, and the common cause before personal ambition." Like Dewey, Hahn was concerned with the democratic process and the place of education in this process. Both were reflecting the ideals and ideology of the progressive education movement.

Hahn saw it as the "foremost task of education to ensure the survival of these qualities: an enterprising curiosity, an undefeatable spirit, tenacity in pursuit, readiness for sensible self-denial, and above all, compassion" (HIOBS, 1990, p. 71). He was concerned with the use of experience as a means to develop the whole person (James, 1995). James indicated four central elements in Hahn's approach to education. They were; 1) using a "training plan" in which students would contract around specific personal goals and a code of responsibility; 2) structuring the use of time to gently impel students into action; 3) placing difficult challenges before students that involved a perceived level of risk and adventure; and 4) using the group to mirror a mini-community and using shared experiences to help them begin to work together. Hahn clearly approached education as a transactive process between educator and student that used experience within a larger socio-political process.

Yet another philosophical voice that lays the historical tradition for the philosophy of experiential education is Paulo Freire, "a Brazilian educator whose theory of adult education [was] set within a larger framework of radical social change" (Merriam, 1987, p. 194). The social concern of Freire was the liberation and democratization of the Brazilian people. Freire developed much of his thinking while teaching adult literacy. Freire (1973, p. 43) "rejected the hypothesis of a purely mechanistic literacy program and considered the problem of teaching adults how to read in relation to the awakening of their consciousness." For Freire, the educator engages in a collaborative dialogue about concrete situations with the student. The action of education

includes reflection. Like Dewey and Hahn, Freire saw education as a process that could not be separated from the larger issues of a person in a socio-political environment. His theory of "conscientization" is about raising the critical consciousness of individuals through education so that they will be better able to participate in the democratic political process (Freire, 1973). For Freire, education is about the content to be taught, the process by which it is taught, and the resulting consequences for the person within their social context. Freire was concerned with the moral and ethical implications of education, in particular those associated with the teacher dominating the educational process.

Paulo Freire (1993) has referred to traditional education as the banking approach to education, in that the teacher deposits information into the student, so that the student can then withdraw information when requested. Traditional education rests on the premise that the teacher has the information and imparts this information to students and then evaluates the students' performance (Richan, 1994). By extension, traditional education is based on the teacher being in a power position in relation to the student in terms of the possession of knowledge and the evaluation of learning. This traditional approach to education can be seen across the educational process from pre-school to doctoral programs.

While Freire's ideas are most often cited in radical or critical pedagogical thought, his ideas are consistent with Dewey and Hahn, whose ideas are considered representative of pragmatic thought. All three are concerned with increasing the capabilities (self-efficacy) of individuals to participate in the democratic process (political awareness and action). Each of the voices cited expressed a concern for understanding the subject matter within experience (experiential learning), which can really be seen as developing a critical understanding. Each is also concerned with a purposeful process that involves the teacher actively engaging the student in experience. Lastly, each has some concern for reducing the power relationship between students and the teacher.

Defining the Philosophy of Experiential Education

Drawing upon the authors cited above and building on the work of the Association for Experiential Education's Principles of Experiential Education, Itin (1997, p. 6) has put forth the following definition of the philosophy of experiential education:

Experiential education is a holistic philosophy, where carefully chosen experiences supported by reflection, critical analysis, and synthesis, are structured to require the learner to take initiative, make decisions, and be accountable for the results, through actively posing questions, investigating, experimenting, being curious, solving problems, assuming responsibility, being creative, constructing meaning, and integrating previously developed knowledge. Learners are engaged intellectually, emotionally, socially, politically, spiritually, and physically in an uncertain environment where the learner may experience success, failure, adventure, and risk taking. The learning usually involves interaction between learners, learner and educator, and learner and environment. It challenges the learner to explore issues of values, relationship, diversity, inclusion, and community. The educator's primary roles include selecting suitable experiences, posing problems, setting boundaries, supporting learners, insuring physical and emotional safety, facilitating the learning process, guiding reflection, and providing the necessary information. The results of the learning form the basis of future experience and learning.

This definition makes clear 1) the place of experience and 2) the transactive nature of experiential education that is interactive between learners, between learner and teacher, and between the learner and his/her environment. It must be understood that these transactions are viewed as experiences and parts of the experience within this philosophy. In addressing the interaction between various system levels, attention is given to the larger socio-political-economic levels that affect education. The philosophy's concern for promoting and exploring certain values provides further evidence of a view of education that understands the larger system level issues within education. This definition of experiential education clearly directs attention to a way of thinking about the educational process that supports experiential learning, but is much more than experiential learning. It clearly directs attention to a way of thinking about the educational process that supports experiential learning, but is much more then experiential learning. It makes clear that the principles of experiential learning fit within experiential education, but that experiential education is not just about the changes in the individual. Finally, the ideas of Dewey, Hahn, and Freire can all be seen in this definition.

The philosophy of experiential education makes clear the concern with developing the competency of the learner to integrate what is being learned with the actions that are required. A central premise of the philosophy is that the teacher is responsible for presenting opportunities for experiences, helping students utilize these experiences, establishing the learning environment, placing boundaries on the learning objectives, sharing necessary information and facilitating learning. Teachers have knowledge that is valuable and that students want and require, and the philosophy of experiential education makes clear the context within which

this knowledge is disseminated. Experiential education impels teachers into facilitating the experiential learning process for students. In the philosophy of experiential education, the learner actively engages in co-creating with the teacher the educational process. The learning is not a separate experience, but involves the entire person within the context of the learning environment where the learner is challenged to move beyond what is known. The learning is evaluated mutually by the learner and the teacher. Finally, the philosophy makes clear that the experiential education is a purposeful process aimed at increasing the capacity of the student to understand, utilize, and affect his or her experience in the world and ultimately this is for participation in a democratic process (Chapman, McPhee, & Proudman, 1995; Itin, 1997; Kolb, 1984).

This philosophy of experiential education can be clearly seen in the work by Ira Shor, which builds directly off the ideas of Dewey and Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987). Shor (1992, pp. 16-17) outlined what he referred to as empowerment-based education when he wrote:

> The teacher leads and directs this curriculum, but does so democratically with the participation of the students, balancing the need for structure with the need for openness. The teacher brings lesson plans, learning methods, personal experience, and academic knowledge to class but negotiates the curriculum with the students and begins with their language, themes, and understandings. To be democratic implies orienting subject matter to student culture—their interests, needs, speech, and perceptions—while creating a negotiable openness in class where the students' input jointly creates the learning process. To be critical in such a democratic curriculum means to examine all subjects and the learning process with systematic depth: to connect students individually to larger historical and social issues; to encourage students to examine how their experience relates to academic knowledge, to power, and to inequality in society; and to approach received wisdom and the status quo with questions.

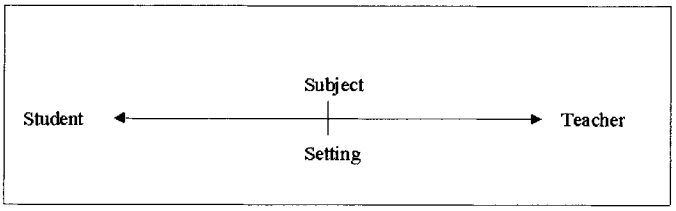
A critical piece that Shor brings to this discussion is an acknowledgement that the teacher shares power with the students and responsibility for the curriculum yet does not abdicate their responsibility and authority for the curriculum; the teacher remains purposeful in the process. Of importance in Shor's conceptualization is that neither the teacher nor the students dominate the process, but each brings their skills, talents, and resources to the educational process. Shor has suggested that empowerment-based education should be seen as student-centered, but not necessarily student directed. The distinction rests in recognizing that teachers contribute to the direction of the educational process in a student-centered process. The hallmark of the philosophy of experiential education is that the teacher and student(s) create the educational process through their transaction and interaction. Furthermore, this dynamic exchange becomes a critical part of the process. Finally, this dynamic transaction is an experience and must be viewed as part of the experience that is utilized in the experiential educational process. When a teacher introduces an experience (e.g., a service-learning opportunity), the position of the teacher, the way it is introduced, and where the students are in their readiness to accept the experience are all a part of the process.

Dewey, Hahn, and Freire were all concerned with the preparation of individuals to participate in a democratic society. As such they were concerned with developing the capacity of individuals to take action and recognizing that education is a political process. The choice of what is taught and not taught must be understood in a political context. Experiential education recognizes Shor (1992, p. 13) when he said, "All forms of education are political because they can enable or inhibit the questioning habits of students, thus developing or disabling their critical relation to knowledge, schooling, and society." Education cannot be neutral; by not paying attention to the political aspects of education, it by default supports the dominant paradigm which is currently informing the socio-political-economic aspects of the educational system. A major component of the philosophy of experiential education is the participation of the student in the learning process so that the student can participate in the democratic-social process. The educational process must mirror those results that society desires. In other words, the content being taught is as important as the process by which it is taught and the context in which it is taught. If we want to develop critically thinking, self-motivated, problem-solving individuals who participate actively in their communities, we must have an educational system and educational approaches that model and support this.

A New Model of the Philosophy of Experiential Education

A philosophy is only useful if it can be translated into action. One step in explicating the philosophy of experiential education is through developing a model of the process. All models are, by definition, idealized visions or representations that help one examine the key principles within a theory. A person can certainly practice the philosophy of experiential education without fully manifesting the ideal vision. A teacher or student can actualize specific aspects of the philosophy without actualizing all of them. The intent of laying out any model is to illustrate the interrelationship between the principles. The intent of this model is to provide the reader with a holistic picture of how the philosophy of experiential education might look in practice.

Figure 1. Davis's Model of Teaching



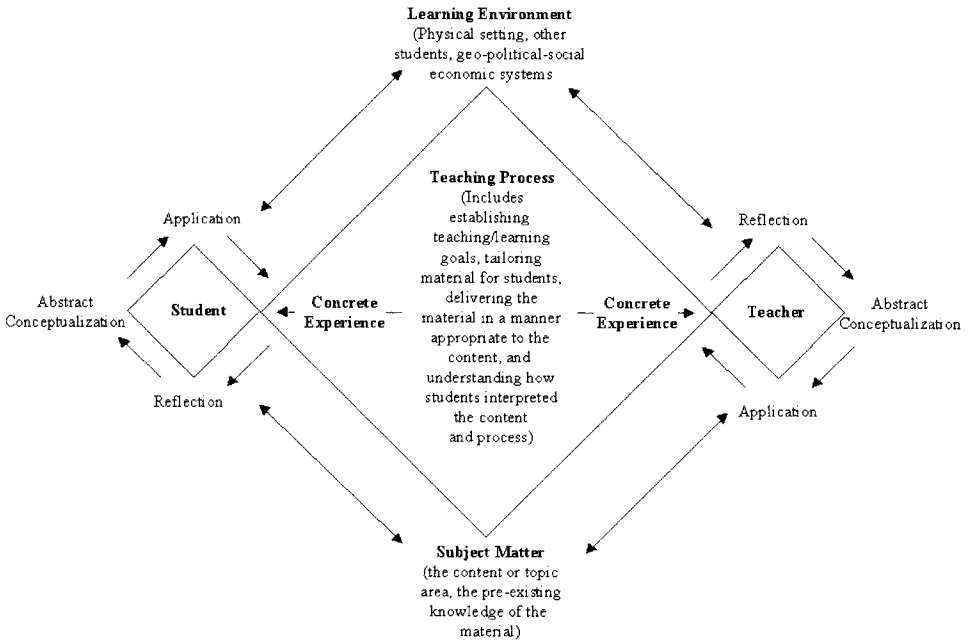
Davis (1993, p.5)

James Davis (1993) has presented a beginning framework for conceptualizing the transactive process between teacher and student. He presents his model in relation to teaching stating that, "teaching in this model is defined as the interaction of the student and a teacher over a subject.... The model is enclosed in a box to represent the setting where teaching takes place" (p. 6). The strength of Davis' model is that it outlines the essential systems within the educational context and it provides a useful beginning framework for an experiential education model.

The philosophy of experiential education enhances Davis's model by making it clear that the relationship between teacher and student is transactive rather then interactive. This is to say that there is an exchange between teacher and student, not simply interaction. Transaction assumes interaction, but adds to it an exchange (Germain & Gitterman, 1980). In a transactive model, the teacher brings information to the process, but so does the student. Teachers and students not only interact, but they exchange knowledge. Students learn from teachers, and teachers learn from students. Similarly students learn from the environment, but they also affect or change the environment. The educational process does more than take place within a setting; it interacts and transacts with numerous environmental aspects. The environment would include not only the setting (the context in which teaching takes place), but also the larger socio-political-economic systems, the multiple students in the class, and any other system which impacts the teaching-learning process.

A second more extensive model, the Diamond Model, can be constructed by drawing upon the definition of experiential education and the model presented by Davis (see Figure 2). In this model, the experiential learning process is clearly visible for both the student and the teacher. The teacher and student share a common experience in terms of the teaching process, although how the process is interpreted is defined by the teacher or students, based on their own reflection upon it. The transactive process, which is a part of the experience, between four principle systems (teacher, student, subject, and learning environment) is also seen in the model by directional arrows (which show that information flows both ways). At the core of the model is a teaching process, which not only marks a shared concrete experience but also indicates how the teacher seeks to encourage the transactive process, that is how the experience is used to guide the educational process. This model does not dictate or reflect a specific teaching approach or strategy; rather, it allows for the many possible approaches that might be used within this model. What is critical in the use of any approach or strategy is that the teaching approaches must include experience, must use the experiences, including the transactive process, and the experiential learning process. Furthermore, this model of experiential education does not reflect any single expression of the philosophy. As was stated in the beginning of this article, often those who engage in service learning, cooperative learning, adventure-based education, and many other areas will refer to their teaching approach as experiential education, in essence defining experiential education as their approach. In reality these are simply expressions of the philosophy of experiential education in action, or provide evidence of the philosophy of experiential education.

Figure 2. The Diamond Model of the Philosophy of Experiential Education.



The philosophy of experiential education does not dictate a

particular teaching method but rather, it speaks to a way of thinking about the teaching–learning transaction. Davis (1993) has explicated five teaching strategies: 1) training and coaching—draws upon behavioral theory and involves setting clear and measurable objectives, sequencing activities, and providing timely feedback; 2) lecturing and explaining—draws upon cognitive learning theory and focuses on the delivery of content; 3) inquiry and discovery—grows out of the work of Dewey and is concerned with directly immersing students in problems to be solved and learning how to think; 4) groups and teams—grows out of group communication theory and centers on using groups to facilitate learning; and 5) experience and reflection—draws upon the work of Dewey and is concerned with directly involving students in work, service, fieldwork, or other concrete experiences. Davis's work does a good job of conceptualizing the range of strategies that exist, and it should be clear to the reader that there are multiple specific approaches within each of these strategies.

The strategies that Davis (1993) outlined can be used individually or combined together and integrated within the model of experiential education presented. Lecturing and explaining would be legitimate teaching methods as long as the teacher is utilizing experience, the transactions available, and other elements of the philosophy (e.g., Does the lecture set the student up for a service-learning experience? Are students given an opportunity to interact in relation to the content presented?). An educational process that only utilizes lecturing and explaining is likely not taking advantage of all the experiences possible (i.e., all the transactions available). What is critical in this discussion is that the dualistic perspective is rejected in this model. In many previous discussions about experiential education, the philosophy was linked to a single teaching strategy or approach (Beck, 1988; Conti, 1978; Hadley, 1975; Kotze, 1985). Furthermore, this earlier work approached experiential education from a dualistic perspective and stated that various approaches employed either were experiential or they were not. By conceptualizing experiential education as a philosophy, it becomes possible to reject this dualistic thinking. Philosophy is best considered as a way of thinking or a process of constructing arguments around thinking (Honderich, 1995). Therefore experiential education as a philosophy becomes a way of thinking about the educational process. This allows a teacher to utilize lecture and explaining strategies and still approach them from within a framework of experiential education.

A Practical Example of the Philosophy in Action

One way to visualize the philosophy of experiential education in action is to take a subject matter and explore how it might be taught from the philosophy of experiential education. One such example would be a basic college research methods course. Often research is primarily taught from what Freire (1993) would call a "banking approach" to education. The teacher often seeks to deposit large amounts of information into the students with the support of a textbook. A series of tests are the only measures used to determine how well the students have mastered the material. A major part of the justification for this approach in teaching research is that there is a great deal of specialized language and procedures that must be mastered to ensure the students understand the rigors of the scientific method.

The philosophy of experiential education would direct teachers toward providing more opportunities for students to interact with the subject matter, the environment, other students, and the teacher. It is not sufficient that students master the content if they do not understand how to apply it in the real world. One way this might occur is to provide an opportunity for students to conduct or participate in a research project. A number of teaching strategies might be used to accomplish or support this type of project. The use of lectures might be targeted at helping the students to make connections between their projects and the material. The students might work in groups or teams to conduct the project. Training or coaching strategies might be used in helping students develop the technical skills used in research. Inquiry and discovery methods might be used to help students conduct an actual literature search, design a research method, conduct an analysis, and make conclusions. The banking approach encourages students to know the steps, while an approach informed by the philosophy of experiential education would be aimed at knowing the steps, understanding their purpose, and actually conducting the steps. Transactions with the environment could be encouraged by inviting students to engage in research projects, which involve the community. Students could interact with each other not only by doing the project as small groups, but also by sharing the results of their projects. These are just some of the ways that the philosophy of experiential education might influence how a basic college research course is taught. It should be clear to the reader that there are ways that this course could utilize more experiences or allow the experience to lead the educational objectives even more. What should be clear is that we are talking about the degree to which the tenets of the philosophy are operationalized, and this is done differentially depending on the setting, the teacher, and the students.

Operationalizing the philosophy does come with a price. Clearly this type of general approach demands more from the teacher in terms of meeting the unique

learning needs of the particular students in the class. The teacher can not simply depend on a lecture-alone approach and repeat it year in and year out. The teacher must assess the learning needs of the students, select appropriate teaching strategies to meet the students' needs, and be willing to use multiple teaching strategies to make it an educational experience. This takes time, energy, and other resources that might be difficult for a teacher to muster. This raises major institutional challenges to teachers who seek to operationalize the philosophy of experiential education. Large classes are often a major obstacle to a teacher's ability to develop meaningful transactions with students (Itin, 1997). In a class of 30-40 students, a teacher is seriously hampered in creating relationships required for meaningful educational transactions. Another obstacle faced by teachers seeking to operationalize this philosophy is reluctance on the part of students (Itin, 1997). Most students have not been formally made familiar with being engaged in an educational process that involves their active engagement and participation. The dynamics of a lack of familiarity coupled with large class size may at first appear as resistance on the part of students. The operationalization of the philosophy of experiential education cannot occur without both a personal investment on the part of the teacher and the institutional supports necessary.

Conclusion

When experiential education is correctly conceptualized as a philosophy of education, it allows for much broader discussions that include a number of important areas. First it allows for the discussion of the range of approaches and strategies that can be utilized and how they can be linked within this philosophical framework. Next, it allows for the clear distinction between experiential learning, which is correctly seen as a learning strategy. This distinction allows for more accurate and clear communication, which should facilitate professional understanding. If those who support experiential learning and education can not be clear in their communication, how can they possibly influence those who don't support it? Finally, if experiential education is correctly identified as a philosophy, it allows for the various expressions of this philosophy (service learning, cooperative learning, adventure-based, problem-based, action learning, etc.) to be linked together under this single philosophy. This provides a method of bringing those together who promote these various expressions and to argue for educational reform that would support experiential education in all settings.

The philosophy of experiential education, as expressed in this article, pushes those who support it toward educational reforms, which would in turn, further promote the philosophy. If we can bring together those who support the various expressions of this philosophy and these individuals can speak a common language, there is a greater change that reform can be successfully engaged in. If educational reform is sought, then the discussion cannot remain at the level of teaching/learning methods. There is empirical evidence of the effectiveness of individual teaching strategies informed by the philosophy of experiential education (Boud, 1985; Christian, 1982; Conti, 1978; Davenport & Davenport, 1986; Kotze, 1985; Land, 1987, Reese, 1993) which has been ignored by many in education. A part of the reason that the evidence has remained ignored is that the approaches have remained relatively separate and splintered. Those who talk about adult learning do not necessarily talk to (or consult the literature of) those who talk about service learning. Those who speak about problem-based education do not talk to those who support adventure-based education. These areas, as stated earlier, are all expressions of the philosophy of experiential education, and yet they have remained somewhat isolated academically and practically. If educational reform is a goal of those who embrace the philosophy of experiential education, then coming together is a first step toward working together to argue for this reform. There is power in numbers and if those who employ the philosophy of experiential education come together there will be more voices speaking of change.

On the practical level, viewing the teaching and learning strategies as expressions of the philosophy of experiential education allows educators to adopt, modify, blend, and integrate the strategies in a meaningful way. Educators often use a variety of strategies, but because they are not well linked theoretically, they may come across in a disjointed way to students. The teacher who primarily uses lecture and then engages in a critical thinking exercise may use the activity poorly. Also the students might not be well prepared to use the experience, or the experience may be poorly fit into the curriculum. The philosophy of experiential education allows teachers to meaningfully link different strategies as expressions of the basic philosophy. If the teacher approaches the educational process from an experiential perspective, then the activities can be more easily linked.

As we move into the 21st century, it becomes increasingly clear that the current educational paradigm that guides the educational process from kindergarten through doctoral programs is not working. Numerous approaches have been put forth to transform education at all levels. Many of these approaches are informed by the philosophy of experiential education. If we can link these various approaches together as expressions of the philosophy of experiential education, perhaps we can advance the educational reforms needed. Furthermore,

as we move into the 21st century, it becomes increasingly clear that we must develop citizens who can actively participate in a democratic process and, in doing so, work toward creating a just and compassionate world. The philosophy of experiential education is what is needed to help develop a community which actively involves all in cooperatively solving problems and contributing to the greater good of society.

This article has laid out an argument that experiential education is best viewed as a philosophy of education rather then an approach or specific teaching strategy. The philosophy has been explicated and a model of this philosophy in action has been presented. Some of the obstacles to the operationalization of this philosophy were presented. Finally the reasons for accepting experiential education as a philosophy were presented and how this philosophy might help transform education for the 21st century. It is this author's hope that this article helps expand the discussion about what experiential education is, how it can be used, where it fits in, and how we might join together under it to advance educational reform.

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